1609/4956

THE RUDIMENTS OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY: FROM THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATES of GREECE TO THE Overthrow of their Liberties in the Days of *PHILIP* the *MACEDONIAN*.

In Thirteen Dialogues.

By the Rev. *JOHN GAST*, A. M.

Iſta ſtudia, ſi ad imitandos ſummos viros ſpectant, Ingenioſorum ſunt, ſin tantummodo ad indicia veteris memoriae cognoſcenda, Curioſorum.———

Cicero de Finibus.



DUBLIN:
Printed by S. Powell, for the AUTHOR.
M,DCC,LIII.

1609/4956

30 JUN 73

OF all antient *Hiſtory* there is not any Part, *Sacred Hiſtory* excepted, more worthy of our notice than the *Hiſtory* of the *Grecian* People. Their *Manners*—their *Forms of Polity*—their *Atchievements*—their extraordinary proficiency in every *Lettered* and *Ornamental* Art—place their Annals among thoſe of the moſt illuſtrious Nations. But what chiefly deſerveth to be attended to is the *Series of their Fortunes*, and the undeniable evidence it affordeth of the *Superintendency* of a MORAL GOVERNOUR over Human Things. A People, in their Beginnings, mean and inconſiderable—advanced by Virtue and Wiſdom to the greateſt height of Empire—and, as their Worth began to decline, ſinking into Weakneſs, Obſcurity, and Bondage—this is the inſtructive Leſſon the Author of the following Dialogues had principally in view: a Leſſon, which may indeed be had from the Hiſtory of every Nation, eſpecially of Nations paſſed, the Duration and Cloſe of whoſe Proſperity may now be fully ſeen; but at the ſame time moſt proper to be inculcated from an *Hiſtory* ſo well recorded as the *Grecian*, and with which, in the preſent ſtate of Literature, moſt young Perſons muſt be ſuppoſed to form ſome acquaintance.

——To this may be added the Conſideration of the Defects, under which the Wiſeſt Men of *Greece* laboured. It is uſeful to know, that thoſe antient Sages, juſtly eſteemed the Boaſt of the *Pagan* World, felt the want of a better Religion, and that it was even the *Wiſh* of a *Socrates* * to be bleſſed with the Aſſiſtance of *an Inſtructor from Heaven*—the glorious Privilege of theſe later Days.

* See Dial. 13. P. 588.

This may be ſufficient to juſtify the Author, with relation to the Plan he propoſed to himſelf: he wiſhes it were as eaſy to juſtify him, as to the execution of it. However he hopes, that it will not be imputed to Affectation, that he has thrown his Work into the Form of Dialogue; he made Choice of it, becauſe it admits of greater Variety, and the Stile of it is more lively and familiar, and therefore more entertaining, than mere Narrative. He hath found himſelf obliged to give a place to *Chronology*, and *Geography*, thoſe two Handmaids of *Hiſtory*; but, to prevent the ſtiffneſs they might occaſion, he has placed the *former* in the *Notes*, and to the *latter* he has aſſigned one entire *Dialogue*, the *Fifth*, both which may, without breaking the Connexion, be paſſed over by thoſe who have not a Reliſh for Reſearches of this kind.—There is, he believes, no Occaſion to make any Apology for not printing the Names of thoſe, who have honoured him with their Subſcriptions; the Size of the Book will tell the Reaſon of this Omiſſion.

The Reader is deſired to excuſe the few Errata that follow, or any other that may have eſcaped:

P. 50. Notes l. 6. for ὑπης, read ὑπις.
P. 95. l. 21. for *Wheels*, read *Wheel*.
P. 114. l. 13. for *e'er*, read *ere*.
P. 120. l. 18. for *diſclasmed*, read *diſclaimed*.
P. 519. l. 20. for *command*, read *commend*.
P 631. l. 2. for *Timotheus*, read *Timotheus* Son to *Conon*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

DIALOGUE I.

Page 1.

EXTENT *of* Greece —— *Antient and modern* Greece *compared*—*Corrupted Manners, the Cauſe of the Declenſion of the* Grecians.——*The Uſe of Hiſtory*—*The Moral Government of God evident from it*——*Which was the Age of Glory of the* Grecian *People*—*Which the time when they began to Decline.*

DIALOGUE II.

Page 9.

Greece *how peopled*—*the rude condition of the firſt Inhabitants*——*Arrival of Colonies from* Egypt—*Cities founded*—*the Worſhip of* Jupiter *appointed*—Telchines *and* Idaei Dactyli—*Hiſtory of* Lycaon—*Colonies from* Phoenicia—Cadmus——*What Language, Rites, Improvements, and Manners, were introduced by theſe ſeveral Colonies*——*Agriculture taught in* Greece—Ceres *and the* Eleuſinian *Myſteries, what to be underſtood by them*——*Council of the* Amphictiones *inſtituted*——Attica, *the firſt Country of* Greece, *where Civility and*

and Government and Arts were cultivated—and Why——Several Parts of Greece *invaded by Strangers*--Pelops—Danaus——*Various Migrations throughout* Greece——*Advantages to* Greece *from these frequent Revolutions.*

DIALOGUE III.

Page 67.

History of the Heroes of the Fabulous Times of Greece—*of* Perseus—*of* Bellerophon——*History of* Thebes *and the House of* Cadmus—Actaeon—Semele—*Birth of* Bacchus—Laius—Oedipus—Eteocles *and* Polynices—*First* Theban *War*—*Second* Theban *War*——*History of* Athens—Aegeus—Theseus—Minotaur——Minos, *First and Second* — Hercules—*his Exploits—his Death*—Theseus *guilty of vicious excesses*——*steals away* Helen——*loses the Crown*——*retires to* Scyros—*dies there*—Phaedra *and* Hippolitus—*History of the* Argonauts—Medea—*her Character*—Epoch *of the* Argonautic *Expedition considered.*

DIALOGUE IV.

Page 120.

Trojan *War—What moved the* Grecians *to undertake it*——*Fable of the* Golden Apple——Troy *besieged—Plan and Beauties of the* Iliad—*The Kingdom of* Priam *overthrown—the unhappy fate of most of the* Grecian *Princes, who warred against* Troy—*History of* Orestes—*Character of the Princes of the House of* Pelops———*The earlier Annals of* Greece *disfigured by fables—a fabulous Antiquity ascribed to the* Grecian *Kingdoms—an Account of the several Causes, that inclined the* Grecians *to the Love of Fable.*

DIAL-

CONTENTS.

DIALOGUE V.

Page 154.

A Geographical Review of Greece—*Of* PELOPONNESUS—Sparta—Helos—Mycenae---Argos—Epidaurus, *the City of* Eſculapius—Sicyon—Corinth—*its Situation*; *its Trade*; *its Wealth*; *its Luxury*——Arcadia—*the fair Paſturages of* Arcadia—*the Manners of its Inhabitants*——Elis—Olympia—Phidias's Jupiter, *at* Olympia—*the* Olympic *Games*---Triphylia, *the Kingdom of* Neſtor—Pylus, *three Cities of the Name*—Meſſenia----*Various Fortunes of the* Heraclidae---*their Return*—*Revolutions occaſioned by it*——GREECE-WITHOUT-THE-ISTHMUS-Attica-Athens—*the Regal Government aboliſhed in* Athens—*and for What reaſon*—*the Splendor of that City*—Marathon—Sunium——*Proſpect of the* Egean *Sea and the* Cyclades—*Empire of the Iſlands held ſucceſſively*, *by* Minos, *by* Agamemnon, *by the* Aſiatic *Princes*, *by the* Athenians—*and Why*——Boeotia—*Character of the* Boeotians——Plateae—*Oracle at* Lebadia—*Oracle of* Amphiaraus——Euboea——Phocis—*Its Inhabitants*—*brave in War*—*Oracle of* Delphi—Delphic *Temple*—*Its remarkable ſituation*—*Its treaſures*——Criſſa——Locri *of* Opus—Locri *of Mount* Cnemis—Thermopylae——Locri Ozolae—Aetolia—*River* Achelous—*Fable concerning it*—Calydon——Dorica Tetrapolis—*Manners of the* Dores——Acarnania——Leucate—Lover's Leap——Ambracian *Bay*——Actium——Epire——Argos Amphilochicum——Acroceraunian *Mountains*—*Oracle at* Dodona——*Proſpect of the Iſlands in the* Ionian *Sea*——Illyricum——Theſſaly—*Its ſeveral Kingdoms*—Tempe—*the Beauties of*

of Tempe——Pharſalia——Macedonia—*Hiſtory of that Kingdom*—*Its oppreſſed ſtate*—*Its Riſe*—*Its Glory*——Thermae, *or* Theſſalonica—Thermaic *Gulph*—Chalcidice—Olynthus——Thrace—Amphipolis—Philippi.

DIALOGUE VI.

Page 227.

Codrus *the laſt of the* Athenian *Kings*——*Perpetual* Archons *eſtabliſhed*—Ionic *Migration*—Aeolic *Migration*—Doric *Migration*—Archons *made Decennial*—*and afterwards*, *Annual*—Spartan *State*—*Two Joint-Kings at* Sparta—*Hiſtory of the firſt* Spartan *Kings*——*The* Helotae *inſlaved*——*The* Spartans *cruel*—*perfidious*—*the Diſtractions of their Government*—Lycurgus—*his Integrity*—*he travels*—*returns to* Sparta—*reforms the Conſtitution*—*his Laws*—*wherein*, *excellent*—*wherein*, *faulty*—*the Manner of his Death*—*highly blameable.*

DIALOGUE VII.

Page 266.

The Spartan *Policy*—*Virtues of the* Spartans, *of what kind*—*they invade the* Tegean *territories*——*Firſt* Meſſenian *War*—*and the Cauſe of it*—Ariſtomenes *the* Meſſenian—*deſpairs*—*kills himſelf*—Meſſenia *ſubjected to the* Spartan *Yoke*——Argive *War*—Othryades *the* Spartan—*Remarkable Feat performed by him*——*Hiſtory of* Phalanthus *and the* Partheniae——*Second* Meſſenian *War*—Ariſtomenes *the ſecond*—*his Abilities*—*his Diſintereſtedneſs*—*his Love for his Country*—*fortifies* Eira—*defeats the* Spartans——*The* Spartans *aſk a General of* Athens—Tyrteus *ſent to them*—Ariſtomenes *defeats the* Spartans *a ſecond time*—*and a third time*——Tyrteus *encourages the* Spartans—*they*

they re-enter Meſſenia—Ariſtomenes *defeated by treachery—taken Priſoner—caſt into a Dungeon by the* Spartans—*eſcapes—is betrayed, and eſcapes again*—-Eira *taken by treachery*—-Ariſtomenes *marches off, he and the* Meſſenians *that were with him in* Eira, *through the midſt of the* Spartans—Ariſtomenes *goes to* Rhodes—*his Projects—dies there—a ſumptuous Monument erected to him*——*The Diſperſion of the* Meſſenian *Nation—the wretched condition of ſuch of them as remained in* Peloponneſus——*The* Tegeans *brought into ſubjection*——Ariſto *King of* Sparta—*Hiſtory of his Queen—Hiſtory of* Cleomenes *King of* Sparta—Leonidas *ſucceeds him*——Phidon *Tyrant of* Argos—*in what time he lived.*

DIALOGUE VIII.

Page 305.

Contentions at Athens—*Annual* Archons *nine in number*——*The* Athenians *in want of Laws*—Draco *appointed Lawgiver—his Laws uſeleſs—and Why*——*The* Cylonian *Conſpiracy*—Cylon *takes refuge in the Temple of* Minerva—*is ſlain by* Megacles—Megacles *and his Aſſiſtants execrated—War with the* Megareans——Solon—*recovers* Salamis—*puts an end to the* Criſſean *War—choſen Lawgiver of* Athens—*reſtores the Court of* Areopagus—*eſtabliſhes the Senate of the* Prytanes—*and the General Aſſembly of the People—and the inferior Courts of Juſtice—Oſtraciſm, What—Laws of* Solon—*their excellence—the* Athenian *Government rendered Democratical by* Solon—*and on what account—Seven Wiſe Men*—Periander *of* Corinth, *his Character—Hiſtory of the Golden* Tripod—Piſiſtratus *invades the Sovereignty of* Athens—Solon *viſits the Court of* Croeſus—*his reception there*

—*dies*—*The Conduct of* Piſiſtratus—*his good Qualities—his various fortunes—bequeaths the Sovereignty to his Sons* Hippias *and* Hipparchus—Hipparchus *ſlain by* Harmodius *and* Ariſtogiton—Harmodius *and* Ariſtogiton *put to death*—Hippias *dethroned and baniſhed.*

DIALOGUE IX.

Page 353.

Honours paid to the Memory of Harmodius *and* Ariſtogiton—*Character of the* Athenians, *after the expulſion of* Hippias—*their Glory in Arms, in Arts —the Cauſes of this aſſigned*———Darius *King of* Perſia *prepares to invade* Greece—*Hiſtory of the* Perſians—Cyrus—Cambyſes,—Smerdis *the* Mage—Darius *makes war on the* Scythians—*Hiſtory of* Miltiades—*he encourages the* Ionians *to revolt againſt* Darius—*the* Athenians *aſſiſt the* Ionians—*Concluſion of the* Ionian *War*—Miltiades *retires to* Athens—*the* Perſians *land in* Attica—*the* Plateans *march to the aſſiſtance of the* Athenians—*Battle at* Marathon—Miltiades *commands the* Athenians—*the* Perſians *defeated*—Miltiades *diſgraced*—Cimon *Son to* Miltiades, *his Piety*—Darius *dies, and* Xerxes *ſucceeds him—Character of* Themiſtocles—*and* Ariſtides.

DIALOGUE X.

Page 399.

Xerxes *invades* Greece—*the prodigious Multitudes he brought with him—Many of the* Grecians *fall off to* Xerxes—*Reſolute behaviour of the* Athenians *and* Spartans—Leonidas *at* Thermopylae—*the Confederate Fleets at* Artemiſium—*repulſe the* Perſians—Leonidas *betrayed—ſlain*—*The* Grecian *Fleets ſail back to the Coaſt of* Attica—Xerxes

xes *advances towards* Athens—*The* Athenians, *by the advice of* Themiſtocles, *forſake their City, and go aboard their Ships*—Themiſtocles, *his noble temper—his Wiſdom—Generoſity of* Ariſtides—*The* Perſians *defeated at* Salamis—Xerxes *fleeth back to* Aſia—Themiſtocles, *how honoured*—Mardonius *with three hundred thouſand Men marches into* Theſſaly;—*and winters there—prepares to invade* Attica *again—offers Peace to the* Athenians—*the* Athenians *refuſe it*—Pauſanias, *the* Grecian *General—the* Perſians *defeated at* Plateae—*and the ſame day, at* Mycale *on the* Aſiatic *coaſt*—Greece *delivered from the* Perſians—*the* Grecians *ſail to the* Helleſpont—*ravage the* Cherroneſus—*and return home, laden with treaſure.*

DIALOGUE XI.

Page 445.

Advantages of a Mind well-improved—Happieſt method of Education—True Uſe of Learning—— Athens *rebuilt—enlarged—and ſurrounded with Walls*—Themiſtocles *the Adviſer of this*—Sparta *jealous*—Themiſtocles *Embaſſador to* Sparta—*acts with ſubtilty—reproaches and threatens the* Spartans—*the* Pirean *Port completed*—Themiſtocles *propoſes the burning the* Peloponneſian *fleets*—*Greatneſs of Spirit of the* Athenian *People*—— *The Confederate fleets ſail to* Aſia—Pauſanias *the* Spartan, *Commander in chief—holds a correſpondence with the* Perſians—*treats the Confederates with inſolence*——*they refuſe to obey him—the command transferred to* Ariſtides *and* Cimon *the* Athenian *Admirals*—Ariſtides *impowered to aſſeſs the ſeveral States of* Greece *for the ſupport of the War againſt the* Perſians—*this Aſſeſſment called the Happy Lot of* Greece—*and Why*——Pauſa-

nias *accuſed at* Sparta—*not convicted*—*continues his correſpondence with the* Perſians—*his treaſons proved againſt him*—*is put to death*—*and, in what manner*——Cimon *carries on the War againſt the* Perſians—*takes* Eion—*reduces* Scyros—*brings back the Bones of* Theſeus—*Feaſts celebrated on that occaſion*——Themiſtocles *loſes the favour of the People*—*is baniſhed*—*retires to* Argos—*accuſed of being privy to* Pauſanias's *Deſigns*—*eſcapes to* Aſia—*how received by* Artaxerxes—*his Love for his Country*—*his Death*——Cimon *returns to the Coaſts of* Aſia—*defeats the* Perſians *at* Eurymedon—*drives them out of the* Cherroneſus—Athens *greatly enriched by theſe ſucceſsful Wars*—*Miſtaken Policy of* Cimon—*the* Athenians *become imperious*—*oppreſs their Allies*——*Expedition into* Egypt—*and from what motive*——*Factions at* Athens—*promoted by* Pericles *and* Ephialtes—*their Views*—*the Arts they make uſe of*——*Earthquake at* Sparta—*the* Helotae *and* Meſſenians *revolt*——*and on what account*—*the* Spartans *apply to* Athens *for aſſiſtance*—*and obtain it by the means of* Cimon—*the* Spartans *ſuſpect the* Athenians—*the* Athenians *reſent it*—Cimon *baniſhed*—*Public Treaſure removed from* Delos *to* Athens—*The* Athenians *league with the* Argives——Mycenae *overthrown*——*Inteſtine Wars in* Greece——*Battle at* Tanagra——*Second Battle*——*The* Athenians *ravage* Laconia—Cimon *recalled*—*Peace between* Athens *and* Sparta——*The* Athenians *attack the* Perſians *again*—Cimon *their General*—*His Succeſs*—*He obliges* Artaxerxes *to conclude a peace with* Greece—*and on what Conditions*—*he dies at* Citium—*his Character*——Pericles—*his Abilities*—*his Ambition*—*his Policy*—*corrupts the* Athenian

Athenian *Manners*—*abuſes his Power*——*War againſt* Samos—*the* Samians *puniſhed with cruelty*—*the* Athenians *hated*—*War between the* Corcyreans *and* Corinthians—*the* Athenians *make alliance with thoſe of* Corcyrā——Potidaea *beſieged*—*An Aſſembly of ſeveral States held at* Sparta----*the* Corinthians *make their application there*---*Embaſſadors ſent to* Athens *to propoſe their demands*----*the* Athenians *anſwer harſhly*----*this owing to the Intrigues of* Pericles----*the Motives* Pericles *had for this*——*the* Peloponneſian *War breaks out.*

DIALOGUE XII.

Page 503.

The flouriſhing ſtate of Athens *at the beginning of the* Peloponneſian *War*----*Her fleets*---*Her Treaſures*---*her Alliances*----*and yet, the* Athenians *leſs powerful than when the* Perſians *invaded* Greece---*and Why*———*The War begins by an Attempt on* Plateae---*the* Spartans *invade* Attica----Pericles *avoids an engagement*----*on what account*-----*the* Athenians *lay waſte the* Spartan *coaſts*----*Plague at* Athens---*from what cauſes*---*rages with extraordinary violence*——Hippocrates *ſent for*---*the Plague ſtill continues*----*the* Athenians *ſue for Peace*----Sparta *refuſes it*----Pericles *depoſed*---*and mulcted*----Potidaea *taken*----Plateae *beſieged*---*Domeſtic misfortunes of* Pericles---*he is reſtored to his honours*---*dies of the Plague*---*and in what manner*---*his Character*----*ſpoken of by antient Hiſtorians more favourably than he deſerves*---*and Whence this*——Mitylene *revolts*---*and is reduced immediately*----*ſevere Decree againſt the* Mityleneans----Cleon *his Character*----*the Decree mitigated*——

Plateae

Plateae *taken*---*barbarous treatment of the* Plateans——*Expedition into* Sicily---*without effect*----*Seditions in* Corcyra---*wretched ſtate of that Iſland*---*Earthquakes in divers parts of* Greece---*the* Athenians *take* Pylus---*the* Spartans *beſieged in the Iſland* Sphacteria----Sparta *propoſes peace*---Athens *refuſes it*----*Siege of* Sphacteria *tedious*----Cleon *ſent thither*---*makes the* Spartans *Priſoners of War*----*Meanneſs of the* Spartans----*Cruelty of the* Athenians——*the Scene of the War, in* Thrace----*and Why*----Braſidas *the* Spartan *General in thoſe Parts*——*his Character*----*takes* Amphipolis----*the Loſs of* Amphipolis *occaſions the baniſhing of* Thucydides----*Truce between* Athens *and* Sparta *for one Year*---*the Truce ill-obſerved*---*expires*----Cleon *oppoſed to* Braſidas-----Cleon *and* Braſidas *both ſlain*----*Peace between* Athens *and* Sparta-----*of ſhort continuance*----Alcibiades *his Character*---*his Intrigues*——*ſtrange Enormities the* Athenians *are guilty of*----*War in* Sicily----Alcibiades, Nicias, *and* Lamachus, *appointed Generals*---*Character of* Nicias---*of* Lamachus—Alcibiades *accuſed of Impiety*—*recalled from* Sicily----*makes his eſcape to* Sparta----Syracuſe *beſieged*----Lamachus *ſlain*----Nicias *preſſes the* Syracuſians---*they apply to* Corinth *and* Sparta *for aſſiſtance*---Gylippus *ſent to them*---Nicias *deſpiſes him*---*Conſequences of this*---Nicias *deſires to be recalled*---Demoſthenes *and* Eurymedon *appointed to go to his aſſiſtance*—Attica *laid waſte by the* Spartans—Decelea *taken*—Nicias *hazards a Naval Engagement*—*and is beaten*---Demoſthenes *and* Eurymedon *arrive*---*the* Athenians *repulſed*---*the Plague among the* Athenian *Troops*---Demoſthenes *propoſes the leaving of* Sicily----*the* Syracuſians *attack the* Athenians *by Sea*

Sea and Land---and obtain the Victory----Eurymedon *ſlain----the* Syracuſian *Port blocked up---the* Athenians *attempt to force their way through---but in vain---reſolve to flee away by land---are delayed by falſe intelligence---are overtaken in their march--all ſlain or made Priſoners*——*Deplorable condition of* Athens---*the* Athenians *ſhew great Spirit in their misfortunes*----Alcibiades *recalled---by what means---his ſucceſs againſt the* Spartans---*the* Spartans *deſire Peace---are refuſed*——Cyrus *Governor of* Aſia *the Leſs---his Character*---Lyſander *the* Lacedemonian *in favour with* Cyrus---*and on what account*——Alcibiades *intruſts the fleet to* Antiochus---Antiochus *courted by* Lyſander----*Ten Admirals appointed in the ſtead of* Alcibiades---*Battle of* Arginuſae---*The Six Admirals condemned---unjuſtly*---Socrates *alone refuſes to vote againſt them*---Lyſander *ſurpriſes the* Athenian *fleet at* Aegos-Potamos----*deſtroys it---takes* Athens---*demoliſhes the Walls of it---obliges the* Athenians *to give up their Ships to* Sparta.

DIALOGUE XIII.

Page 564

Thirty Tyrants of Athens---Thraſybulus *reſtores the Commonwealth*---Socrates *his Life---Death*---Plato ---Xenophon---*Retreat of the Ten thouſand*---Ageſilaus---*his Character---his Exploits in* Aſia---*recalled home---and on what account*---Lyſander *falls in battle---his Character*----Conon *beats the* Lacedemonians *at Sea---ravages* Laconia---*rebuilds the Walls of* Athens---Corinthian *War*——*Inglorious Peace of* Antalcidas-----*The* Cadmea *ſurpriſed by the* Spartans.----Thebes *oppreſſed*---Pelopidas---*his Character---delivers his Country*---Epaminondas---*his manner of Life---his Virtues*---*treachery*

treachery of Sphodrias---*Injuſtice and Tyrannical Spirit of* Sparta---*Battle of* Leuctra---*the* Thebans *invade* Peloponneſus---*attack* Sparta---*reſtore the* Meſſenians---Pelopidas's *Death*---*New commotions in* Peloponneſus---Epaminondas *marches to the aſſiſtance of the* Tegeans---*Battle of* Mantinea---*the* Thebans *victorious*---Epaminondas *dies*---*Character of that illuſtrious* Theban---*Expedition of* Ageſilaus *into* Egypt-----*Wretched condition of* Greece----*degenerated*----*waſted*----*divided*----*Social War*----*Sacred War*---Philip *of* Macedon---*his Character*---*his Abilities*---*his Views*---*his Exploits*---*ſtrengthens himſelf in* Thrace---*in* Theſſaly---*puts an end to the Sacred War*---*admitted into the Council of the* Amphictiones---*reduces the* Cherroneſus----*attempts* Peloponneſus---Euboea---Perinthus, *and* Byzantium---Locri Ozolae *guilty of Sacrilege*---Philip *appointed by the* Amphictiones *General againſt the* Locri---*he marches into* Greece---*deceives the* Grecians---*ſeizes on* Elatea---*the* Athenians *and* Thebans *alarmed*---*Battle at* Chaeronea---Philip *victorious*---Greece *inſlaved.*

RUDI-

RUDIMENTS OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.

DIALOGUE THE FIRST.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

TURN your Eyes hither, *Cleanthes*: Obſerve this Portion of the World. How inconſiderable it appears, when compared with the numerous Provinces of that *Perſian* Monarchy, which I was now tracing out to you? And yet, how ſuperior in Glory was this ſmall Spot to all that vaſt Tract of Empire! It was not Treaſure, nor Extent of Dominion, that made this People great; but Wiſdom of Government, Upright Manners, Arts, Eloquence, Fortitude of Soul, Martial Atchievements. This is that *Greece*, which you have ſo often heard ſpoken of with Admiration. Here flouriſhed *Athens*, there *Sparta* ſtood. This was *Thebes*, the Country of the great *Epaminondas*. In this Place the wealthy *Corinth* commanded thoſe

two Seas, which you ſee divided by that Iſthmus, that lies before you.

Clean. What! ſo many illuſtrious States within that ſmall Compaſs?

Pal. The Extent of *Greece*, properly ſo called, was no more than you ſee it. Indeed, in proceſs of time, it's Nations branched out into many Colonies, and ſpread much farther: The numerous Iſlands, that cover the neighbouring Seas, became theirs; they poſſeſſed themſelves of a great Part of *Sicily*, and ſettled along the Coaſts of *Italy*, of *Thrace*, and *Aſia Minor*. But the Limits of *Greece* itſelf were thoſe, that are here marked out to you: The *Egean* Sea to the Eaſt; and the *Ionian* to the Weſt; the *Macedonian* Mountains, and the River *Strymon*, to the North; and to the South, that Sea which waſhes the Promontory of *Taenarus*[a]: Its whole Extent about Four hundred and eighty Miles[b] from North to South; and from Eaſt to Weſt Three hundred and thirty only[c]. And yet withal, never had any Country ſo many great States[d] to boaſt of: Look on every Side: It was a Land of Heroes and Philoſophers. Scarcely a Part of it, but what was diſtinguiſhed by ſome People, famous in antient Story; the brave and generous *Plateans*, the hardy *Phocians*, the warlike Inhabitants of *Meſſenia*, the *Arcadians*, the *Argives*, the *Myceneans*, the Inhabitants of *Elis*—once a Glorious Land, the Nurſe of Arts, and crowned with every Bleſſing, that Liberty and the Sciences can beſtow.

Clean.

[a] See *Strabo*, *Cluv.* &c.

[b] *Engliſh* Meaſure.

[c] The extreme Eaſtern Point of *Greece* was the Promontory of *Sunium* in *Attica*; and its fartheſt Extent to the Weſt was the *Acroceraunian* Promontory in *Epire*.

[d] See Dialogue the Fifth.

Clean. Once! Why, is *Greece* no more? Surely the Deſcendents of ſo many great Nations are not periſhed entirely?

Pal. Periſhed indeed, my *Cleanthes*, as to every thing great and excellent. *Greece* ſtill ſubſiſts, but the Spirit of *Greece* is no more. The Virtues of her Sons, their intrepid Courage, their Love of Liberty, their ardent Zeal for the Proſperity of their Country, are to be met with only in the Hiſtories of times long ſince paſſed. And glorious as that Nation once appeared, as mean is the State, to which it is now fallen; ſunk into the loweſt Claſs of Barbarians, broken to the moſt abject Slavery, and the Scorn and Contempt of every People [e].

Clean. I am moved at this. Oh *Palaemon*, what is it could have the Power of working ſo prodigious an Alteration? That a Nation, once ſo great, ſhould ever become worthleſs and deſpicable!

Pal. You muſt know, *Cleanthes*, there is not any Nation, to which Greatneſs of Abilities, and Power of Empire, are particularly allotted by Heaven: They are the Attendants of Virtue. If a People for ſeveral Generations are obſervant of Piety, of Probity, of Juſtice; if they endeavour to improve their Minds by the Culture of the moſt excellent and uſeful Arts; if Regard to the Public Good takes Place of every other Conſideration; and the *Fear of doing Ill* is the only *Fear*, they are taught to feel; ſuch a People muſt be great; they muſt become a Wiſe, Victorious, Happy Nation. But then, it is only ſo long as that Spirit of Virtue ſhall prevail among them. Should the Vices of Luxury, of Avarice, and Falſe

 Ambition,

[e] Relation du *Voyage Literaire* de *l'Abbe Fourmont* dans le *Levant*. Hiſt. de l'Academie Roy. des Inſcrip. T. 6. Voyez auſſi *Voyages* de *Spon* et *Wheeler*. Et *Voyages* du Sieur *Lucas* en *Turquie*, &c.

Ambition, once introduce themſelves; ſhould their Manners become effeminate, and their Government factious and divided; that Splendour of Fortune is theirs no longer; they decline by Degrees; and, if they return not to their former Virtue, they muſt ſink into Weakneſs and Ruin. Such was the Fate of antient *Greece*—Virtue, Public and Private, flouriſhed in the midſt of her: Tho' her Sons lived in the Gloom of Idolatry, nevertheleſs were they religious Worſhippers of the Gods, which they believed; they looked on a blameleſs Mind, as the beſt Means of ſecuring the Favour of the Immortals; they loved their Country, and chearfully parted with even Life itſelf, when it could be laid out in her Service. By theſe Means, they triumphed; they preſerved the Liberties of *Greece* in the times of the moſt urgent Danger, and all the Powers of *Perſia* were found too weak againſt them. And, had their Deſcendents never fallen off from that Excellence of Mind, who can ſay, what would have been the Bounds of their Glory and Happineſs? But they degenerated, and therefore they periſhed.——*Eudoxus*, you are not a Stranger to the Hiſtory of *Greece*; is not the Truth of this Obſervation plainly ſeen in the Fortunes of that illuſtrious People?

Eud. I have ſome Acquaintance with a great Part of their Hiſtory, and have read it with Admiration; but, until this Day, I cannot ſay that I have conſidered it in this Light.

Pal. And yet, *Eudoxus*, it is in this Light only Hiſtory becomes truly inſtructive. For to read that there formerly were Men, who were eminent in War and Peace, who founded States, who made Laws, who won Battles; to have the Names of theſe Men recorded, and to know that it was a *Miltiades*, a *Solon*, a *Lycurgus*, who did theſe things, is no more than

than a vain Parade of uſeleſs Learning. The Advantage lieth in taking a View of the Motives and Schemes of theſe Great Perſons, the Circumſtances they were in, the Means they made uſe of to eſtabliſh the Public Proſperity, and to gain ſuch Glory to themſelves. But above all, the principal Advantage of conſidering in this manner the Hiſtory of antient times is, that it points out directly to us the *Superintendency* of a BEING, GREAT, WISE, GOOD, whoſe Laws tend aſſuredly to make Virtue happy, and to puniſh vicious Nations with Infamy and Wretchedneſs.

Eud. In this Light, I own, Hiſtory would be a Study infinitely uſeful. But, *Palaemon*, do you think that Vice always brings on the Ruin of a People?

Pal. Certainly I do. The Experience of every Age proves it abundantly.

Eud. I think there might be pointed out many Exceptions to this Maxim. In *Greece* particularly, long before the *Grecians* loſt their Liberties, they were become greatly degenerate. Very ſoon after the Defeat of the *Perſians*, the *Athenians* gave themſelves up to Luxury and Pleaſures. The *Spartans* alſo in ſome time forgot their Upright Manners; the Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus* were leſs ſtrictly obſerved; and many new Vices began to prevail among them. Nevertheleſs they proſpered, both *Athens* and *Sparta*, for ſeveral Years, after they fell from their Virtue.

Pal. You ſhould take Notice, that as the Riſe of States is gradual, ſo is their Declenſion. The *Grecians* loſt their Virtue only by Degrees. It could not be, that Effeminacy and Pleaſures ſhould at once ſubdue ſo great a People. They had alſo excellent Men, who roſe among them at different times, and, as it were, delayed the Fate of their Country. Beſides, *Greece*, even when ſhe was declining, retained an

Appearance

Appearance of Greatneſs; and therefore are we apt to account the Duration of her Proſperity much longer, than it really was. Her Wealth and Magnificence, the many Arts, which the *Grecians* had improved to the higheſt Degree of Perfection, their Progreſs in Philoſophy, and every Part of Literature, their Eloquence, their Politeneſs, their Elegance of Taſte—impoſe upon us: we think a Nation muſt be great, in which ſo many ingenious Men and excellent Artiſts were to be found. But notwithſtanding all this Shew of Grandeur, they had, long before their final Ruin, ceaſed to be that formidable, intrepid People, they once were. Even many of thoſe Improvements, which have rendered their Name famous, were owing to their Luxury and Love of Pleaſure, and afford full Proof, that their Vigour was impaired conſiderably.

Eud. So that you would date the Diminution of the Glory and Strength of *Greece*, much earlier, than the actual Overthrow of the *Grecian* Power?

Pal. Undoubtedly I would. From the time that the *Grecian* States began, through Pride and Envy, to divide one againſt an other; and they, who had been wont to appear foremoſt in the Defence of the Public Weal, now choſe, rather to be the Ravagers of *Greece*, than not to govern it[f]; when, in the ſtead of Induſtry and Integrity of Life, there prevailed through their Cities Sloth, and Diſſoluteneſs, Contention, and a Deſire of Change; and their Leaders were become more ſollicitous about popular Applauſe, and the amaſſing of private Wealth, than about the Glory of acting rightly; from that Time was their Power declining. Theſe were the Evils that made the Day of *Chaeronea*[g] fatal to them, and put an End to their common Liberties. They had ceaſed

[f] See Dial. the Eleventh Twelfth, and Thirteenth.
[g] See Dial. the Thirteenth.

ceaſed to be a virtuous People; they had weakened themſelves by their mutual Diviſions, and prepared their own Necks for the Yoke of Bondage [h].

Eud. Which then is the Period, when they may be ſaid to have been at the Height of their Glory?

Pal. It was, when the *Athenians* fought at *Marathon* [i]; when *Leonidas* and his *Spartans* devoted themſelves at *Thermopylae* [k]; when their ableſt Generals endeavoured to excel each other in Moderation, and Readineſs of Obedience, as in the Days of *Themiſtocles*; when their great Men generouſly forgot all private Reſentments, ſoon as the Cauſe of their Country called upon them [l]; when a whole State had the Virtue, in a general Aſſembly, unanimouſly to reject a Scheme, that would have made them the moſt powerful People of *Greece*, merely becauſe it was contrary to Juſtice [m].

Clean.

[h] The Glorious Days of *Greece*, truly ſuch, were from the expulſion of the *Piſiſtratidae*, which happened in the 3d. Year of the ſixty ſeventh Olympiad, unto the Death of *Cimon*, which fell out in the 3d. Year of the eighty ſecond, *viz.* during the ſpace of ſixty years: that was the *Age* of Virtuous Manners, and Illuſtrious Atchievements. From the Death of *Cimon*, unto the fatal Cloſe of the *Peloponneſian* War, the *Grecian* Empire ſtill ſubſiſted, but nevertheleſs, though ſet off with the advantages of Splendor and Opulence, yet was it a declining ſickly Empire; then prevailed Luxury and Voluptuous Arts, Intrigue and Fraud, Love of Dominion and Love of Wealth, and inſtead of humane generous Sentiments, ſcarcely was there any thing but Envy, Domeſtic War, Tyrannical Sway, Cruelty, and Unjuſt Deeds. The Hiſtory of this Period of time is therefore properly the Hiſtory of the Declenſion of *Greece*; and the Ruin that followed, firſt at *Aegos-Potamos*, then in the *Corinthian* and *Theban* Wars, and at length by the Arms of *Macedon*, was only the natural completing of what Vice and Corruption had long ſince begun. See the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Dialogues.

[i] See Dial. the Ninth.

[k] See Dial. the Tenth.

[l] See as before.

[m] See Dial. the Eleventh.

Clean. Oh, *Palaemon*, when ſhall I read theſe glorious Things? Surely ſuch an Hiſtory could not be any Interruption to the Studies I am now engaged in?

Pal. In time, *Cleanthes*, I mean you ſhould know all this. The very Study of Geography, which you are now taken up with, is principally deſigned to qualify you for the Knowledge of Hiſtory.

Clean. But might not I blend theſe two together? ——I ſhould think light of any Labour, to obtain a nearer Acquaintance with thoſe Worthies of antient times.

Pal. With Pleaſure then, my *Cleanthes*, will I gratify you: On this Condition only; riſe betimes, and one Hour every Morning ſhall be laid out for this Purpoſe.

Eud. And let me alſo requeſt it, *Palaemon*, that you will admit me to bear a Part in theſe early Studies. I have already been much converſant in the Tranſactions of this Famous People, but I have ſtill much to learn: and were it only from the Obſervations, which I ſee may be made on this curious Part of Hiſtory, I hope to receive ſingular Advantage by my attending you on this Occaſion.

Pal. I thank you for requeſting it. To morrow therefore let us begin. And if you dare leave your Beds ſo early, I challenge you to meet me *here* at Half an Hour before Six, or, if the Morning be fair, on yonder Terrace-walk, where we may enjoy the Fragrance and pleaſing Proſpect of the neighbouring Fields.

Clean. Let *Eudoxus* ſee, that he fail you not. For my Part, I would glady loſe two Hours Sleep, rather than miſs the Entertainment, which I promiſe to myſelf from the Hiſtory of ſuch a People.

DIA-

DIALOGUE THE SECOND.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

WHAT, my young Philoſophers, abroad ſo early?

Clean. As you entered the Garden, we reached the Terrace.

Pal. Well, *Cleanthes*, how like you this early Proſpect? Obſerve the neighbouring Fields, how beautifully the Dew glitters on the impearled Graſs: and yonder Sun, *bright King of Day*, with what Majeſty he ſets out on his appointed Courſe! What a Blaze of Glory illumines the Eaſt! and thoſe Clouds around, how rich the Colours they are arrayed in!——All Nature ſeems to revive at his Appearance: the Bloſſoms ſhed their ſweeteſt Fragrance; the Birds from every Buſh hail his Return; and ſee, on that adjacent Hill the honeſt Villagers are iſſuing forth to their accuſtomed Labours. How delightful is all this——to behold the whole Creation thus awakened into Life, and to taſte the refreſhing Breath of the Morning! What think you, *Eudoxus?* might not Enjoyments, ſuch as theſe, make us Amends for the ſmall Portion of Sleep we loſe?

Eud. Why, I cannot ſay, but ſuch Weather, and ſome *Grecian* Hiſtory along with it, might give me a Reliſh for riſing early.

Pal. Come then; if there muſt be Hiſtory to tempt you, you ſhall have it. We had better, I think, walk for ſome Time; it will make our Con-

verſation the more pleaſing: and if we ſhould be tired, the Turret may afford us a reſting Place.

You are not, *Cleanthes*, to expect a complete and diſtinct Account of the Infant-State of the *Grecian* People. Their firſt Ages are involved in much Darkneſs and Fable. And therefore we can talk of this Part of their Hiſtory but imperfectly, and muſt proceed with great Caution and Diffidence.

Clean. I thought the *Grecians* were eminent for their hiſtorical Writings.——

Pal. In Time they became ſo: but their Beginnings were mean and wretched; and it was by ſlow Degrees they roſe to that Height of Wiſdom and Splendor, which you ſhall ſee them poſſeſſed of. However, not to leave this Portion of their Hiſtory entirely neglected, I ſhall make uſe of the few ſcattered Lights, that may be had, ſo as to obtain ſome Inſight into theſe obſcurer Matters.

Moſt of the Learned are of Opinion, that the firſt of the Deſcendants of *Noah*[n], that ſettled in *Greece*, was *Javan*[o], ΙΩΥΑΝ, the fourth Son of *Japhet*. And it is thought, that it was about the Country of *Attica* he fixed his Reſidence, as there is a near Reſemblance between his Name and that of the firſt Inhabitants, they having anciently been called *Iaones*[p], and

[n] See *Geneſis* xth Chapter. See alſo *Calmet* on this Place. And *Bochart's Phaleg.* L. 3. C. 3. Alſo *Stillingfleet.* Orig. Sacr. L. 3. C. 4.

[o] Hence in Holy Scripture is *Greece* called the Land of *Javan*; and accordingly the Septuagint have tranſlated מלך יון, *Melec Iavan*, or as it was before the *Maſorites*, *Melec Ion*, the Prince of *Javan*, by ὁ Ἄρχων των Ἑλλήνων, the Prince of *Greece*. *Dan.* C. 10. V. 20.

[p] And thus were the *Ionians* called, as low down as the Times of *Homer*, as appears from the Hymn to *Apollo*, generally aſcribed to him, where, ſpeaking of the *Ionians* worſhipping at *Delos*, he calls them ΙΑΟΝΕΣ ΕΛΚΕΧΙΤΩΝΕΣ, the Flowing-robed *Iaones*. Hymn in Apollin. V. 147.

and by Corruption *Iones*[q], and their Country *Ionia*[r], as many Writers[s] bear Witneſs. This Migration of *Javan* and his Family may have happened about two-thouſand Years before *Chriſt*, what Time the Confuſion of Tongues, at the building of *Babel*[t], had occaſioned Mankind to diſperſe from the Land of *Shinar*, or *Sennaar*, in the Neighbourhood of which, during the firſt Ages after the Deluge, they had been gathered together. This firſt Colony was ſoon followed by others of the Deſcendants of *Japhet*, who are ſuppoſed to have travelled round from the far Side of the *Euxine* Sea, and to have ſettled in the different Parts of this Country[u]. But in what Way theſe firſt Occupiers of *Greece* lived, or how long it was, before they fell from the Knowledge of One Supreme Being, Creator of the World, into Idolatry and Ignorance, it is ſcarce poſſible to determine. We may indeed conjecture that, diſperſed as they muſt have been[w], in a Land wild and thinly inhabited, in ſearch of Food and Dwelling-places, and unſkilled in the Means of Commerce with any other People,

[q] It is evident from *Plutarch*, that this was the general Name of the *Attic* People in the Days of *Theſeus*, the Pillar erected by him on the Iſthmus, to ſhew the Bounds of the *Athenians* and *Peloponneſians*, bearing on the one Side this Inſcription——

This is not Peloponneſus, *but* Ionia:

and on the other,

This is not Ionia, *but* Peloponneſus.

Plut. in The.

[r] It is likely the *Athenians* retained the Name of *Ionia*, until the Degeneracy of the *Ionian* Colonies, when they began to account it opprobrious. See Dial. the VIth.

[s] *Herodot.* in *Clio. Strabo. Geog.* L. 9.

[t] See *Geneſis*, Chap. xith.

[u] See *Newton*'s Chronology.

[w] Σποράδες, καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστοτε οἰκοῦντες. Pauſ. in Corinth.

they muſt ſoon have become rude in their Manners, and barbarous in their Worſhip. Accordingly, their own Hiſtorians acknowledge the State of thoſe firſt Men of *Greece* to have been extremely ſavage[x]. And from the great Honours they are ſaid to have paid to thoſe, by whom the leaſt Improvement was invented[y], it appears evident that they muſt have been Strangers to all the Arts, that render human Life comfortable; they had neither Lands tilled, nor Cities to dwell in; and their nobleſt Ambition was, to defend themſelves againſt the Beaſts of the Foreſt, or to find a Shelter in the Woods or Caverns of the Earth againſt the Inclemencies of the Seaſons. Nay, ſo little removed were they from the Condition of Brutes, that we are told, they fed on the Graſs of the Field for many Ages, 'till the Days of *Pelaſgus*[z], who taught

[x] *Hecataeus Mileſ.* apud *Strabon*, L. 7. *Pauſan.* in *Arcad. Thucyd.* L. 1.

[y] Hence the Reverence had to the Memory of *Cecrops*, *Inachus*, *Phoroneus*, *Triptolemus*, &c. Vide *Pauſ.* paſſim.

[z] It may be a Queſtion, whether this was the proper Name of this Stranger, or one he had in common with the reſt of the Adventurers, who entered *Greece*, at the ſame Time as he; for it appears that the Title of *Pelaſgi* was given not only to thoſe, who ſettled in the ſouthern Parts of *Greece*, but alſo they who occupied *Attica*, *Epirus*, *Theſſaly*, &c. were called by this name; and even the Nations who extended themſelves along the Coaſts both of *Italy*, and of *Aſia*, and took Poſſeſſion of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, are known in antient Hiſtory by the Name of *Pelaſgi*. However, *Ephorus*, an Author quoted by the learned *Strabo*, conjectures that all theſe *Pelaſgi* branched out from thoſe of *Arcadia*: probably were they all of the ſame *Egyptian* Origin, and were led forth by this *Pelaſgus*, and therefore is the ſame Name given to them.

The Learned Biſhop *Stilling fleet* (Origin Sacr. B. 3. C. 4.) with *Grotius* and *Salmaſius*, conjectures that this Name is of much earlier Date, than Sir *Iſaac Newton* admits, and ſuppoſes it to be derived from *Phaleg*, whoſe Poſterity, according to him, paſſing on through *Scythia* into *Greece*, made their Way to the more ſouthern Parts; the reſt being already occupied by this Family of *Javan*.

taught them the Uſe of Acorns, and was held in the higheſt Veneration on account of ſo excellent a Diſcovery.

Clean. Strange, that ſo great a People ſhould have had theſe low beginnings!

Pal. Such, *Cleanthes*, is the Difference between Activity and Sloth, between Arts and Ignorance. This Period of Darkneſs reaches down as far as the Times of *Ogyges*, who reigned in *Attica*, or rather in *Boeotia*, about twelve hundred Years [a] before *Chriſt*, and in whoſe Days was a remaarkable Flood, that ſpread over theſe Parts of *Greece*, called from him the *Ogygian* Flood. From his Times, a glimmering Light begins to break through the Gloom of the

[a] If we were to adopt the Chronology generally received before the Days of the great Sir *Iſaac Newton*, we ſhould be obliged to place *Ogyges* much higher, for Chronologers * ſuppoſe his Flood to have happened about the Year before *Chriſt* 1796. A learned Foreigner † has attempted to prove, that it ought to be placed 29 Years lower; and this, from a Comet, which in a Fragment of *Varro*'s, preſerved by St. *Auſtin*, (de Civ. Dei, L. 21. C. 8.) is ſaid, according to *Caſtor* the Hiſtorian, to have appeared in the Days of *Ogyges*. Our ingenious Modern is of Opinion, that this is the ſame Comet, which appeared in the Year 1680, and which Sir *Iſaac Newton* and Doctor *Halley* have demonſtrated to perform a Revolution of nearly 575 Years ‡, ſo that, of Conſequence, it muſt alſo have made its Appearance in the Year before *Chriſt*, 1767. If this Argument is of any Weight, it may as eaſily be ſaid that *Ogyges*'s Comet is rather that, which appeared 575 Years after, in the Year before *Chriſt* 1193, towards the Time, when the firſt *Egyptian* Colonies began to make their Way into *Greece*.——However, the Reader is deſired to obſerve, that Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s excellent Calculations are thoſe, which have been generally followed in this Work. There is not Occaſion to make any Apology for this Preference.

* Vide *Petav.* Rat. tempor, L. 1. C. 4.
† *Monſ. Freret.* Voyez Mem. de l'Acad, des Inſcrip. Tom .xv.
‡ See *Whiſton*'s Append. Theory of the Earth.

the *Grecian* Affairs, which hitherto are covered o'er with impenetrable Night; and therefore is this *Ogygian* Flood ſpoken of by antient Writers, as the higheſt Date of Things, beyond which no Account was to be had. However, *Cleanthes*, even after this, you are to expect much Fable and Uncertainty.

Clean. What? Were Fables received among them, after they began to find out the Path to Improvement and Wiſdom?

Pal. It is this very Period, the Time in which they were making Advances from Barbarity to the Culture of Arts and Civilized Manners, that is the moſt obſcured with Fables [b].

Clean. This ſeems ſurprizing.

Pal. Your Wonder will ceaſe, when you have had a nearer Acquaintance with Antiquity, and have obſerved by what Means the *Grecians* became a knowing and polite People. After *Greece* had continued in her rude State for about eight-hundred Years, until the Days of *Ogyges*, as I have told you, a ſignal Alteration was occaſioned by the Arrival of great Numbers from the lower *Egypt* [c], who, being forced out of that Country [d], paſſed into *Greece* in ſearch of new

[b] It was on this Account, that *Varro* divided the Times of the *Grecian* People into three Periods: Times unknown, of which no Hiſtory is preſerved; and theſe were they, that preceded the Reign of *Ogyges*: Fabulous Times, between *Ogyges*'s Flood and the Beginning of the Olympiads; becauſe the Hiſtory of them is much blended with Poetical Fables: and Hiſtorical Times, from the Eſtabliſhment of the Olympiads, when Tranſactions were more faithfully recorded.——

Vid. *Cenſor.* de Die Natali, C. 21.

[c] See *Newton*'s Chronolog.

[d] This Riſe of the *Grecian* People, the *Grecians* themſelves, even in the Days of their Splendor and Opulence, did not diſdain to acknowledge: Οἱ δυστυχοῦντες, ſays *Iſocrates*, ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα χρόνοις τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἠξίουν ἄρχειν. *Iſocrat.* Helenae Enc.

new Settlements, under ſeveral Leaders, ſuch as *Cecrops*, *Inachus*, *Pelaſgus*, *Lelex*. This happened about the Year before *Chriſt* 1120; and hence begin the happier Times of *Greece*: Along with theſe Strangers were many uſeful Arts introduced; the Foreſts were cleared; a new Face of Things appeared; and Induſtry and Civil Government began to ſucceed to Sloth and Savageneſs. *Cecrops* ſeated himſelf in *Ionia* [e], where he founded a City, which he called *Cecropia*, ſo illuſtrious afterwards under the Name of *Athens*. *Inachus* took Poſſeſſion of that Part of *Greece*, which was in ſucceeding Times called *Peloponneſus* [f], where his two Sons, *Phoroneus* and *Aegialeus*, built two Cities, the one *Aegialeum*, ſince named *Sicyon*, and the other *Phoronicum*, afterwards called *Argos* [g]. And ſomewhat to the South of them *Lelex* ſettled, and became the Father of the *Leleges*, afterwards called *Lacedemonians* from *Lacedemon*, one of their Kings [h]. About the ſame Time alſo was *Eleuſis* built by *Eleuſin*, ſaid to be the Son of *Ogyges* [i]. *Pelaſgus* [k] choſe *Arcadia* for his Place of Reſidence, and was the firſt King there: and *Lycaon* his Son laid the Foundation of *Lycoſura*, the oldeſt City in that Part of *Greece*.

Eud.

[e] *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 13.

[f] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 1.

[g] *Pauſ.* in *Corinthiacis*, et *Apollod.* ubi ſupra.

[h] Λέλεξ ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τῇ γῇ Λακωνικῇ, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Λέλεγες, ὧν ἦρχεν, ὠνομάσθησαν — Δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμων, ὃς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, πρῶτον μὲν τῇ χωρᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μετέθετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα. *Pauſ.* in *Lacon.*

[i] *Pauſ.* in *Atticis.*

[k] *Pauſ.* in *Arcadic.* ſub principio.

Eud. Was this the *Pelaſgus*, who was ſo highly honoured for introducing the Uſe of Acorns?

Pal. It was. The great Antiquary *Pauſanias*[1] tells us, that he was the Man, who firſt brought the old Inhabitants forth from the Caverns and Hollows of the Mountains, and taught them to build Cottages, and to make them Garments of Skins; and inſtead of Herbs and Roots, which were ſometimes noxious, to eat the Acorns of the Beech-tree.

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, you have told us, that *Pelaſgus* came from *Egypt:* was not Bread-Corn in Uſe there many Ages before? How is it then, that he did not rather teach them the Art of Tillage?

Pal. When the *Egyptians* firſt arrived on the *Grecian* Coaſt, the Country was covered with thick Foreſts, which had ſtood there for ſeveral Ages, and probably had rendered the Ground marſhy and of a ſpongy Surface. It required ſome Time to lay open the Face of the Earth, and to prepare this uncultivated Soil. And therefore *Pelaſgus* wiſely choſe to ſubſtitute the wholeſome Acorn to the hurtful Food, which they had been accuſtomed to make uſe of, until he could form them to a higher Degree of Improvement and Culture.

But it was not only the Art of Building, and the Knowledge of Society, which the *Grecians* received from their new Gueſts, theſe Strangers alſo brought along with them much of the Learning and Sacred Rites

[1] Πελασγὸς δὲ βασιλεύσας τοῦτο μὲν ποιήσαθαι καλύβας ἐπενόησεν, ὡς μὴ ῥιγοῦν τε καὶ ὑέθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος ταλαιπωρεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς χιτωνας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δερματων τῶν ὑων οὗτος ἔσιν ὁ ἐξευρών: καὶ δὴ καὶ των φυλλων τὰ ἔτι χλωρὰ καὶ πόας τὲ καὶ ῥιζας, οὐδὲ ἐδωδίμους, ἀλλὰ ὀλεθρίους ἐνίας, σιτουμένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτων μὲν ἔπαυσεν ὁ Πελασγὸς· ὁ δὲ των καρπῶν των δρυων ὁυτι που πασῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς βαλάνους της φηγου, τροφὴν ἐξεῦρεν εἶναι.

Pauſ. in Arcadic.

Rites of *Egypt* [m], which being conveyed in Hieroglyphics and Figurative Alluſions, and ſet off with a Variety of Fables, gave a new Turn to this rude People, and introduced among them a Pompous Worſhip, and that Love of the Marvellous, which they appear to have been ſo greatly poſſeſſed with.

Eud. But do you ſay, that the Fables of *Egypt* were Alluſions only?

Pal. What might be the Meaning of every particular Myſtery, it is impoſſible to tell at this Diſtance of Time, eſpecially as 'tis well known that the later Ages added many Things to the Allegories in Uſe among the firſt *Egyptians.* There is however Reaſon to believe, that moſt of their Religious Rites, as well as thoſe ſtrange Sculptures, which appeared in their Temples, were originally a kind of ſacred Character, in which they meant to deliver the Hiſtory of the firſt Riſe of Things,

[m] This is abundantly confirmed by *Herodotus*, who, from his Intimacy with the Prieſts of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*, had the fulleſt Opportunity of obſerving the Connexion between the *Egyptian* Myſteries and the *Grecian* Worſhip. He expreſsly tells us, that the Gods of *Greece* were from *Egypt*; that the *Egyptians* were the firſt, that gave Names to the Gods, and appointed Feſtivals and ſacred Ceremonies. Thus *Latona* was one of the antient *Egyptian* Divinities, and had a celebrated Oracle eſtabliſhed from early Time, at *Butus*, a City of lower *Egypt*. *Apollo* was an *Egyptian* God. *Neptune* was from *Libya*. Nay, and *Minerva* alſo, the boaſted Patroneſs of the *Athenian* People, was of *Lybian* Extraction, and came originally from the Lake *Tritonis*, where ſhe was worſhipped with great Solemnity. And both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* acknowledge, that even the great *Eleuſinian* Rites had their Riſe from *Egypt*, that Mother-Land of Idolatry and Superſtition.

Herodot. in *Euterp. Diod. Sic.* L. 1. Vide et *Strabo. Geog.* L. 17. *Huet.* Demonſ. Evang. et Notas *Joan. Clerici* ad *Grot.* de Verit. Rel. Chriſt, L. 1. See alſo Enquiry into the Life and Writings of *Homer*; and Div. Leg. of *Moſes.*

and the Knowledge of the Creator of the World [n]. As they improved in Philoſophy and Phyſical Studies, they in like manner deſcribed the Powers of Nature, and the Celeſtial Revolutions, by Types and Emblems; and by theſe means filled their Theology with a great Number of Allegorical Perſonages, ſuch as Chaos, the Air, the Sky, the Earth,

[n] There is hardly any Part of antient Learning, concerning which more Contention has been had, than this of the *Egyptian* Gods. Some, among whom are *Euhemerus* and *Ennius* of the Antients, and Meſſ. *Banier*, *Pezron*, and many more among the Moderns, will have the whole to be Accounts of Heathen Princes Deified. Others, with *Bochart* and *Huet*, find Veſtiges of our Sacred Hiſtory in every Line of the *Egyptian* Mythology. And laſtly, there are thoſe, who, after the Manner of *Jamblichus*, *Natalis Comes*, and *Kircher*, diſcover the deepeſt Wiſdom, and an amazing Knowledge of both Natural and Divine Things, concealed under the moſt ridiculous Rites of this Idolatrous People. The wiſer Method might be to allow ſomething to every one of theſe. It was the Praiſe of even the great inſpired Lawgiver of the *Jews*, that he was *learned in all the Wiſdom of the Egyptians*; and why therefore may it not be admitted, that, at the firſt, their Theogonies, or Births of their Gods, were nothing more than an Hiſtory of the Formation of Things, and Accounts of the Natural World, delivered under an Enigmatical Diſguiſe? And if we conſider the Remains of *Sanchuniatho*, which *Euſebius* hath preſerved to us; *Heſiod*'s Theogony; the Gods with which *Apollodorus* begins his Hiſtory; or the Fragments of the *Orphic* Hymns, which, whether ſuppoſititious or not, were undoubtedly all from the *Egyptian* Model; and even the Works of the gayer *Ovid*; it will be evident, that the Firſt Gods were the Celeſtial Bodies, or the Powers of Nature, inveſted with Forms, or rather repreſented under Symbols. But to ſay, that all the Gods of *Egypt* were of this Order, were to forget the baſe Adulation of ſucceeding Generations to their Princes, and their deifying them under the moſt auguſt Titles. And no Doubt, when this Humour had once prevailed, as they muſt have been acquainted with the *Jewiſh* Annals, ſo they did not fail to tranſfer to their own Worthies the Exploits, which properly belonged to a *Moſes*, a *Joſhua*, &c. and made their Countrymen the Actors of every wonderous Feat, which the *Red-Sea*, or the Land of *Canaan* had been Witneſs of.

Earth, the Sea, the Heavenly Bodies, the Seaſons, Time[o], *&c.*

Eud. Nay, *Palaemon*, and not only the Powers of Nature, and the Celeſtial Bodies, but alſo, I believe the ſeveral Acts and Endowments of the Mind, aſſumed Forms, and uſurped Altars: if I miſtake not, *Virtue*, *Faith*, *Hope*, *Honour*, *Victory*, and even *Riches*, had a Place among the *Heathen* Gods[p].

Pal. You might go even farther, *Eudoxus*; for their very ſenſual Paſſions were cloathed with Bodies, and advanced to Divine Honours. But this was rather a later Poetical Fiction, than the Invention of the grave Philoſophizing *Egyptians*. And a wiſe Pagan, who ſeems to have bluſhed at the Mention of Deities ſuch as theſe, fairly confeſſes, that *the ſoft God of tender Paſſions*, who, you know, held a diſtinguiſhed Rank among the Pagan Divinities, owed his Seat in Heaven to nothing but the Love-ſmitten Fancy of ſome licentious Poet[q].

However, without the Addition of theſe, the Allegorical Beings, in the *Egyptian* Theology, were numerous enough to confound an unlearned Obſerver; their whole Religion was become a Collection of Myſtical Figures, and all their Learning was veiled over with deep Fables. And therefore, you may eaſily perceive, what Effect this muſt have had on the ſimple Inhabitants of *Greece*. This plain untaught People, receiving the firſt Elements of Knowledge, under this Diſguiſe, wanted Delicacy and *Fineſſe* to unravel the artful Tale, and of Courſe

[o] Αἰνιττομένων των Παλαίων ἃς εἶχον Ἐννοιας Φυσικὰς περὶ των Πραγμάτων, και προστιθέντων ἀεὶ τοῖς λόγοις τον μῦθον.

Strabo. Geog. L. 1.

[p] *Cicero* de Nat. Deor. L. 3. et de Legib. L. 2.

[q] O praeclaram emendatricem vitae, Poeticam! quae Amorem, flagitii et levitatis auctorem, in concilio Deorum collocandum putet. *Cic.* Tuſc. Qu. L. 4.

underſtood in a literal Senſe the figurative Expreſſions, and realiſed thoſe Perſons, that were only allegorical. But beſides, the *Egyptians* themſelves contributed to miſlead them: they had corrupted their Mythic Doctrines with many groſs unmeaning Additions; and had loſt Sight of the Truths, couched under the antient Allegories.

Eud. And, pray whence came this to paſs?

Pal. It might at firſt be owing to the great Care, with which the Prieſts concealed the Explication of their Myſteries from the People, who being only accuſtomed to the Sculptures or external Signs, ſuch as *a Bird*, *a Bull*, *a Dog*, *a Serpent*, and perceiving what Honour and Reverence were paid to them, without being at the ſame Time inſtructed in their ſymbolical Meaning, began at length to look upon theſe as the proper Objects of their Worſhip[r]. But what moſt of all corrupted the *Egyptian* Mythology, was the paying divine Honours to their deceaſed Princes, the repreſenting them under ſome of their ſacred Emblems, and interweaving the Hiſtory of their Fortunes and Exploits with the Allegorical Fables of their Religion. Thus might a Prince, eminent for his Love of Literature, be worſhipped under the Figure of *Thoth* or *Mercury*, the Emblematical God of Letters, and the Adventures of the King be confounded with the fabulous Hiſtory of the typical Being. Thus a Conqueror by Sea ſhared the Honours of *Oceanus*, or *Neptune*, the fictitious Monarch of the Deep. And a good King, the Parent of his People, was repreſented as the Father

[r] Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat? quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnificinam prius ſubierint, quam ibim, aut aſpidem, aut felem, aut canem, aut crocodilum violent, &c. Tuſc. Qu. L. L. 5.

Father of all Things, the Supporter and Preſerver of the Univerſe [s].

Eud. But were the *Egyptians*, who are ſaid to have been ſo wiſe a People, capable of believing Dead Men to be Gods?

Pal. It is very likely the wiſe Men among them believed it not; and there is good Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that, though on all theſe Accounts their Religion put on ſo many deep Diſguiſes, yet their Prieſts, even for many Ages after, knew how to take off the myſterious Coverings, and to trace out the Truth through all theſe Intricacies and Fictions. And to this it may be aſcribed, that ſo many *Grecians*, in the wiſer and more enlightened Times of *Greece*, travelled into *Egypt*, in ſearch of Wiſdom; and, after having ſpent many Years among the Prieſts of *Sais*, of *Heliopolis*, and *Memphis*, returned Home with ſuch valuable Acquiſitions in Philoſophy, and Notions ſo exalted concerning the Creator of the World, and the Riſe of Things. Not to inſiſt on what is ſaid of *Orpheus* and *Homer* —— the Hiſtory of *Lycurgus*, and that of *Thales* [t], the Life and Doctrines of *Pythagoras*, the

[s] Hence was one of their Princes called ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ, or Heaven, and the Eternal King of the Univerſe; and another was honoured with the Title of ΗΛΙΟΣ, or the Sun; and one of their Queens with that of ΣΕΛΗΝΗ, or the Moon. Hence alſo was *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac*, that victorious and powerful King of *Egypt*, confounded with *Oſiris* the *Egyptian* God.

Diod. Sicul. L. 1. et L. 3.

[t] It is well known that the *Ionic* Sect, of which he was the Founder, were the firſt of the *Grecians*, who acknowledged the Creation of the World to flow from an eternal Mind: and therefore was *Anaxagoras*, the third in Succeſſion from *Thales*, called *Anaxagoras* Νους, or the Mind, on account of his openly avowing this Principle; and was baniſhed from *Athens*, becauſe he denied the Divinity of the Gods of the Vulgar. *Diogenes Laertius* tells us alſo, that this *Anaxagoras* received Part of his Inſtruction

the Writings of *Plato*[u], and in ſhort, the Accounts we have of many of the moſt famed Philoſophers of *Greece*, ſufficiently evince this. It is impoſſible ſuch a Reach of Knowledge ſhould have been acquired among Men, ſunk into groſs Idolatry, and who believed as literal the many fabulous Relations, which their Religion delivered concerning the Gods. But whatever might have been the Wiſdom of the Prieſts, with reſpect to thoſe ſacred Fictions, it is certain, that a myſterious and figurative manner of Speech prevailed much among the antient *Egyptians*; and accordingly the Religion, they brought

ſtruction from the Works of *Linus*, who wrote of the Riſe of the World, and the Formation of Things. He ſung, ſays the Biographer, the Framing of the Univerſe, the Goings-forth of the Luminaries of Heaven, the Production of Animals, and the cloathing of the new Earth with Fruits and Verdure: and his Poem began thus,

Time was, when firſt Creative Power Divine
Call'd all Things into being ———

Now *Herodotus* relates that the Songs of *Linus* were ſung in *Egypt*, and alſo in *Phoenicia* and *Cyprus*; and that the *Egyptians* had honoured him from Time immemorial, and ſaid, he was the Son of the firſt of their Kings.——Is not this a plain Proof, that there was ſomething, beſides the Hiſtory of deceaſed Princes, originally concealed under the *Egyptian* Enigmas?

Diog. Laer. in Prooem. et in Vitâ *Anaxag.* *Herod.* in *Eut.* Vide quoque de *Lino Pauſ.* in *Arcad.*

[u] *Plato* is ſaid to have ſpent thirteen Years at *Heliopolis*: What could the Diſciple of *Socrates* have ſought there, if their Hieroglyphics and Allegories had been deviſed by an ignorant ſuperſtitious People? We have it on the Teſtimony of many Authors of great Name, that he went thither to acquire the Knowledge of Numbers from the *Egyptian* old Men, to be inſtructed in the Rites of the Prophets, and to learn the Doctrine of the Heavens, which thoſe dark incommunicative Prieſts, μυστικοὶ καὶ ἀυσμεταδότοι, as *Strabo* calls them, were wont to involve in various Wrappings——*Cic.* de finibus, L. 5. *Strabo.* Geog. L. 17. *Valer. Max.* L. 8.

brought with them into *Greece*, abounded with Emblems and dark Alluſions: and even the Hiſtories of many of their Princes were diſguiſed under an allegorical Dreſs. And hence it was, that a Fondneſs for Fiction took Place immediately among the *Grecians*, ſo that ſcarcely any of the Tranſactions of thoſe Times were delivered ſimply and without a Mixture of Fable, as we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to obſerve. Thus the Inſtitution of Marriage between one Man and one Woman by *Cecrops*, the firſt King of *Athens*, gave Occaſion to repreſent him, as having two Bodies. And from the like Turn of Genius, we are told of one Man [w] with an hundred Hands, and of a ſecond [x], whoſe Head was ſet round with Eyes, when, in the ſtead of thoſe figurative Ornaments, a plainer People wou'd only have ſaid, that one of them was endowed with amazing Vigilance, and the other had matchleſs Strength.

Eud. A Word more, *Palaemon*; I thought the Gods of *Greece* were ſaid to have their Birth in *Crete*.

Pal. I am glad you have mentioned it. *Crete*, and *Samothrace*, but eſpecially *Crete* the Antients do ſpeak of, as the Birth-place of the *Grecian* Deities, that is, the Place where their Worſhip was firſt introduced, and their Rites celebrated. And the Reaſon is this—— it was in the one or other of theſe Iſlands that the firſt of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, known by the Names of *Telchines*, of *Curetes*, and *Corybantes* [y], fixed their Reſidence, and eſtabliſhed the Worſhip

[w] Aegeon qualis, centum cui brachia dicunt,
Centenaſque manus —— Virg. AEneid. L. 10.

[x] Centum luminibus cinctum Caput Argus habebat.
Ovid. Metam. L. 1.

[y] Some have thought, that the Prieſts of Mount *Ida* were originally from *Phoenicia*, and came into *Greece* with *Cadmus*; but the

Worſhip of the Gods of *Egypt*. In *Crete* particularly, their Wiſdom, and the Variety of Arts, they were expert in, obtained them the higheſt Favour from King *Aſterius*. He aſſigned them Mount *Ida* to dwell on; whence they were called the *Idean* Prieſts, and from their Number the *Idaei Dactyli* [z]. He intruſted them with the Education of *Minos* his Son; and was himſelf inſtructed in the many uſeful Inventions, which they had brought with them. They taught him the Art of working Iron, Architecture, Military Science, the Uſe of Arms; and, if you will believe ſome Authors, by their Means, even Poetry, Muſic, Painting, found an Admittance among the rude Inhabitants of this Iſland [a]. But what is moſt likely, they directed the Councils of *Aſterius*; they rendered him a juſt happy Prince, the Patron of Induſtry and Arts; and probably were the Compilers of thoſe excellent Laws, which have ſince born the Name of

the coming in of *Cadmus* was of much later Date, poſterior by many Years to *Deucalion*'s Flood; and it appears from *Pauſanias* that *Hercules* of *Ida* was earlier than *Deucalion*, by one Generation at leaſt. This may alſo be gathered from what the *Primitive Hiſtorians* of *Greece*, the Writers of Fable I mean, have delivered down to us, that the *Curetes* or Wiſe Men of *Ida* had the Care of *Jupiter*'s Infancy; but that *Cadmus* came into *Greece*, after *Jupiter* was grown up, in ſearch of his Siſter *Europa*, whom *Jupiter* had borne away. And if to this we add, that the *Curetes* were the Founders of Religious Rites in *Greece*, and that the Gods of *Greece* are confeſſedly *Egyptian*, we may eaſily diſcover in what Country theſe Sages muſt have had their Birth.

Vide *Pauſ.* in *Eliac.* L. 1. With reſpect to the Times of *Cadmus*, ſee the Note at the End of this Dialogue.

[z] From the *Greek* Word Δάκτυλος, a Finger, for they are ſaid to have been five in Number, and *Pauſanias* has preſerved us their Names, *Hercules*, *Paeonius*, *Epimedes*, *Jaſius*, and *Ida*.—— *Pauſ.* in *Eliac.* L. 1.

[a] *Solin.* Polyhiſt. C. 2. *Iſidor* Originum, L. 11. Vide et Strabo, L. 10. paſſim.

of their Pupil *Minos*, and which, many Ages after, the great *Lycurgus* did not diſdain to conſult, when he was planning the Proſperity and Glory of his *Spartan* State. Aſſiſted by ſuch Men as theſe, the *Cretan* King became extremely powerful; he extended his Sway over the neighbouring Iſlands; he completely humbled the *Titans* [b], his rebellious Subjects; he ſubdued all his Enemies, far and near; and even Part of the *Continent* was forced to acknowledge his Empire. Hence are both the Mountains of *Ida* in *Crete*, and of *Olympus* in *Thrace* [c], ſpoken of as the Places of his Reſidence; for on this laſt Mountain alſo is he ſaid to have eſtabliſhed his Throne. This happy Train of Events immortalized *Aſterius*; and the *Egyptians*, by whoſe Abilities he had been made to proſper, gladly deified a Prince, whoſe Greatneſs was their Work. Views of Policy contributed likewiſe to ratify the Fiction; and his Son *Minos* found it his Intereſt to be looked upon as the Offspring of a God, who was ſuppoſed to have inſtructed him in the Arts of Government, and to have rendered him excellent in Wiſdom.

Eud. But why ſhou'd *Aſterius* be worſhipped under the Name of *Jupiter?*

Pal. Jupiter, or rather *Zeu Pater*, ΖΕΥΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ, was an Appellation of Honour uſually given to all Sovereign Princes by the *Grecians* of old; thus we read of *Jupiter Belus*, *Jupiter Tantalus*, *Jupiter Aeolus* [d]; and, as we are told, was formerly pronounced

[b] See a large Account of *Jupiter* and his Exploits in *Apollod.* B. 1. C. 1, 2, 3, *&c.*

[c] *Olympus*, in later Ages, was accounted a Mountain of *Macedonia*, but anciently it belonged to *Thrace*, according to the Teſtimony of *Strabo*———— *Strabo.* Geog. L. 10.

[d] Mr. *Selden* (de Diis Syris, Synt. 2. C. 1.) is of Opinion, that the Title of *Jupiter* is of the ſame Import, as the *Phoenician* Title, *Bel*, or *Baal*, Lord.

Worſhip of the Gods of *Egypt*. In *Crete* particularly, their Wiſdom, and the Variety of Arts, they were expert in, obtained them the higheſt Favour from King *Aſterius*. He aſſigned them Mount *Ida* to dwell on; whence they were called the *Idean* Prieſts, and from their Number the *Idaei Dactyli* [z]. He intruſted them with the Education of *Minos* his Son; and was himſelf inſtructed in the many uſeful Inventions, which they had brought with them. They taught him the Art of working Iron, Architecture, Military Science, the Uſe of Arms; and, if you will believe ſome Authors, by their Means, even Poetry, Muſic, Painting, found an Admittance among the rude Inhabitants of this Iſland [a]. But what is moſt likely, they directed the Councils of *Aſterius*; they rendered him a juſt happy Prince, the Patron of Induſtry and Arts; and probably were the Compilers of thoſe excellent Laws, which have ſince born the Name of

the coming in of *Cadmus* was of much later Date, poſterior by many Years to *Deucalion*'s Flood; and it appears from *Pauſanias* that *Hercules* of *Ida* was earlier than *Deucalion*, by one Generation at leaſt. This may alſo be gathered from what the *Primitive Hiſtorians* of *Greece*, the Writers of Fable I mean, have delivered down to us, that the *Curetes* or Wiſe Men of *Ida* had the Care of *Jupiter*'s Infancy; but that *Cadmus* came into *Greece*, after *Jupiter* was grown up, in ſearch of his Siſter *Europa*, whom *Jupiter* had borne away. And if to this we add, that the *Curetes* were the Founders of Religious Rites in *Greece*, and that the Gods of *Greece* are confeſſedly *Egyptian*, we may eaſily diſcover in what Country theſe Sages muſt have had their Birth.

Vide *Pauſ.* in *Eliac.* L. 1. With reſpect to the Times of *Cadmus*, ſee the Note at the End of this Dialogue.

[z] From the *Greek* Word Δάκτυλος, a Finger, for they are ſaid to have been five in Number, and *Pauſanias* has preſerved us their Names, *Hercules*, *Paeonius*, *Epimedes*, *Jaſius*, and *Ida*.—— *Pauſ.* in *Eliac.* L. 1.

[a] *Solin.* Polyhiſt. C. 2. *Iſidor* Originum, L. 11. Vide et Strabo, L. 10. paſſim.

of their Pupil *Minos*, and which, many Ages after, the great *Lycurgus* did not diſdain to conſult, when he was planning the Proſperity and Glory of his *Spartan* State. Aſſiſted by ſuch Men as theſe, the *Cretan* King became extremely powerful; he extended his Sway over the neighbouring Iſlands; he completely humbled the *Titans* [b], his rebellious Subjects; he ſubdued all his Enemies, far and near; and even Part of the *Continent* was forced to acknowledge his Empire. Hence are both the Mountains of *Ida* in *Crete*, and of *Olympus* in *Thrace* [c], ſpoken of as the Places of his Reſidence; for on this laſt Mountain alſo is he ſaid to have eſtabliſhed his Throne. This happy Train of Events immortalized *Aſterius*; and the *Egyptians*, by whoſe Abilities he had been made to proſper, gladly deified a Prince, whoſe Greatneſs was their Work. Views of Policy contributed likewiſe to ratify the Fiction; and his Son *Minos* found it his Intereſt to be looked upon as the Offspring of a God, who was ſuppoſed to have inſtructed him in the Arts of Government, and to have rendered him excellent in Wiſdom.

Eud. But why ſhou'd *Aſterius* be worſhipped under the Name of *Jupiter?*

Pal. Jupiter, or rather *Zeu Pater*, ΖΕΥΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ, was an Appellation of Honour uſually given to all Sovereign Princes by the *Grecians* of old; thus we read of *Jupiter Belus*, *Jupiter Tantalus*, *Jupiter Aeolus* [d]; and, as we are told, was formerly pro-

[b] See a large Account of *Jupiter* and his Exploits in *Apollod.* B. 1. C. 1, 2, 3, *&c.*

[c] *Olympus*, in later Ages, was accounted a Mountain of *Macedonia*, but anciently it belonged to *Thrace*, according to the Teſtimony of *Strabo*———— *Strabo.* Geog. L. 10.

[d] Mr. *Selden* (de Diis Syris, Synt. 2. C. 1.) is of Opinion, that the Title of *Jupiter* is of the ſame Import, as the *Phoenician* Title, *Bel*, or *Baal*, Lord.

nounced *Zan* or *Jan Pater* [e]: if ſo, one may with Reaſon ſuſpect, that the Title *Jan* came down to them from *Javan*, the firſt Founder of the *Grecian* People [f]. And as for the Addition of *Pater*, *Father*, you know, *Cleanthes*, that tender Name might very properly belong to a mild gracious Prince, ſollicitous for the Common Proſperity.

Clean. And is this the *Grecian Jupiter?*

Pal. It is he, whoſe Hiſtory the Poets have interwoven with the *Egyptian* Doctrines concerning the Supreme God of the Univerſe.

Clean. But is not the Hiſtory of the ſame *Jupiter* very differently related?

Pal. Yes, the Poets have feigned, that his Father *Saturn* attempted to devour all his male Children; but that three of them, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and

[e] The *Aeolians* in their Dialect retained this Form of Pronunciation, and worſhipped him under the Name of *Zan*. *Pauſanias* alſo, in his Antiquities of *Elis*, tells us, that there were Statues of *Jupiter* in the *Altis*, or ſacred Grove at *Olympia*, called ΖΑΝΕΣ. And *Macrobius* makes mention of an Oracle, delivered by *Apollo* of *Clarus* in theſe Words,

Φράζεο των πάντων ὕπατον Θεὸν ἔμμεν ΙΑΩ.

[f] The learned Mr. *Selden* (de Diis Syris) is of opinion, that it was formed from the *Hebrew* Tetragrammaton; but why then ſhould it have been in Uſe among the *Grecians* and their Colonies, and not rather among the *Phoenicians*, *Syrians*, and *Egyptians?* Beſides the Tetragrammaton was a myſtical Word, and not even among the *Jews* pronounced, but on the moſt ſacred and awful Occaſion, and therefore ſcarcely could have become familiar to the *Grecians*, a People ſo far diſtant from *Paleſtina*. On theſe Accounts, it may ſeem more probable, that the Words *Iao*, *Zan*, or *Jan*, were Corruptions of the Word *Javan*, to which they are found to bear ſo near a Reſemblance.——*Huetius* (de Demonſ. Evang.) has very ingeniouſly obſerved; that from this antient Word, *Jan*, or *Zan*, came the *Janus* of the *Romans*. And hence, I ſuppoſe, the Wonder of *Ovid* (*Faſt.* L. 1.) that the *Greeks* ſhou'd have had no Deity correſponding to him: he did not know, that he was the ſame as *Jupiter*.

and *Pluto*, being ſaved by the Artifice of their Mother *Rhea*, made War on their Father, dethroned him, and baniſhed him to the remoteſt and moſt dreary Regions of the Earth [g]. The Univerſe was afterwards divided among the three Brothers; *Jupiter* had the Heavens for his Portion, *Neptune* the Sea, and *Pluto* the Dominion of the Infernal World —— What is the Key to this monſtrous Tale, the Learned have not yet agreed. Some will have it, that the whole Account is allegorical, and that theſe Gods are only the Parts and Powers of Nature repreſented under ſenſible Forms [h]. Others will tell you, that it is the Hiſtory of *Noah* and his Children [i]. And others as ſtrenuouſly inſiſt, that it contains nothing but the Revolutions of the Royal Family of *Crete*, which now appear covered with ſo much Obſcurity, through the Ignorance and Love of Fiction of the firſt Ages [k]. I ſhould be tempted to ſay, that the greateſt Miſtake is, to ſeek the Interpretation of all the Parts of the Fable either in Hiſtory or Allegory: ſome, it is likely, belong to the one, and ſome to the other.

[g] To *Italy* or *Heſperia*, ſay the Poets: In thoſe Times of Ignorance, all the Weſtern Parts were accounted gloomy and comfortleſs Abodes.

[h] They ſuppoſe that *Minos* was an *Egyptian*, and that he came into *Crete* with the *Curetes*, and that the Hiſtory of *Jupiter* is altogether a Mythical Tale, of *Egyptian* Origin. Such appears to have been the Opinion of *Ephorus* an antient Hiſtorian, quoted by *Diodorus* in his fifth Book; for he aſſerted, that *Minos* was not a *Cretan*, but came from beyond Sea to *Crete*, with the *Idaei Dactyli*. It is certain, antient Hiſtory affords many Inſtances of Perſons being accounted the Offspring of the God, whoſe Worſhip they had introduced.——

See Letters concerning Mythology.

[i] *Voſſius* de Idol. *Bochart*. Phaleg. *Huet*. Demonſ. Evang. *Stilling*. Origin Sacrae.

[k] *Banier* Explication Hiſtorique des Fables, Ent. 10. See, as to this Point, Note *n*, P. 18.

The main Parts of the Hiſtory of the *Grecian Jupiter* may be true, that he reigned in *Crete*, that he was a victorious happy Prince, and that, after his Death, his grateful Subjects advanced him to divine Honours[l]. But as for his Father *Saturn*, his devouring his Children, and his being caſt from his Throne, *&c.* it may be conjectured, that here the Allegory comes in: perhaps by this the Wiſe Men of old meant to ſay, that the Beauty and Order of Things owe their Riſe to the eternal *Jupiter*, and that the Miſrule and Confuſion of jarring Principles, which had prevailed before, were expelled by his Almighty Will. However, it is fair to remind you, *Eudoxus*, that your favourite *Roman* has given an other Turn to this antient Tale. With him *Saturn* is Time, and *Jupiter* the Orderer of this glorious Frame —— Before Creation was, e'er the Circuit of the Heavens was eſtabliſhed, Duration flowed away unperceived, and was ſwallowed up in the unfathomable Gulph of Chaos; but when *Jupiter* had once ordained the rolling round of the Globes above, then no longer did *Saturn* devour his Progeny, the Ages were numbered, and Time was enchained and faſt bound in the Revolutions of the Celeſtial Bodies[m]. —— But, *Cleanthes*, it

[l] We are informed by a modern Traveller, that, notwithſtanding the State of Ignorance, and rude Manners, which this Iſland, once the Seat of Empire and Arts, is now reduced to, there are ſtill ſubſiſting among the *Candiots* ſome Remembrances of the Hiſtory and Superſtitions of the earlier Ages. Mount *Ida* is by the Natives called *Upſilorites*, a Name, which ſeems to imply Majeſty and Exaltation, as having been the Place where *Jupiter* was educated. And about four Leagues from *Gnoſſus* is Mount *Ioukta*, which is the Name of *Jupiter* in modern *Greek*: they ſtyle him God of the *Greeks*, and ſay, that the *Greeks* called him *Dia*.—— Doctor *Rich. Pocock*'s Travels, B. 4.

[m] *Cicero* de Nat. Deorum, L. 2.

it is the Hiſtory of *Greece*, which we are to conſider, and I am leading you into the Fairy-Land of Allegory. However, you have ſeen in what Manner the King of *Crete* was transformed into a God, and from what happened in this Caſe you may judge, not only, what Confuſion this Deification of Dead Men muſt have produced in the ſeveral Parts of antient Mythology, but alſo what Darkneſs it muſt have ſpread over the ſeveral Events of this Part of Hiſtory. For as ſoon as Divine Honours were once paid to the Memory of this *Grecian Jupiter*; he was not only conſidered, as having been a Man, but rather as the Repreſentative of the Divine Nature and Supreme Mind; and therefore were many Excellences aſcribed and Names given to him, far above what the Fortune of a Mortal could by any Means admit of. Hence is he the Arbiter of Events; he weighs, as in a Scale, the Fates of Kingdoms; he diſpenſes Proſperity and Wealth to ſome, and ſinks others into Weakneſs and Ruin. And hence did the *Grecians* worſhip him as their ΖΕΥΣ ΆΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ, *Jove, ſupremely Good, ſupremely Great:* and the *Romans* as their PATER HOMINUMQUE DEUMQUE, *the Father of Gods and Men.* It were hard to ſay, that even the moſt bigotted of the Pagans ſhould have meant the *Cretan* King under theſe ſacred Titles[n]. And yet, amid all this, the Remembrance

[n] And this is partly true of all the Pagan Deities. As far as they repreſent any Divine Attribute, or Portion of the Divine Energy, they have high Excellences aſcribed to them: And on this Account have ſome ingenious Men imagined, that many of the Pagan Gods were only the ſame Divinity under different Names, and that by each Divine Perſonage we are to underſtand a particular Attribute, ſo that *Jupiter* might repreſent Supreme Goodneſs, *Minerva* Supreme Wiſdom, *Juno* Supreme Power. See *Cudworth*'s Intel. Syſ. B. 1. and *Polymetis*, Dial. 6.

brance of his mortal Adventures oftentimes recurred, and diſgraced the God; as you know, *Cleanthes*, it is but too plainly ſeen in the many ſhameleſs Exploits, the Poets relate of him.—— Beſides, as the Religion of *Egypt* contained ſome Philoſophy, veiled under Allegories, he was alſo ſpoken of as an Allegorical Being, and obtained a Place among the Phyſical Powers of Nature. And hence was the *AEther* °, that pure Expanſe above, called

° So, ſays *Virgil*,

Tum Pater omnipotens foecundis imbribus AETHER
Conjugis in grenium laetae deſcendit, et omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore foetus.
Georg. L. 1.

And the Philoſophical *Lucretius*,

Poſtremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos Pater AETHER
In gremium Matris Terrai praecipitavit. L. 1.

A Notion certainly borrowed from the *Greeks*, as witneſs theſe Lines;

Ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψου τόνδ' απειρον ΑΙΘΕΡΑ,
Καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγρᾶις ἐν ἀγκάλαις,
Τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζηνὰ, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ Θέον.
Fragm. *Eurip.* ap. *Clem.* Strom. L. 5.

Tranſlated thus by *Cicero*,

Vides ſublime fuſum, immoderatumque AETHERA
Qui tenero terram circumjectu amplectitur,
Hunc ſummum habeto Divum, hunc perhibeto JOVEM.
De Nat. Deor. L. 2.

That high Expanſe above, the boundleſs AETHER,
Which thou behold'ſt with foſt'ring Embrace
Claſp round the teeming Earth, be he thy JOVE,
And DEITY SUPREME——

And ſuch, *Herodotus* expreſsly tells us, was the Religion of the *Perſians*——τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ ὀυρανοῦ Διὰ καλέοντες.
In *Clio*.

Indeed from all antient Hiſtory, both ſacred and profane, it ſeems unqueſtionable, that the earlier Pagan Deities were the Elements

called *Jupiter* P.——And then, as the *Egyptians* had alſo Kings of their own, who had been deified,

Elements and Celeſtial Bodies: the *Chaldeans* certainly worſhipped Fire; and the Worſhip of the Sun is known to have been the greateſt and prime Idolatry of the Eaſtern Countries; as it certainly was the moſt obvious and enſnaring. Even Monſieur *Banier*, who appoints every Poetical God his Place in Hiſtory, acknowledges that the firſt Deities were the Luminaries above—— *On ne pent pas douter, que le Soleil n'ait eté le premier objet de l'Idolatrie; et cela bien longtemps avant qu'on eut ſongé a lui donner pour aſſociez les autres Dieux, ſi celebres dans la ſuite.*

Explic. Hiſt. des Fables. Ent. 4.

And *Julius Firmicus*, who ſets out on the ſame Hiſtorical Plan, allows the *Egyytians* to have paid divine Honours to the Element of Water, according to them, the firſt conſtituent Principle of Being—— *AEgÿpti incolae, Aquarum beneficia percipientes, Aquas colunt, Aquis ſupplicant, Aquas ſuperſtitioſâ votorum continuatione venerantur.* *Julius Firm. Mat.* de Error Prof. Relig. See alſo the learned Mr. *Warburton*'s Divine Legation of *Moſes*. Vol. Iſt. P. 464, *&c.*

P This is alſo remarkably the Caſe of *Neptune*, the fictitious Monarch of the Deep, who, whether a *Cretan* Prince, of great Power at Sea, as ſome will have him, or whether, according to others, a ſucceſsful Commander of *Lybia*, loſes entirely his Hiſtorical Character, as ſoon as he becomes a God, and has Feats and Epithets aſcribed to him, which can only relate to the Element, of which he is the Emblem. Thus, he ſhakes the Foundations of the Earth, and pours in Inundations; at his Command, Iſlands ſtart forth; he deprives Rivers of their Supply of Waters; he is Ευρύωψ, Ευρύστερνος, Ευρυκρείων, *the broad-faced, the deep-cheſted Lord of the wide-ſpreading Seas.* Nor is this true only of the Phyſical Gods: It holds good of all the Allegorical Deities. Thus *Pluto*, who, they tell us, obtained the Dominion over the World of Spirits, either from having been the firſt, who appointed Funeral Solemnities, or from his having reigned in the Weſtern Parts, that is, in the Realms of Darkneſs, according to Poetical Fiction, by Virtue of his Deification takes Poſſeſſion of all the Properties, which belong to the fable God of Death: he is childleſs, joyleſs, wrapped in gloomy Night: he has neither Prieſts, nor Sacrifices; neither Offerings can pleaſe, nor Prayers placate him: Μόνος Θεῶν Θάνατος, ſays *Aeſchylus*, οὐ δῶρων ἐρᾷ——

And the Great Father of Poetry,

fied, they blended the Hiſtory of their Monarchs along with that of the *Jupiter* of *Greece* [q]. And thus was the Confuſion rendered inexplicable.

Eud. I ſuppoſe it is from this that the Mythology of *Venus* [r], of *Apollo*, of *Mercury*, and of moſt of the other Pagan Deities, appears ſo intricate.

Pal.

Αἴδης τοι ἀμείλιχος ἦδ' ἀδάμαστος,
Τοὔνεκα καί Βροτῶισι Θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἁπαντων.
Homer. Iliad. Rhap. 9.

Pluto, the griſly God, who never ſpares,
Who feels no Mercy, and who hears no Prayers,
Lives dark and dreadful in deep Hell's Abodes,
And Mortals hate him, as the worſt of Gods. *Pope.*

[q] As this Humour of deifying deceaſed Princes prevailed among all Idolatrous Nations, ſo it appears that, generally, every Founder or Civiliſer of a People became a *Jupiter* to his own Kingdom. Hence the many *Jupiters*, which antient Fable has adopted.

[r] *Venus*, beſides her Hiſtorical Character, confeſſedly ſuſtains two Perſonages, even of the Allegorical Kind. She is *Venus Urania*, the Queen of Heavenly Beauty, the Parent of Symmetry, the Conſervatrix of the World, one of the firſt and beſt among the Gods. And ſometimes ſhe is of earthly origin; ſhe ſinks into a mean Appetite, and becomes the Inſpirer of ſenſual looſe Deſires. And if to this you add, that the moſt remarkable Events of the Lives of thoſe Princeſſes, who have been deified under her Name, are aſcribed to her, as alſo, that the ſeveral Occaſions of eſtabliſhing her Worſhip have become the Means of encreaſing the Number of her Titles, there will be little Cauſe to wonder at the deep Obſcurity, which the Pagan Theology is involved in. Thus *Venus* roſe from the Deep, becauſe the Queen of *Cyprus*, a Sea-girt Iſland. was advanced to Divine Honours, under the Name of the *Cyprian Venus:* Hence the *Venus Marina*, and the *Venus Anaduomene* *. And thus we read of the *Venus Armata*, the *Venus Victrix*, the *Venus Erycina*, the *Venus Aphacitis* †.——It were eaſy to carry on the ſame Obſervation through the whole Series of the Deities of Fable: but theſe Mythological Notes are already ſwollen to a much larger Size, than was intended———

* See *Polymetis*, Dial. 7 and 14.

† *Selden* de Diis Syris, Synt. 2. C. 31.

Pal. It is generally the Caſe with them all. Their Fables are a Mixture, not only of antient Religious Truths, of Natural Philoſophy, and Metaphyſical Learning, but alſo of *Egyptian*, *Phoenician*, *Grecian*, and I may add, *Jewiſh*, Hiſtory: ſo that really it is extremely difficult to arrive at any certain well-grounded Solution concerning any of them. And let me tell you, they, who are moſt earneſt in this kind of Enquiry, oftentimes, after all their Labour, find that they have been purſuing a Phantom, and their whole Reward is to embrace a Shadow. Let us therefore take our Leave of theſe dim Regions: if I am ever obliged to bring you back to them, it ſhall only be, when it is eaſy to find out the Event, diſguiſed under the fictitious Story.

Cecrops *, as I have told you before, ſettled in that Part of the Country, which in ſucceeding Times was called *Attica* [a], where he built a City, to which he gave the Name of *Cecropia*, having choſen for its Situation a Rock ſtrongly fortified by Nature. This afterwards became the *Acropolis* or Citadel of *Athens*. The new City was ſoon filled with Inhabitants; not only Strangers crouding in, but alſo the old Poſſeſſors of the Country leaving their Foreſts and Caverns, and reſorting thither: ſo that *Cecrops* having numbered his People, found them to amount to twenty thouſand. To preſerve Order and Good Government

* Before *Chriſt* 1120. About the latter End of the Days of *Eli*. —— See *Newton*'s Chronology. See alſo the laſt Note of this Dialogue.

[a] *Pauſanias* tells us, that at firſt it was called *Actaea*, Ἀκταία, probably from Ἀκτη, the Sea-ſhore, for it was ſurrounded by the Sea almoſt on every Side; but that afterwards it was named *Attica*, from *Atthis*, Daughter to *Cranaus*.—— In Atticis.

in his new State, he divided the Inhabitants into four Tribes, and enacted excellent Laws: he alſo ordained Funeral Rites[t]; he erected Altars to the Gods, and inſtructed his Subjects in what manner they were to honour them[u]; and is ſaid to have been the firſt in *Greece*, who appointed the Worſhip of ΖΕΥΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ[w], or *Jupiter the moſt High*, a Title that certainly ſeems to imply very exalted Notions of the Almighty Father of the Univerſe.

After the Death of *Cecrops*, *Cranaus*[x] reigned*. In his Days happened a great Deluge, which laid waſte the Plains of *Theſſaly*, and obliged *Deucalion*, King of that Country, to take Refuge at the Court of *Cecropia*. This is the Flood, in

[t] *Cicero* has preſerved to us a curious Account of thoſe antient Rites.—The neareſt Friends of the Deceaſed were to lay up the Body in the Ground, that the Dead might repoſe in the Boſom of the common Parent of Mankind: and as ſoon as the Grave was covered, the Fruits of the Earth were to be heaped over the Place, by Way of Expiation, that this Portion of Ground might again be reſtored to the Uſes of the Living. Then followed a Banquet, at which were preſent the Relations of the Deceaſed, crowned with Chaplets: and during the Banquet, were pronounced the Praiſes of the Dead, if he had deſerved Praiſe; for in thoſe artleſs Days, it had been accounted impious to have ſpoken a Lie. And thus ended the pious Solemnity. —— *Athenis ille mos a Cecrope permanſit, hoc jus terrâ humandi: quam cum proximi injecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obſerebatur, ut ſinus et gremium, quaſi matris, mortuo tribueretur; ſolum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur: ſequebantur Epulae, quas inibant Parentes coronati; apud quas de mortui laude, cum quid veri erat, praedicatum; nam* mentiri nefas habebatur: *ac juſta confecta erant.* De Legib. L. 2.

[u] He forbad any thing that had Life to be offered to the Gods, ſays *Pauſanias*,——an Ordinance undeniably of *Egyptian* Origin.—— Pauſ. in Arcadiçis.

[w] *Pauſan.* ubi ſupra.

[x] Not Son to *Cecrops*, but a Nobleman of great Power and Wealth.—— Pauſ. in Atticis.

* Before *Chriſt* 1070.—See the Note at the End of this Dialogue.

in which the Poets tell us all Mankind periſhed except *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* his Wife, by whom the World was again peopled. But theſe and many other Embelliſhments, with which they have adorned this Portion of antient Hiſtory, are unqueſtionably borrowed from our ſacred Records, and only prove, that even among the moſt idolatrous Nations ſome Notices were preſerved of the Antediluvian World, and of its Deſtruction by Water.

Some ſhort Time before this Deluge, *Lycaon* King of *Arcadia* had been deſtroyed[y], probably by his own Subjects, for his Cruelty in offering human Sacrifices, a Cuſtom well known among the *Canaanites*, from whom it is conjectured he was originally deſcended[z]. In how great an Abhorrence the *Grecians* held this barbarous Rite, appears from the Puniſhment, which the Writers of Fable have aſſigned to this cruel Prince.——The angry Gods, ſay they, changed him into a Wolf, and ſent him to howl through the Wilds of *Arcadia*.

The other *Grecian* States were ſtill in their Infancy; and very confuſed are the Accounts, which Hiſtorians deliver concerning them. Probably, the Founders of them were employed in making their Way through the Foreſts, in getting together and civiliſing the antient Inhabitants of the Country, and in raiſing Towns or rather Hamlets in different Parts. For thoſe Beginnings of Kingdoms were very inconſiderable; and we find that many of theſe ſmall Villages, which Hiſtorians name ΔΗΜΟΙ, were ſoon obliged to unite together for their common Safety, and to eſtabliſh a common Council, called *Prytaneum*

[y] *Pauſ.* in Arcadicis. *Ovid.* Metam. L. 1.
[z] See *Newton's* Chronology.

neum [a], where the People of the ſeveral Towns were accuſtomed to convene, on any extraordinary Emergency. It is for this Reaſon, that they, who ſpeak of the earlier Ages of *Greece*, mention ſuch a Number of Principalities; they were Principalities of very ſmall Extent and Figure, and which in Time diſappeared entirely, eight or ten of them having been embodied into one great State [b].

But there was ſoon a new Acceſſion of Strength to the Inhabitants of *Greece*. About eighty or ninety Years * after the Arrival of the *Egyptian* Strangers, the *Edomites*, or *Phoenicians* [c] (for it is the ſame People) landed in conſiderable Numbers on the *Grecian* Coaſts: This fell out in the Days of

[a] The *Prytaneum*, or more properly, the *Purytaneum*, Πυρὸς Ταμεῖον, was a Court, ſo called from the Altar for Sacrifices, whereon a perpetual Fire was kept. Probably this Inſtitution was the Origin of the Worſhip of ΕΣΤΙΑ, or *Veſta*.

See *Newton's* Chronol.

[b] *Thucyd.* L. 2. *Plut.* in Theſeo. *Pauſan.* in Corinthiacis.

* Before *Chriſt* 1030. *Cadmus* cannot be much earlier; for his Daughter *Ino* was Wife to *Athamas*, and *Athamas* was the third Generation from *Deucalion*: if therefore *Deucalion* was at *Athens* about 170 Years before the *Trojan* War, *Cadmus*, who appears to have been co-temporary with *AEolus*, Grandſon to *Deucalion*, muſt have come into *Greece* at leaſt 40 Years after *Deucalion*'s Flood, or 130 Years before the *Trojan* War, that is, the Year before *Chriſt* 1030.——However, the indulgent Reader will remember, that nothing but Conjecture can have Place about Matters that are enveloped in ſuch deep Obſcurity.——

See the Note at the End of this Dial.

[c] It is now well known, that the Names of *Phoenicia* and *Red-Sea* were occaſioned by tranſlating literally into *Greek* the Name of *Edom*, the Founder of the *Idumean* People. For *Edom* ſignifieth a *Red Man*, and hence was the Sea of *Edom* called by the *Greeks* the *Red-Sea*, and *Phoenicia*, from Φοῖνιξ, *Purple*, was made to ſignify the Country, which thoſe *Idumeans* inhabited—Φοίνικες ἐκαλοῦντο, ſays *Strabo*, ὅτι καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ἐρυθρά——and for

of *David* King of *Iſrael* [d], who, having conquered *Idumea* [e], occaſioned their Diſperſion into different Parts. Another Revolution in the Eaſt quickly followed the Overthrow of the Kingdom of *Edom*. A large Body of the *Edomites*, as they retired from their own Country, paſſed on to *Zidon*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of it. So that many of the *Zidonians* alſo made their Way into *Greece*. There was not any People of thoſe Times more improved than the *Phoenicians* and *Zidonians*: they were the great Traders of the Eaſtern World, and, from their extenſive Commerce, were become acquainted with the Wiſdom and Diſcoveries of the moſt refined Nations. *Greece* therefore could not but receive conſiderable Advantages from ſuch an Encreaſe of Inhabitants: and accordingly, this Event appears to have contributed greatly to its Improvement; the *Grecians* from this Time advancing in Policy and Arts; and their whole Country obtaining an higher Degree of Culture.

Clean. Was the Wiſdom of the *Phoenicians* and *Zidonians* ſo much ſuperior to that of the *Egyptians?*

Pal.

for the like Reaſon was the Name of *Erythraea*, or Country of the *Red Men*, given to ſeveral Eſtabliſhments made in different Places by theſe Exiles from the Land of *Edom*.——

Vide *Strab.* Geog. L. 1. et *Herod* in Polym.

[d] It may be obſerved, that the Conqueſt of *Edom* by *David* was about 15 Years earlier, than *Cadmus*'s Arrival in *Greece* is here ſuppoſed to have been. But immediately after the Calamities of *Edom*, the *Edomites* were ſcattered into different Parts: and probably the Band under *Cadmus*, not knowing where to ſeat themſelves, touched at many Coaſts, before they reached *Boeotia*. Admit therefore that *Cadmus* entered *Greece* about 15 Years after the *Idumean* Diſperſion, and the Accounts concerning him ſuffer leſs Difficulty.

[e] *Samuel*, B. 2. C. 8. *Newton*'s Chronol.

Pal. In the Arts of Navigation, they are ſaid to have excelled all the Nations of thoſe Days; the *Phoenicians* from their Situation on the Coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, and the *Zidonians* on the *Mediterranean*, having been accuſtomed to make Voyages for the Sake of Traffic. And as to other Knowledge, they certainly were well verſed in the Learning of the *Egyptians*, and of the other Parts of the Eaſt, with theſe Advantages, that the Bulk of theſe Nations were more knowing, and they were more happy in the Way of communicating their Diſcoveries.

Clean. Pray, whence this Difference?

Pal. It may partly be aſcribed to Commerce, which naturally enlarges the Mind, and opens more extenſive Views: but eſpecially it had its Riſe from the Uſe of Letters[f], which the *Phoenicians* had long known; and which, being introduced into *Greece* by *Cadmus*, rendered the Eaſtern Learning familiar to the *Grecian* People.

Clean. Had not the *Egyptians* Letters?

Pal. I mentioned to you before the Hieroglyphics or Sacred Sculptures of *Egypt*; they were the only Characters, which the *Literati* or Prieſts made uſe of, and ſeem to have been deſigned rather to conceal their Diſcoveries, than to convey them to others. For thoſe Hieroglyphics were not Letters of a determinate Signification, but Symbols

[f] It is generally allowed by all the Learned, that the *Phoenicians* were the firſt, who introduced Letters into *Greece:* and we are told by *Herodotus*, that, even in his Days, there were to be ſeen, in the Temple of *Iſmenian Apollo*, Tripods inſcribed with the old *Phoenician* Characters, which he calls *Cadmean* Letters, and from which probably the *Ionic* Characters had been formed, there being a near Reſemblance between the one and the other.

Herod. in Terpſich. *Pauſ.* in Boeot. See alſo *Stilling.* Orig. Sac. B. 1. C. 1.

bols and Enigmatical Repreſentations, and, as a very ingenious Modern calls them, *a Syſtem of Natural Similes* [g], extremely obſcure, and which might be employed to ſignify different Things [h]. —— But alſo, on an other Account, of much greater Moment, was there a Difficulty in apprehending the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. The Prieſts had reſerved to themſelves the Explication of theſe Symbolical Characters: all the Learning of *Egypt* was concealed within their Temples, and the People were not to be admitted into thoſe ſacred Repoſitories of Science [i]. Hence the Difference, that was between the famed Prieſts of the Sun, of *Vulcan*, and of *Iſis*, and the Bulk of the *Egyptians*; the one extremely ignorant, the other ſkilled in the deep Secrets of Nature. Theſe Myſterious Signs were not

[g] Enquiry into the Life and Writings of *Homer*, P. 169.

[h] The Learned Author of the *Origines Sacrae* has a remarkable Obſervation to this Purpoſe—— "It was, ſays he, the ſolemn Cuſtom of the *Egyptians* to wrap up all the little Knowledge they had under Myſtical Repreſentations, which were unavoidably clogged with two inconveniencies, very unſuitable to the Propagation of Knowledge, which were Obſcurity and Ambiguity; for it not only coſt them a great deal of Time to gather ſuch ſymbolical Things, which might repreſent their Conceptions; but when they had pitched upon them, they were liable to a great Variety of Interpretations, as is evident in all thoſe Remainders of them, preſerved by the Induſtry of ſome antient Writers. —— This Way then is a moſt unfit Way to convey any antient Tradition, by being both obſcure, ambiguous, and unable to expreſs ſo much, as to give certain Light to future Ages of the Paſſages of the Precedent." *Stilling.* Orig. Sac. B. 1. C. 1.

[i] By their very Conſtitution, Learning among them was confined to the Prieſts: for not only did they make uſe of a Character peculiar to them, but alſo there was a continued Succeſſion of a Profeſſion in their ſeveral Families, of Prieſts, of Soldiers, and of Huſbandmen; ſo that their ſeveral Orders were kept entirely ſeparate and unmixed. *Herod.* in Euterp.

not in Uſe with the *Phoenicians*, but Letters of a fixed public Signification; and therefore was there a more equal Diſtribution of Knowledge among them, and alſo were they better qualified to advance the Inſtruction of any other People. I do not tell you, that the Arrival of theſe Strangers introduced at once all the Arts of *Phoenicia* and *Zidon* into *Greece*: It required Length of Time to form the Genius of Men, who had for many Ages been acquainted with nothing but Savageneſs and Ferocity, whoſe Country was yet moſtly uncultivated, and many Parts of it covered with Woods and Marſhes. And it may be conjectured, that this alſo is one of the Reaſons, why the Beginning of Arts in *Greece* is often aſcribed to *Cadmus* and his *Phoenicians*. For though the Settlements made by the *Egyptians* were nearly three Generations earlier, than thoſe of the *Phoenician* Colonies, yet how could the *Egyptians* in that Period of Time have it in their Power to render the old Planters a wiſe and improved People? They were themſelves employed in a Work of a much more urging Nature, in providing for their immediate Wants, and in removing the Rudeneſs of a Country, where even Food could not be expected without extreme Labour and Hazard. And beſides, when the *Egyptians* firſt came among them, they were little better than the Brutes, that ranged the Foreſts, as wild, and as undiſciplined as they. Whereas the Example of theſe Foreigners for the Space of more than eighty Years, their gentle Manners, and happier Method of Life, ſmoothed away ſomewhat of the Roughneſs of theſe untaught Savages, and brought them nearer to the Rank of Human Creatures. And therefore, when the *Phoenicians* entered *Greece*, they were riper for Inſtruction, the Barbarity of their Minds

Minds was leſs groſs, and they were become ſuſceptible of ſome uſeful Impreſſions. —— Theſe *Phoenicians* ſpread themſelves through different Parts of the Country, but the greater Number, under the Command of *Cadmus*, paſſed into *Boeotia*, and formed a Settlement, in thoſe Parts, where *Thebes* was afterwards built: And hence did the *Theban* Citadel retain the Name of *Cadmea*, becauſe the firſt Foundation of it was ſuppoſed to have been laid by *Cadmus* and his *Phoenitians*.

Clean. Methinks I have read, that *Cadmus* [k] was the Son of *Agenor* King of *Phoenicia*, and that he came into *Greece* in ſearch of his Siſter *Europa*, who had been carried off by *Jupiter*, in the Shape of a Bull [l].

Pal. So ſing the Poets. But though many Perſons have endeavoured to realize this Fable [m], by ſaying, that ſhe was carried off in a Ship, belonging to *Jupiter Aſterius* King of *Crete*, whoſe Enſign was a Bull; or that the Captain of the Ship was named Ταῦρος [n]: nevertheleſs, ſome of the *Grecians* themſelves have believed that this was altogether a Fictitious Tale, and that in Truth *Cadmus* left *Phoenicia* in ſearch of a better Fortune [o]. Probably this Story was invented by ſome of *Cadmus*'s Deſcendants, who to magnify the

[k] Who this Leader of the *Phoenicians* was, it is impoſſible to ſay with Certainty; his very Name is unknown, and that of *Cadmus*, which he now bears, he had from the Country whence he came; for *Cadmus* properly ſignifies an *Eaſtern Man*. They, who are curious in theſe Matters, may ſee the various Conjectures concerning him in *Bochart*, *Huet*, *Le Clerc*, *Stillingfleet*, *Newton*, *Banier*.

[l] *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 1. *Ovid.* Metam. L. 2 et. 3.

[m] *Banier* Explic. Hiſt. des Fables, Ent. 19.

[n] A *Greek* Word that ſignifies a *Bull*.

[o] Conon. Narrat. 37.

Founder of their State, and to conceal the real Cauſe of his fleeing from his Country, dreſſed up this Story, which could not fail of gaining Credit in an Age ſo fond of the Marvellous, and whoſe Notions about the Divine Nature were moſt groſsly corrupted.

Clean. But notwithſtanding, did not the Arrival of theſe *Phoenicians* remove in great Meaſure that Love of Fable and Myſtery, which the *Egyptians* had brought in?

Pal. Far from it——An Encreaſe of Fables was rather occaſioned by it. For the Eaſtern Nations greatly affected a lofty pompous Style; their Writings were moſtly Poetical, and abounded much in Apologues and bold Metaphors. So that the firſt Literature, which the *Grecians* formed an Acquaintance with, wore the figured Garb of Poetry, and of Conſequence gave Riſe to a Number of ſtrange Conceits. And indeed ſo deep a Tincture of theſe *Egyptian* and *Phoenician* Manners did the *Grecians* receive, that for many Generations after, when their Country was come to a ſettled State, a fabulous Turn prevailed among them: and you may remember, *Eudoxus*, even in the Accounts we have of their more enlightened Ages, Fiction and Hiſtory are often found blended together.

Eud. I have obſerved it frequently: and wonderful it has ſeemed to me, how a Nation of ſuch delicate Taſte ſhould have admitted the motley Mixture.

Pal. It was owing to a Combination of Cauſes; too many to be recited at preſent. I ſhall have Occaſion to examine them in ſome other of our Morning-Walks [P]. —— However, though Fables were

[P] See the latter Part of Dialogue the fourth.

were not yet exploded, as to other Improvements, *Greece* at this Time began to boaſt many very conſiderable. Along with the Uſe of Letters, the *Phoenicians* had introduced Commerce, Navigation, and ſeveral other valuable Sciences. Braſs was fabricated in *Boeotia*, by the Companions of *Cadmus*; for which Reaſon is the Name of *Cadmean* Ore, Καδμία, given to it by antient Writers. In *Lemnos* likewiſe ſome of the Diſciples of the *Idaei Dactyli* had erected Forges, and wrought in Iron; and hence the Fable of *Vulcan*'s having fixed his Reſidence in this Place. *Hercules* alſo, who was himſelf one of the Sages of Mount *Ida*, had, ſome Time before, led a Colony from *Crete* into *Elis*. You know, *Cleanthes*, what I told you of theſe *Idean* Prieſts, and of their Wiſdom. And no Doubt therefore but this *Hercules* inſtructed the *Grecians* of thoſe Parts in many uſeful Inventions. Certain it is, that he is affirmed to have been the firſt, who appointed the ſacred Games, ſince known under the Name of the *Olympic* Games, in Honour, as we are told, of the *Cretan Jupiter* [q]. And though theſe Games muſt have been far inferiour to thoſe, which *Greece* afterwards celebrated in the Days of her Splendor [r], nevertheleſs the ſolemnizing an Entertainment ſuch as this, where Activity and manly Exerciſe were encouraged, and Men were taught to contend for Glory, naturally inſpired the People with Emulation, and muſt have proved a very effectual Means of forming them to Virtue.

The common Proſperity and Strength of *Greece* were yet farther advanced by the wiſe Eſtabliſhment

[q] *Pauſ.* in Eliacis, L. 1.

[r] See Mr. *Weſt*'s curious Diſſertation on the *Olympic* Games, prefixed to his elegant Tranſlation of *Pindar*. —— Quarto Edit. *Lond.* 1749.

of the Council of the *Amphictyones*, the Plan of which is ſaid to have been framed by *Amphictyon* the Son of *Deucalion*, or, according to others, by *Acriſius* King of *Argos*. It conſiſted of the Deputies of twelve of the principal States of *Greece*[s]; and the chief Deſign of it was, that theſe confederate States might conſult in common the general Welfare of their Country, and determine all Differences between the jarring Cities.

Eud.

[s] *Pauſanias*, in his Antiquities of *Phocis*, makes mention of only ten of theſe States, the *Ionians*, the *Dolopes*, the *Theſſalians*, the *AEnianes*, the People of *Magneſia*, the *Maleans*, the People of *Pthia*, the People of *Doris*, the *Phocians*, and the *Locrians* of Mount *Cnemis*. And *AEſchines*, *(de falſâ legatione)* though he ſays there were twelve *Amphictyonic* Nations, yet he only brings eleven into Account, and even them not the ſame with thoſe mentioned by *Pauſanias*, the *Dolopes* and *AEnianes* being omitted in *AEſchines*'s Liſt, and the *Boeotians*, the *Perrhoebi*, and the People of Mount *OEta* inſerted. However, it may be conjectured that the *Dolopes* have been left out through the Fault of ſome Copier. *Alexander ab Alexandro* has a Liſt of his own, which may be ſeen in the 5 Book, 7 C. of his *Geniales Dies*—— It is a Queſtion, whether this was called the Council of the *AMPHICTYONES*, ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΕΣ, from its being eſtabliſhed by *Amphictyon*, Son of *Deucalion*, falſely ſaid to have been King of *Athens*, but in Truth, according to the *Arundelian* Marbles, King of *Theſſaly*; or whether it ſhould not rather bear the Name of the Council of the *AMPHICTIONES*, ΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΕΣ, or of the Neighbouring States, from a Number of theſe having confederated together for their mutual Preſervation. *Androtion*, an antient Writer, Author of an Hiſtory of *Attica*, quoted by *Pauſanias*, (in *Phocicis)* was of this laſt Opinion, and has been followed by many: and *Strabo*, in the ninth Book of his Geography, aſcribes the Eſtabliſhment to *Acriſius*, King of *Argos*. Though Sir *Iſaac Newton*, in his Chronology, ſuppoſes, that at the firſt theſe were two diſtinct Councils, the one convened at *Thermopylae*, and inſtituted by *Amphictyon*; the other appropriated to *Delphos*, and erected by *Acriſius*.——But whoever was the Author of this Eſtabliſhment, the Title of *Amphictiones* ſeems indeed the more natural; and we find Confederacies of this kind, both at *Peloponneſus* — at *Troezen* —— and among the *Aſiatic Greeks*——the *Pan-Ionian* Confederacy.

Eud. I imagined that the *Amphictyones* had been the Protectors of Religion.——

Pal. That of Courſe became Part of their Office; for you know, the Religious and Political Inſtitutions of *Greece* were intimately connected together: it belonged to them to puniſh all ſacrilegious Outrages, and in Time the Guardianſhip of the *Delphic* Temple was particularly allotted to them. Their Decrees alſo were eſteemed ſacred, and the Majeſty of Heaven was thought to be intereſted in the Execution of them. Judge from this, what an extenſive Power they muſt have been inveſted with.——You are to obſerve, *Cleanthes*, that the Members of this *Amphictyonic* Council held their Seſſions only twice in the Year, in Spring and in Autumn, except extraordinary Occaſions called them more frequently together. And the Place, where they were wont to aſſemble, was ſometimes *Pylae*, otherwiſe called *Thermopylae*, a famous Paſs from *Theſſaly* into *Greece*; and ſometimes *Delphi* [t].

But what chiefly contributed to render *Greece* a flouriſhing improved Country, was the Invention of Agriculture. The Goddeſs *Ceres*, having paſſed over from *Sicily* to ſeek for her Daughter *Proſerpina*, who had been ſtolen away, landed on the *Attic* Coaſt, and inſtructed the People in the Arts of Tillage [u]. Or rather, to ſpeak without the Disfigurements of Fable, the gloomy Foreſts were at length removed; Men learned the Uſe of the Plough, and the Rules of Husbandry; and the Earth began to bleſs its Inhabitants with plentiful Harveſts.

Eud.

[t] See farther in *Potter*'s Archaeol. Graec. B. 1. C. 16.
[u] *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 5. *Ovid.* Metam. L. 5.

Eud. What, *Palaemon*, is our *Goddeſs* then to vaniſh away into a mere *Emblematical Being?*

Pal. It is, I know, *Eudoxus*, the generally-received Opinion, that ſuch a Perſon as *Ceres* really exiſted: but nevertheleſs her whole Hiſtory plainly ſeems to have been the work of ſome Deviſer of Allegories; and it may very naturally be conjectured, that the Solemnity obſerved in Honour of her was originally nothing more, than a Feſtival on Account of the Invention of Tillage, or a Kind of celebrating of *Harveſt-home*, accompanied, according to the Piety of thoſe early Ages, with Thankſgiving-Hymns, and Religious Ceremonies. Certainly, the Fable of her being a *Sicilian* appears to have but a ſhallow Foundation, and probably was an Alluſion to ſome Circumſtance, now loſt in the Gloom of Antiquity [w]. For *Diodorus* [x] affirms her to have been from *Egypt*; and both he and *Herodotus* [y] declare her Rites to have been of *Egyptian* Origin, the ſame as thoſe in Honour of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*. *Diodorus* [z], beſides, aſcribes the Introduction of the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries to *Erechtheus* [a] King of *Athens*, on occaſion of his importing Corn from *Egypt*. The ſame Author [b] ſays alſo, that *Ceres* is the ſame with the Earth;

[w] Perhaps the firſt Seed was imported from *Sicily*, or perhaps Huſbandmen were brought over from thence, to inſtruct the *Ionians* in the Arts of Tillage.

[x] L. 1.

[y] *Herodotus* aſcribes the bringing in of the Worſhip of *Ceres* to the Daughters of *Danaus* the *Egyptian*; though probably this is true only of *Peloponneſus* —— Αι Δανάου Θυγατέρες ἦσαν, αἱ τὴν Τελετὴν ταύτην (τὴν Θεσμοφορίαν Δήμητρος) ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγοῦσαι, καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας.—— In Euterpe.

[z] L. 1.

[a] This was the King, that firſt gave to *Cecropia* the Name of *Athens*. *Herod.* in Urania.

[b] *Diodorus*, L. 1.

Earth; and it is generally agreed, that ſhe repreſents our terreſtrial World, made fruitful by Culture, and cloathed with Harveſts: and this her very Name ſeems to imply, ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ, or rather ΓΗΜΗΤΗΡ, for ſuch was her Primitive Name, *Nouriſhing Parent Earth*. Nor are you to be ſurpriſed, my dear *Cleanthes*, that extraordinary Feſtivals ſhou'd have been inſtituted on this Occaſion: Even at this Diſtance of Time, we may eaſily judge, what muſt have been the Joy and Wonder of a ſimple People, accuſtomed to gather the coarſe Acorn, when they firſt ſaw the yellow Harveſts waving o'er their Fields, and taſted that precious Gift of Heaven, *Suſtaining Bread*, and how prone ſuch a People muſt have been to ſacred Rites and grateful Worſhip. Accordingly we find, that ſome Obſervance of this Kind made its Way among moſt Nations, along with the Knowledge of Agriculture. The Inhabitants of the fruitful *Egypt* had the Myſtic Feaſt eſtabliſhed among them, from early Time [c]. In *Sicily* alſo, the Granary of the Weſtern World, it was ſolemnized with the utmoſt Magnificence [d]: and who knows, but the celebrating the Myſteries of *Ceres* on the fair Fields of *Enna* firſt gave Riſe to the Fiction, that in this Place her Daughter was borne away from her? Perhaps the famed *Proſerpine* was only a *Sicilian* Maiden, that miniſtred in the ſacred Proceſſion, and was carried off by ſome bold Raviſher. Even in *Scythia*, ſays *Herodotus* [e], annual Feaſts were performed in Honour of the Inſtruments of Tillage, the Plough and the Yoke, which, he tells us, were of Gold, and, if *Scythian* Tradition may be

[c] *Diod.* L. 1. et *Herod.* in Euterpe.
[d] *Diod.* L. 5.
[e] *Herod.* in Melpomene.

be believed, had fallen down from Heaven. Such was the unrefined Idolatry of that rough Nation: and from this we may conjecture, what a more ingenious and delicate People may have meant by dedicating ſolemn Myſteries to the Goddeſs of Harveſts. Indeed, it may be ſuppoſed, as I have already obſerved to you on another Occaſion[f], that the Hiſtory of thoſe Princes, who firſt encouraged Tillage in *Egypt*, was ſuperadded to the Allegory: And hence might it be, that an *Egyptian* Queen[g] was worſhipped in ſome Parts under the Figure of a Woman wearing Horns; and that the Emblem appropriated to her was the ſame as that of Agriculture, *an Heifer*, that uſeful Help-mate to the laborious Huſbandman.

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, you mentioned *Erechtheus* King of *Athens*, as the Patron of Tillage in *Attica*; I thought the Gifts of *Ceres* had firſt been beſtowed on *Triptolemus* the *Eleuſinian*[h].

Pal. So indeed ſay many antient Writers. Probably theſe two Princes introduced Agriculture into their Territories much about the ſame Time; for *Athens* and *Eleuſis*, the Royal Seat of *Triptolemus*, were a very ſhort Way diſtant from each other. *Triptolemus*, however, in Memory of ſo great a Bleſſing, and perhaps alſo with a View of calling in Superſtition to the Support of Induſtry, inſtituted a Feſtival and Sacred Rites at *Eleuſis*, where Myſterious Solemnities were celebrated, under the Direction of *Eumolpus* of *Thrace*[i], *after the Manner*

[f] See above, P. 20.

[g] *Iſis* Queen to *Seſoſtris*, See *Newton*'s Chronol. Vide quoque *Herodot.* in Euterpe, et *Diod.* L. 1.

[h] *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 5.

[i] *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Eumolpus*, and others, ſaid to be the Fathers of Poetry and Religious Ceremonies among the *Greeks*, were

ner of the Egyptians; that is, Emblematical Perſonages and Symbols were made Uſe of, and the Invention

were all from *Thrace*, according to antient Writers. —— It may be conjectured, that there were large Colonies of *Egyptians* ſettled in the Countries to the North of *Greece*, ſome of whom afterwards paſſed on ſouthward, to a more gentle and teachable People; and that theſe were the Sages, ſo much the Boaſt of thoſe early Times. At leaſt, is it evident from the well-known Story of *Orpheus*, who is ſaid to have ſoothed and led along the wondering Brutes, and even Trees and Rocks, by the Muſic of his Lyre, that he was a Perſon profoundly wiſe, and of Manners very different from the uncultivated *Thracians*. Probably, was he one of the deeply-learned Prieſts of *Egypt*, who, coming among this rude barbarous People, endeavoured to form them to Society and Civil Life, and to teach them Sacred Rites: and the Fate of the hapleſs Sage plainly implies, how ill the Succeſs his Labours were attended with. However, from the *Egyptians* being ſettled in theſe Parts, came the Tradition, that the Religious Myſteries were of *Thracian* Origin: and perhaps the old Fiction, that many of the Gods had their Birth in *Samothrace*, was owing to the Paſſing over of ſome of the *Egyptian* Sages into this Iſland, it lying convenient to the *Thracian* Coaſt.—One Conjecture more, though perhaps too bold an one, I would offer with Relation to theſe wiſe Men of *Thrace*. They, who are converſant in Antiquity, know that there is nothing darker, than the Hiſtory of the *Hyperboreans*, a People ſuppoſed to come from beyond the North, from a Country bleſſed with the happieſt Temperature, where rough chilling Winds never blow, where Cares never corrode, nor Sickneſs e'er is felt, but their cloudleſs Days glide away in Eaſe and Joy. They, ſay the Poets, were the firſt Worſhippers of the Gods; among them were *Latona* and *Apollo* born; *Callimachus* calls them, Ἱερον Γένος, the Prieſtly Nation; and *Pindar*, Δᾶμον Ὑπερβορέων Ἀπόλλωνος Θεράποντα, the Servants of the *Delphic* God: even the ſacred Olive made Uſe of in the *Olympic* Feaſts came from them; they were the Inſtitutors of the Solemn Rites of *Delos* and *Delphi*; and never did People offer their Gifts more duly at *Apollo*'s ſacred Shrine. But the Queſtion is, where to place the Habitation of theſe extraordinary Men; for the Notion, which the *Greeks* formerly held, that they inhabited, as *Pindar* ſays,

vention and Proceſs of Tillage diſguiſed under Allegories and Typical Repreſentations. For this ſeems

——— Χθόνα
Πνοιᾶς ὄπιθεν Βορέα

A Land, beyond the chilling Blaſt
And northern Caves of Boreas *caſt*;

or, according to *Olen* of *Lycia*, a Poet mentioned by *Pauſanias*, ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνεμον τὸν Βορέαν, has been exploded theſe many Ages, and *Pliny*, (L. 4. C. 12.) tired with fruitleſs Reſearches, ſeems even to doubt, whether ſuch a People ever exiſted; a Suppoſition hardly to be admitted, when we conſider how largely and frequently they are made Mention of by the moſt valuable of antient Writers. Is it not therefore poſſible, that this uncouth Mixture of Fable and Hiſtory, for among the *Greeks* all Hiſtory was deformed with Fable in thoſe Days of Ignorance and Wonder, took its Riſe from *Egyptians* being ſettled about *Thrace*, and the cold Countries beyond it; ſome of whom, making their Way into *Greece*, brought their national Rites with them, where-e'er they came, and founded Temples to *Latona*, to *Apollo*, and the reſt of the antient Gods of *Egypt?* What is ſaid of the Piety and Religious Turn of the *Hyperboreans* is exactly true of the *Egyptians*. And the Gods, ſaid to be Natives of the *Hyperborean* Land, are confeſſedly of *Egyptian* Origin. And as to the happy Temperature of Climate, which the *Hyperboreans* are ſaid to have enjoyed, and which ſeems entirely inconſiſtent with a northern Situation; the Miſtake might very naturally ariſe from the Relation of the *Egyptians* themſelves. They told the *Greeks*, that they were Natives, not of the Northern Country, but of a Country far beyond it; and probably added many a fond Tale of the fertile and delicious Plains of *Egypt*, ſo different from wintery *Scythia*, and the bleak Mountains of the rugged *Thrace*. And the *Greeks*, ignorant of every Thing relating to Geography, underſtood *literally* what theſe Strangers told them, and ſuppoſed that the happy Country, which they heard ſuch Boaſt of, was ſituated in ſome Region, farther than the utmoſt North, Ὑπερ Βορέαν, *beyond the Reach of northern Blaſt.*——This ſeems to have been the Foundation of the *Hyperborean* Story, on which the Poets have ſince raiſed ſo many airy Fictions.——

Though the greater Part of what has been here advanced may claim the Merit of Novelty, yet it is juſt to own, that ſo much of it, as relates to the *Hyperboreans* being ſettled in *Thrace* and the Countries North of *Greece*, had already been aſſerted by Abbé *Banier*, in his curious Diſſertation on the *Hyperboreans*.——

Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. &c. T. 10.

ſeems to have been the Subject of the Leſſer Myſteries, deſigned for Public Uſe: And accordingly *Cicero*, ſpeaking of the Greater *Eleuſinian* Rites, at the Celebration of which the real Hiſtory and true Nature of thoſe various Perſonages and ſacred Symbols, which the Vulgar worſhipped, were revealed to the Initiated, and therefore to the beholding of which none were admitted but with the utmoſt Caution, has theſe very remarkable Words— "*Quibus (nempe Eleuſinae, Samothraciae, Lemni,* "*Myſteriis) explicatis ad rationemque revocatis*, Re- "rum *magis natura cognoſcitur, quam* Deorum[k]— *When the Myſtical Diſguiſe is taken off, it is the Hiſtory not of Gods, but of Natural Things, that riſes to our View.* As ſoon as the Allegory was removed, the Hiſtory of *Ceres* and of her aſſociate Deities[l]

[k] De Naturâ Deorum, L. 1. P. 76. Edit. *Glaſg.*

[l] It may be obſerved that moſt of thoſe Learned Men, who have ſuppoſed *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, to be real Women, have alſo been of Opinion, that the Deſign of theſe Greater *Eleuſinian* Myſteries was to reveal the true Hiſtory of the Objects of Pagan Worſhip, and to teach the Unity of the Godhead; and that on this Account the Initiation into theſe was performed with ſuch extreme Caution, and the Multitude excluded from them. The Reader therefore is deſired to conſider; that the above Suppoſition, *that* Ceres *is an Allegorical Deity*, is entirely conſiſtent with this Purpoſe of the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries. For if the Initiated were admitted to behold the Hiſtory of the Invention of Tillage and of the Savage State of Mankind before the Introduction of Agriculture and Laws, ſtripped of the Allegorical Dreſs, and to know that thoſe Deities, which the Vulgar worſhipped, were only Repreſentations of natural Things, ſuch as the Genial Seaſons, the Foſtering Elements, *Res, non Deos*, is it not plain that, in this Suppoſition, as well as in any other, the Enchantment of Paganiſm muſt have been entirely diſſolved, and the whole Fable-raiſed Structure of Heathen Belief have fallen into Ruins?

The curious Reader may conſult *Le Clerc. Biblioth. Univ.* T. 6. *Banier* Explic. Hiſtor. des Fables, Ent. 15. and eſpecially *Warburton*'s Div. Leg. of *Moſes*, B. 2. S. 4.

appeared to be the Hiſtory of the Invention of Tillage, and of the Productions of Nature. But whatever might have been the Deſign of the Greater *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, the Hiſtory of *Ceres* was ſoon underſtood, by the Multitude at leaſt, in a groſs idolatrous Senſe, the Goddeſs of Harveſts was looked on as real Perſon, and her Worſhip ſolemnized with great Reverence.

Nevertheleſs the Knowledge of Huſbandry was not confined to *Attica*, it ſoon extended itſelf to the neighbouring Parts; and *Achaia*, *Peloponneſus*, and by Degrees all the reſt of *Greece*, began to enjoy the Advantages of Agriculture. And this appears particularly from what *Herodotus* [m] relates of the Council of the *Amphictyones*, who, he tells us, from antient Time were wont to aſſemble in the Temple of *Ceres* at *Thermopylae*. The Worſhip of *Ceres* prevailed, in Proportion as Huſbandry became known, and where-ever the one is ſaid to have had Place, we may conclude that the other was cultivated. And therefore muſt the *Amphictyonic* States have been acquainted with the Bleſſings of Tillage, very near the Time of their being firſt formed into a Confederacy. The Uſe of Corn brought on a very different Face of Things: It occaſioned the Lands to be improved, and rendered them valuable; the Value of Lands gave Riſe to new Laws; what had hitherto been common and unoccupied, was now incloſed, and became private Property; Diviſions were made, and Boundaries eſtabliſhed. And for this Reaſon was *Ceres* worſhipped under the Title of ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ, *the Inſtitutrice of Laws*; and her Feaſt was called ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑ, *the Feaſt of Legiſlation, or of the Eſtabliſhment*

[m] In Polymnia.

bliſhment of Society. From this Period alſo many new Arts began to be known among the *Athenian* People: and ſome few Years after, the Saw, the Chip-ax, the Plummet, and ſeveral other mechanical Inſtruments were invented by *Daedalus* [n] and *Talus* his Nephew [o]. This *Daedalus* is reported to have been excellent in Workmanſhip of many Kinds. He was the firſt that gave to Statues the finiſhed human Form, with the Feet diſtinct [p], whence the Fiction, that his Statues walked [q]. He was expert in the Art of building Ships, and was the firſt Inventor of Sails. He likewiſe excelled in Architecture, and was admired even in *Crete*, the *Grecian* Nurſery of Arts in thoſe Days, where he was entertained by *Minos*, and employed in building the *Cretan* Labyrinth, of which you know, *Eudoxus*, antient Fable relates ſuch wonderous Things. But I ſhall have Occaſion to mention him again to you in his proper Place [r].

Clean. I ſuppoſe then from this Period we are to date the Beginning of the *Grecian* Glory.

Pal. This was the Dawn of their Glory; but it was not till ſeveral Generations after that they roſe to their higheſt Splendor. For though there was a Way opened to the Culture of Arts in different Parts of *Greece*, there were nevertheleſs many Things,

[n] The Times of *Daedalus* are here ſomewhat anticipated, for, as it is well known, he was co-temporary with *AEgeus* and *Theſeus* his Son, and probably did not die, till about 40 Years before the Siege of *Troy*.

[o] *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 14. *Diod. Sic.* L. 4. *Pauſ.* in Achaicis.——

[p] *Diod.* ubi ſupra.

[q] *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* ſay, that his Statues had really the Power of Motion; whence ſome have ſuppoſed, that there were either Springs or Quickſilver concealed within them.——

Ariſt. Pol. L. 1. *Plat.* Men.

[r] See more concerning him, Dialogue the third.

Things, that delayed, or interrupted their Progreſs. There were ſtill ſome Remains of Roughneſs in the People. Then their Settlements were often laid waſte by new Adventurers, who diſpoſſeſſed thoſe, who had begun to improve, and forced them to ſeek other Seats[s]. And to theſe frequent Removes are to be aſcribed the Diſorder and Confuſion, which appear to have been in ſeveral of the *Grecian* States, and which muſt neceſſarily have prevented the flouriſhing of Induſtry, of Civil Manners, and Good Government. Indeed the *Athenians* enjoyed a better Fortune: their Country was mountainous and rugged; it had no fair Paſtures nor rich Soil to tempt Invaders; and afforded its Inhabitants a great Number of Faſtneſſes and Places of Strength; ſo that though they were expoſed to ſome tumultuary Incurſions[t], they never were driven from their original Settlements, but continued in one Tract of Improvement, even from the Days of *Cecrops*, perfecting thoſe Rudiments of Knowledge, which the Colonies, firſt from *Egypt*, and then from *Idumea*, had brought in among them. And therefore did the Arts make quicker Advances here, than in any other Parts of *Greece*: and accordingly *Thucydides*[u] tells us, that they were the firſt of the *Greeks*, who laid aſide the Uſe of Arms, that is, who were reclaimed from Rapine and Violence. And on this Account alſo, we may ſuppoſe, it was, that the *Athenians* boaſted themſelves to be Αὐτόχθονες, or ſprung out of their own Soil; the Settlements of thoſe around them had been frequently deſtroyed, and

[s] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Strab.* L. 7.
[t] See below Note z, P. 55.
[u] L. 1.

and it was well known, how long moſt of the *Grecians* had poſſeſſed the Parts, which they inhabited; whereas from the firſt of their being formed into a People, they had remained in the ſame Spot, there was no Remembrance preſerved of their having dwelled in any other Country.

Eud. Pray, *Palaemon*, who were thoſe Adventurers, by whom the *Grecian* Settlements ſuffered ſuch Devaſtation?

Pal. Greece was invaded by ſeveral Nations, who plundered where-ever they came, and laid waſte the Country. *Carian* and *Phoenician* Corſairs infeſted the maritime Parts, and by ſome of theſe was *Io*, Daughter to *Inachus* the old *Argive* King, carried off into *Egypt* [w]. You may remember, *Cleanthes*, how ſtrangely the Poets have disfigured this Piece of Hiſtory [x]. And by Land the *Thracians* [y] made frequent Incurſions [z], and in many Places

[w] *Herod* in Clio. *Parthenii Nicaenſis* Erotica, Cap. 1.
[x] *Ovid.* Metam. L. 1.
[y] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Strabo* Geogr. L. 9.
[z] Probably to an Incurſion made by ſome of theſe *Thracians* is owing the aukward Story recorded of *Orithya*, Daughter to *Erechtheus* King of *Athens*.——She was carried off, ſay fabulous Writers, by *Boreas* the God of the North-Winds *. *Plato* thinks ſhe fell into the Sea, and that thence the Fable. But if one may preſume to differ from the Prince of Philoſophers, would not the *Athenian* Princeſs, in that Caſe, have been rather changed into a Sea-Goddeſs, the uſual Compliment in thoſe Days of Idolatry to Perſons of Royal Blood, who periſhed in the Deep? *Herodotus*, an Author well read in the Fables of Antiquity, tells us expreſsly † that ſhe was Wife to *Boreas*: and we find her two Sons, or more probably her Grandſons, *Zetes* and *Calais*, numbered among the *Argonauts*. It may therefore be conjectured, that this *Boreas* was ſome *Thracian*, the Leader of a Band of Plunderers, who brake into *Attica*: the Violence of the Ravager,

* *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 14.——
† In *Polymnia.*

Places caſt out the old Inhabitants. Many alſo of the Northern Nations of *Greece*, which dwelt in *Hellas*[a], led by the Princes of the Houſe of *Deucalion*, forſook their antient Habitations, and brake into the Southern Provinces. *Athamas* Great-Grandſon to *Deucalion* entered *Boeotia*, and obtained Part of the Kingdom of *Orchomenus*[b]. *Endymion*, an other of his Deſcendants, paſſed over into *AEgialea*, and having dethroned *Clymenus*, one of the Poſterity of the *Idaei Dactyli*, reigned in *Elis*[c]. *AEtolus* Son to *Endymion* did not ſucceed his Father; but making his Way into the Country ſince called *AEtolia*, got Poſſeſſion of it, and expelled the firſt Proprietors[d]. *Salmoneus*[e] likewiſe left *Hellas*, and founded a City[f] on the Weſtern Coaſt of *AEgialea*[g], near the *Elean* Borders. Perhaps, *Cleanthes*, you may recollect the Hiſtory of this Monarch:

vager, and the Country he came from, might eaſily furniſh out Part of the Fiction——*he was the rough boiſterous Son of the North*——and perhaps Flattery to *Erechtheus*, together with the *Athenian* Pride, in Order to make the Fate of *Orithya* more honourable, changed afterwards the Adventurer into a God.——

[a] This Name, thongh afterwards common to all *Greece*, was antiently appropriated to *Theſſaly*, or rather, according to *Thucydides*, (L. 1.) to a Portion of it, the Kingdom of *Pthia*.——— See the Reaſon of this in the Note at the End of this Dialogue.

[b] *Pauſ.* in Boeot. —— See more of *Athamas* in Dialogue the third.

[c] *Pauſ.* in Eliac. L. 1. *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 7.

[d] He was obliged to leave *Elis*, ſays *Apollodorus*, becauſe he had killed *Apis* Son to *Phoroneus*.—— The ſame *Apollodorus* calls the Land, into which he fled Κουρήτις Χώρα, The Land of the *Curetes:* probably, ſome of the *Egyptian* Sages, had led a Colony into thoſe Parts.——See above, P. 23.——*Apollod.* L. 1. C. 7.

[e] See an Account of his Genealogy in the laſt Note of this Dialogue.

[f] *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 9.

[g] The greater Part of *Peloponneſus* had that Name in thoſe early Days from *AEgialeus*, Son to *Inachus*.

narch: He is famed for his Impiety and his Puniſhment [h].

Clean. What, is that he who endeavoured to imitate *Jupiter*'s Thunder?

Pal. Yes, he conceived the vain Thought of uſurping the Honours due to the Almighty Thunderer; and, in Emulation of him, was wont to drive his ſounding Chariot over a Bridge of Braſs, and to caſt down flaming Torches, as he paſſed along. But the God vindicated his inſulted Majeſty. *He armed himſelf*, ſays Virgil, *with Thunders not fictitious; and a Bolt, winged with real Death, was hurled at the impious* Salmoneus [i].——Several other Princes alſo, of the Race of *Deucalion*, followed the Example of theſe adventuring Leaders; and to two of theſe both the Kingdom of *Corinth*, and that of *Pylus* [k] the Royal Seat of *Neſtor*, owe their Beginnings; the one eſtabliſhed by *Neleus*, Brother to *Pelias*, and Father to *Neſtor*, who ſeated himſelf on the Banks of the *Alpheus* [l]; the other founded by *Siſyphus* [m], Son to *AEolus Deucalion*'s Grandſon.—— But the principal Revolutions, that happened in the infant State of *Greece*, were occaſioned by the Arrival of *Pelops* from *Phrygia* *. *Pelops* was the Son of *Tantalus* [n] King of *Sipylus*, who, after a long and unſucceſsful War againſt *Tros* and

[h] *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 9. *Virg. AEneid.* L. 6.

[i] ——Pater Omnipotens denſa inter nubila telum
Contorſit (non ille faces, nec fumea taedis
Lumina) praecipitemque immani fulmine adegit.
AEneid. L. 6. L. 592.

[k] See Dialogue the fifth.

[l] *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 9. *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 8.

[m] *Apollod.* ubi ſupra.——See more of him Dialogue the third.

* Before *Chriſt* 993.

[n] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 8. *Pindar.* Olym. 1. *Pauſ.* in Eliac. L. 1.

Ilus Kings of *Troy*, was entirely defeated, and loſt his Kingdom. The fabulous Hiſtory of thoſe Times relates, that *Ganymede*, the Son of *Tros* and Brother of *Ilus*, was borne away by an Eagle, the Meſſenger of *Jove*, and carried up into Heaven: but this Mock-*Jove* was no other than *Tantalus* himſelf, or *Jupiter Tantalus*, according to the Way of ſpeaking of the *Greeks* [o], who had laid wait for the young Prince, and kept him confined in his Court [p]. *Tros*, juſtly enraged againſt this perfidious Neighbour, attacked him with all his Forces: and *Ilus*, having ſucceeded his Father, continued the War, and at laſt drave the guilty Family out of *Aſia*. *Pelops* with a Party of *Phrygians* landed in the ſouthern Parts of *Greece*, and ſoon made himſelf Maſter of *Piſa*, having dethroned and killed *Oenomaus*, who reigned there. This Invaſion muſt undoubtedly have occaſioned great Commotions; for the Princes of this Houſe were extremely aſpiring, and failed not to improve every Opportunity of extending their Empire over the neighbouring Kingdoms [q].——Some few Years after the Arrival of *Pelops*, *Danaus* the *Egyptian* [r], Brother to *AEgyptus*, or rather to *Seſoſtris* King of *Egypt* [s], came into *Greece* *. Antient Writers give us very ſingular Accounts of this *Egyptian* Family. *Danaus*, they tell us, had fifty Daughters, who were all married in one Night to the fifty Sons of *AEgyptus*; but, by the Directions of their Father, each Princeſs murdered her Bridegroom, *Hypermneſtra*

* See above, P. 25.

[p] *Banier.* Explic. Hiſt. des Fables, Ent. 27.

[q] See Dialogue the fifth.

[r] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 1. *Pauſ.* in Corinth. et Laconic. *Pindar.* Nemeor. 1.

[s] *Newton's* Chronology.

* Before *Chriſt* 964.

permneſtra only excepted, who ſpared her Huſband *Lynceus*. It may be conjectured, that this is a Story of *Egyptian* Growth: *Danaus* had attempted his Brother's Life, and on that Account had fled from *Egypt*; and therefore the *Egyptians* ſought to blacken the Memory of a Prince, whoſe Name was become odious among them. Hence the Puniſhment inflicted on his wretched Daughters: they are condemned, ſay they, in the Regions below to draw Water inceſſantly into a Veſſel, which never can be filled. You know, *Eudoxus*, the Pagan Doctrines of the Infernal World, and of the Torments of departed Souls, had their Riſe in *Egypt*[t].—— The other Parts of *Danaus*'s Hiſtory are not leſs disfigured. According to the *Grecian* Chronicles, he invaded the Throne of *Argos*, to the Prejudice of *Gelanor*, the laſt Prince of the Race of *Inachus*: and from *Danaus* to the *Trojan* War, they ſuppoſe nine Generations in this *Egyptian* Line[u]; and yet from other Circumſtances it is evident, that he lived but about two Generations before the *Trojan* Expedition[w]; and in the Liſt of the *Argive* Kings, for ſeveral Generations before the Deſtruction of

[t] Among the *Egyptians*, before the Dead were admitted to the Rites of Burial, it was the Cuſtom to hold a ſevere Examination into the Actions of their paſſed Life, and, according as they were acquitted or condemned, they were conſigned to Infamy, or received honourable Interment. From the Circumſtances, with which this Cuſtom was obſerved, aroſe the ſeveral Fictions concerning the Realms of Death.——

Herod. in Euterpe. *Diod. Sic.* L. 1. — See particularly *Warburton*'s Div. Leg. of *Moſes*, B. 2. Sect. 4.

[u] *Lynceus*, *Abas*, *Acriſius*, *Danaë*, *Perſeus*, *Alcaeus*, *Amphitryon*, *Hercules*, *Tlepolemus*. See Dialogue the third.

[w] *Nauplius* King of *Euboea*, and Father to *Palamedes*, was Grandſon to *Danaus*: and *Oeneus*, Grandfather to *Diomedes*, was married to one of his Daughters.——

Apollod. L. 2. C. 1. See below Note *y*.

Troy, not even is the Name of *Danaus* to be found [x]. The Truth is, *Danaus* never reigned at *Argos* [y]: and thoſe Princes of *Argos* or *Mycenae*, who

[x] *Diomedes* poſſeſſed the Throne of *Argos*, at the Time of the *Trojan* Expedition; he reigned there in Right of his Wife *Egialea*, Daughter to *Adraſtus*: *Adraſtus* was living at the Time of the firſt *Theban* War; he was Son to *Talaus*, who was Son to *Bias*, who obtained Part of the Kingdom of *Argos* from *Proetus*. *Homer*. Iliad. Rhap. 2. L. 559, *&c.* *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 2. et L. 3. C. 6. See farther, Dialogue the third.

[y] It is not the Purpoſe of this Work to engage in abſtruſe Chronological Diſquiſitions: but nevertheleſs it may be of uſe to obſerve that the Epochas of theſe earlier Tranſactions of the *Grecian* People are much confuſed, and extremely difficult to be aſcertained; there not having been any Records of them preſerved at firſt; and the *Grecian* Writers, who afterwards digeſted them into Hiſtory, either forming their Calculations on falſe Principles, or out of Vanity affecting to aſcribe an high Antiquity to their own Countrymen. Hence it is, that we find ſuch perplexed Accounts of the firſt Founders of the *Grecian* States, and that every Event is removed back two or three hundred Years, and often much more, beyond its proper Place. *Ogyges* is by ſome ſaid to have reigned 1600 Years before the firſt Olympiad *, that in which *Coroebus* was Victor, *i. e.* 2376 before *Chriſt*, earlier than even *Noah*'s Deluge. And *Acuſilaus* †, though much more moderate, places him 1020 before the Olympiads, or 1796 before *Chriſt*, above three hundred Years before the Days of *Moſes*—— The Kingdom of *AEgialeum*, or *Sicyon*, is ſaid to have been founded 2164 Years before *Chriſt*, in leſs than two hundred Years after the Deluge; and the Kingdom of *Phoroniceum* three hundred Years later, not till the Year 1857 before *Chriſt* ‡; and yet are we told that theſe two Kingdoms were founded by two Brothers, *AEgialeus* and *Phoroneus*, Sons to *Inachus*. —— *Cecrops* firſt King of *Athens* is ſuppoſed to have lived 796 Years before the Olympiads, or 1572 before *Chriſt*; and this even by the *Parian* Marbles, the moſt reſpectable of the *Grecian* Chronicles.—— *Deucalion*'s Flood is placed in the Year 1529: The Arrival of *Danaus* in the Year 1475: that of *Cadmus* in the Year

* Vide *Cenſorinum* de Die Natali.
† Vide *Scalig.* Excerpta Graec.
‡ *Petav.* Rat. Temp. B. 1. L. 1.

who are ſaid to be deſcended from him, are either fictitious, or belong to other Families. Indeed it may be, that he landed on the *Argive* Coaſt; and it appears that ſeveral of his Daughters were matched into ſome of the nobleſt Families of *Greece*: but what his own Fortunes were, whether he enjoyed

Year 1400: and that of *Pelops* in the Year 1324*, about the Time that *Deborah* judged *Iſrael*.——The ſeveral Arts, by which Chronologers have endeavoured to ſupport theſe ſtrange Calculations; their multiplying of Kings, or ſplitting one King into two or three; the numbering thoſe Princes, who ruled over different Diſtricts of a Kingdom at one Time, as ſucceeding to each other in the ſame Principality; the aſſigning too many Years to one Generation, and an extravagant Length to every King's Reign; are ſufficiently expoſed in Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chronology of antient Kingdoms amended; and they, who are acquainted with that excellent Work, need not any Obſervations I can make. But for the ſake of others, I ſhall ſet down ſome few Arguments, that may be offered in Support of the lower Chronology which I have here made Uſe of.

The middle Period between the Arrival of the firſt Colonies from *Egypt*, and the regular Eſtabliſhment of the Olympiads, ſeems to be the *Era of* Troy *taken*; which Event, as it ſhall be proved in the fourth Dialogue, happened about the Year 900 before *Chriſt*: the ſureſt Method therefore of fixing the Age, in which any one of the firſt Founders of the *Grecian* States lived, is to trace out how many Generations intervened between his Time and the Time of the *Trojan* War; the Writings of *Homer* furniſhing us with many Lights concerning the Princes, who flouriſhed at that memorable Epocha.

To begin with *Deucalion*——*Deucalion* retired to the Court of *Cecropia*, or *Athens*, in the Days of *Cranaus* Succeſſor to *Cecrops*, his Kingdom of *Theſſaly* having been laid waſte by an Inundation; and *Amphictyon* one of his Sons married *Atthis* Daughter to *Cranaus*†; and *Xuthus* his Grandſon married *Creuſa* Daughter to *Erechtheus*‡. Now *Glaucus*, one of the Princes, who aſſiſted *Priam* when the *Greeks* made War againſt him, was deſcended from *Deucalion*; for he was Son to *Hippolochus*, who was Son to *Bellerophon*, who was Son to *Glaucus* the firſt, who was Son to *Siſyphus*, the Founder of *Corinth*, who was

* Vide *Petavium* paſſim.
† *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 7.
‡ Ubi ſupra.

joyed any Sovereignty, or lived retired at any of the *Grecian* Courts, is a Queſtion, at this Diſtance of Time ſcarcely to be determined.——

However,

was Son to *AEolus**, who was Son to *Hellen* †, who was *Deucalion*'s eldeſt Son ‡. *Glaucus* therefore was in the eighth Generation from *Deucalion*, incluſively; now theſe eight Generations, as *Deucalion* probably was an old Man, and had Sons who were of Man's Eſtate, when he came to the Court of *Cecropia*, and as *Glaucus* was a Youth, and had his Father *Hippolochus* yet living, when he went to *Troy* §, cannot be computed at much more than 21 or 22 Years to a Generation, that is, about 170 Years: and far from this the Flood of *Deucalion* cannot have been.——

If therefore *Deucalion* came to *Athens* about 170 Years before the *Trojan* War, and *Cranaus* Succeſſor to *Cecrops* was then on the Throne, it is plain how falſely the Times of *Cecrops* have been valued. *Cecrops* is ſaid to have reigned fifty Years; and accordingly he is ſuppoſed here to have come to *Athens* about the Year 1120, that is, fifty Years before *Deucalion*; and this ſeems to be near the Truth.——

Again, there have been three Princes placed in the Liſt of *Athenian* Kings between *Cranaus* and *Erechtheus*, viz. *Amphictyon*, *Eriſichthonius*, and *Pandion* the firſt, who are ſaid to have reigned upwards of 100 Years; but if one of *Deucalion*'s Sons married the Daughter of *Cranaus*, and one of his Grandſons married the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, it is not poſſible that *Erechtheus* ſhould have lived at ſuch a Diſtance from the Time of *Cranaus*. Probably

* He was the Father of the *AEolian* People. This is not the *AEolus*, who reigned in the *Liparae*, and was famous on Account of his Knowledge of the Winds, which he is ſuppoſed to have acquired by obſerving the tempeſtuous Seas, that rage about thoſe dangerous Iſlands **. This *Liparean AEolus* is much poſterior to the other, for he was co-temporary with *Ulyſſes*, and is he, whom the Poets have feigned to be the Monarch of the Winds ††.——

** *Strabo*. Geogr. L. 1.

†† *Homer*. Odyſ. Rhap. 10. *Virg. AEneid*. L. 1. Verſ. 69.

† It is from this *Hellen*, that the Kingdom of *Pthia*, where he reigned, was called Ἑλλας, *Hellas*, and his Subjects Ἑλληνες, *Hellenes*. In Proceſs of Time, all the *Grecians* were known by the Name of *Hellenes*; and *Hellas* became the common Name of *Greece*, of that Part eſpecially, which lay northward of the *Corinthian* Iſthmus.——See above, P. 45. N. ℘.

‡ *Apollod*. L. 1. C. 7. et 9.

§ *Homer*. Iliad. Rhap. 6. L. 207.

However, from what I have told you of the ſevere Convulſions, which the States of *Greece* were expoſed

bly he is the Perſon, whom the multiplying Chronologers call *Eriſichthonius*; and accordingly Sir *Iſaac Newton* conjectures *Erechtheus* and *Eriſichthonius* to be one Perſon, and ſuppoſes him the immediate Succeſſor of *Cecrops*.

Nor is the Argument above the only one to be produced with Relation to the Times of *Deucalion:* for *Pelias*, Uncle to *Jaſon*, who was living at the Time of the *Argonautic* Expedition, that is, about thirty Years before the War of *Troy*, was both by Father and Mother deſcended from *Deucalion*; he was the Son of *Cretheus*, who was Son to *AEolus*, who was Son to *Hellen*, who was Son to *Deucalion:* and his Mother was *Tyro*, who was Daughter to *Salmoneus* King of *Elis*, who was Son to *AEolus*, Son to *Hellen*, Son to *Deucalion* *. By the Paternal Line therefore he was the fifth Generation, *Deucalion* included: now computing theſe five Generations at 28 Years to each, as *Pelias* was an old Man, when the *Argonauts* left *Greece*, and died about the Time of their Return, the whole Amount will be 140 Years, or about 30 Years before the *Trojan* War: and computing the ſix Generations of the Maternal Line, at about 24 Years to each, as a Woman intervenes, which in the Genealogical Way of accounting is valued only at Half a Generation, the whole Account will likewiſe be nearly 140 Years; And therefore are there about 170 Years between the Age of *Deucalion*, and the Time of the *Trojan* War.

And this may farther appear from the Age in which *Neſtor* lived: for *Neſtor* was Son to *Neleus*, who was Brother to *Pelias* by *Tyro* Daughter to *Salmoneus* †; and yet he was at the Siege of *Troy*, and lived to return to *Greece* after the Overthrow of the *Trojan* Empire: but he was an old Man, ſays *Homer*, and ſo it is plain he was, for *Glaucus*, who was one Generation farther removed from *Deucalion*, and that too in the Male Line, was a Chief in the *Trojan* Army, but he indeed very young, and *Neſtor* far advanced in Years ‡.

In like Manner, *Phryxus* was about two Generations before the *Trojan* War——See Dialogue the third——but *Phryxus* was Son to *Athamas*, and *Athamas* was Son to *AEolus*, &c. and therefore *Phryxus* was only the fifth Generation from *Deucalion* §.

And

* *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 9.
† Ubi ſupra.
‡ *Homer.* Iliad. Rhap. 2. L. 370 et paſſim.
§ *Apollod.* ubi ſupra.

expoſed to in thoſe early Days, you may judge how ſlowly their Improvements muſt have been carried

And by this Way of reaſoning it appears how falſely Chronologers have deemed of the Antiquity of *Cadmus*; for *Cadmus* was Father to *Ino*, who was Wife to *Athamas*; ſo that *Cadmus* was only in the fourth Generation before the *Trojan* War; and therefore, even ſuppoſing theſe Generations to have been of a conſiderable Length, *Cadmus* cannot have come into *Greece* much earlier than the hundredth and thirtieth Year before the Expedition to *Troy*——See above, P. 36.

Indeed this ſeems to be contradicted by the Series of the *Theban* Kings, who were in the Male Line from *Cadmus*: for *Eteocles* and *Polynices* were killed about 20 Years before the Siege of *Troy*; now they were Sons to *Oedipus*, Son to *Laius*, Son to *Labdacus*, Son to *Polydorus*, Son to *Cadmus* *; ſo that here are 6 Generations from *Cadmus* in a ſhorter Period by 20 Years. But it muſt be conſidered, that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* were killed in the Bloom of Life, probably three or four Years after the Death of *Oedipus*. *Laius* was alſo taken off by a violent Death. *Labdacus* and *Polydorus* both died young. Compute therefore theſe Generations, each at about 19 Years, one with the other, and you will have a Period of 110 Years, or very little more, which, with the 20 Years, that intervened between the Death of the *Theban* Brothers, and the *Trojan* War, may be ſuppoſed to give nearly the Time in which *Cadmus* lived.

The ſame Method of Computation may be applied to the Families of *Pelops* and *Danaus*. *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* were at the Siege of *Troy*; but theſe two Princes were Sons to *Pliſthenes*, who was Son to *Atreus*, who was Son to *Pelops*. *Pelops* therefore was only four ſhort Generations before the *Trojan* War; for *Pliſthenes* died young, before his Father *Atrens*; and *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* were in the Vigour of Life at the Time of the Siege of *Troy* †——and therefore theſe four Generations cannot be ſuppoſed to make much more than about 90 Years.——

Danaus alſo was Father to *Amymone*, and *Amymone* was Mother to *Nauplius*, by a Prince, who ruled over ſome of the maritime Parts of *Greece*, thence ſaid to be *Neptune* ‡; *Nauplius* was Father to *Palamedes*, and *Palamedes* was at the Siege of *Troy*: theſe were ſhort Generations, for *Amymone* was born in *Egypt*, and probably was marriageable, when *Danaus* came into *Greece*; and *Nauplius* Father to *Palamedes* was yet living, when the *Greeks* returned from *Troy*: ſuppoſe therefore ſixty or ſeventy Years between

* *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 5.
† *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 2.
‡ Vide *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 1.

carried on. Beſides, the Princes, who governed thoſe petty States, were moſt of them Men accuſtomed to War and Ravage, and who knew of no Glory, but that of hardy Atchievements. And therefore theſe Circumſtances of Things could not but impede the Advancement of Arts, which then were only in their Infancy, and which never can flouriſh, but under the Influence of Liberty and Peace.

Eud.

between the coming of *Danaus* into *Greece*, and the *Trojan* Expedition, and you cannot be far from the Truth.——

I do not ſay that theſe Calculations are exactly to be followed; perhaps the Generations have been computed too low, and it may be thought neceſſary to enlarge ſome of them by three or four Years; but this can make no very conſiderable Difference: and from what has appeared of thoſe firſt Princes of *Greece* it is ſufficiently evident, that they have little Right to that high Antiquity, which they have been raiſed to by the greater Number of Writers.

It may farther be obſerved, that the Circumſtances of the *Grecian* People in thoſe Times, that immediately preceded the *Trojan* Wars, ſeem to ſpeak an Infant State, and Eſtabliſhments lately made. The Uſe of Letters, or fixed Characters, was not known in *Greece*, till the Days of *Cadmus*, about five Generations before the Siege of *Troy:* and the Letters, which *Bellerophon* brought to *Jobates* King of *Lycia*, are the firſt Inſtance in the *Grecian* Hiſtory of an Intercourſe carried on by Writing. Agriculture was introduced into *Attica*, only in the Reign of *Erechtheus*, about five Generations before the *Trojan* Expedition. Nor was it known in *Peloponneſus* till much later, about two Generations before the *Trojan* Period. And it appears that even ſo low down as in the Times of *Theſeus*, but one Generation before the *Greeks* deſtroyed the Empire of *Priam*, there was no ſecure Communication opened between the different Parts of *Greece*, but many of the high Ways were poſſeſſed by ſavage Men, and mercileſs Ravagers, who deſtroyed all thoſe that fell into their Hands *—a certain Indication, that Civiliſed Manners were not long known in *Greece*; and that both the Country and its Inhabitants retained much of their antient Rudeneſs.——

See farther, in the latter Part of Dialogue the fourth.

* *Plut.* in Theſeo.

Eud. Nevertheleſs, by the Means of theſe frequent Removes of the *Grecian* Tribes, and the Arrival of thoſe new Colonies, which you have been telling us of, *Greece* muſt have become much enriched, and better peopled.

Pal. You obſerve right, *Eudoxus:* thoſe Strangers, *eſpecially*, were in Truth all adding to the Strength of *Greece*; they formed her Manners, they encreaſed her Wealth, and by Degrees made her Miſtreſs of the Improvements of other wiſe and cultivated Nations. And alſo, happily for her, they ſoon forgat their Native Home, they incorporated into one People, and ſhewed themſelves as ſollicitous for her Proſperity, as if this had been their original Country. Howbeit, it required ſome Time before the different Geniuſes and Diſpoſitions of theſe ſeveral Nations could be melted down, and blended into one; when this was done, *Greece* then truly began to flouriſh. And poſſibly to this Mixture it was owing, that ſhe ever attained to that extraordinary Proficiency in Arts and Sciences, and that her Inſtitutions are to this Day the Subject of Admiration.

I fear, *Cleanthes*, you have found this Part of her Hiſtory dry and lifeleſs; and, I believe, you would rather have hurried on to thoſe Times, where ſhe appears in her full Activity and Vigour. But ſince you will be acquainted with the *Grecians*, you muſt be ſatisfied to ſhare their Fortunes: your Entertainment ſhall be higher, as their Situation becomes more proſperous.

Clean. Indeed, *Palaemon*, I am much delighted; and, were it not that it muſt fatigue you, I could liſten on with Pleaſure.

Pal. You know, we have other Buſineſs at this Hour: But to-Morrow I ſhall expect you both.—Remember—on this Terrace, and before Six.

DIALOGUE THE THIRD.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

HOW is this, *Cleanthes?* diſputing already, and with ſo much Earneſtneſs!

Clean. Indeed, *Palaemon*, never was there a Creature more provoking than this *Eudoxus*. Here he has been arguing me out of my Heroes of Antiquity; and, if you had not come in Time, he wou'd not, I believe, have left me one.

Pal. Your Heroes, *Cleanthes!*

Clean. My Heroes of Romance, as he is pleaſed to call them; and yet, I am ſure, in the Days when *Ovid* and he were firſt acquainted, he admired them as much, as ever I did, and as firmly believed in all their wonderous Exploits. But ſince Yeſterday-Morning he is become a downright *Infidel*. The gallant *Perſeus* he has metamorphoſed into a petty Pyrate, and will have *Meduſa* to have been no more than a mere Woman. *Jaſon*, *Bellerophon*, *Theſeus*, *Pollux* and *Caſtor*, were Adventurers of very ordinary Figure, admired only from the Ignorance of the Times in which they lived. Nay, he was even preparing to attack the Great *Hercules*, and the Hero would certainly have been brought to ſome Diſgrace, had you not luckily appeared.

Pal. I am ſorry he has treated thoſe Favourites of yours with ſo little Ceremony: but nevertheleſs, *Cleanthes*, you know Poets love Fiction; and poſſibly they may have done ſome of thoſe antient Worthies more Honour, than they deſerve. How-

ever, I intend them a Place in this Day's Converſation; and if you will wait patiently, it may be eaſy to adjuſt this Difference.

Clean. You need not laugh, *Eudoxus*; I am certain the Cauſe will be decided againſt you.

Pal. Let us begin with *Perſeus*. His Story properly ſhou'd have come in before; but I thought it better to give you a complete View of the Peopling of *Greece*, and therefore was unwilling to ſtep out of the Way to any incidental Matter. *Perſeus* was of the Line of the *Inachidae*, and Grandſon to *Acriſius* King of *Argos*[z]: *Acriſius* had a Brother called *Proetus*, and one Daughter only, whoſe Name was *Danae*. Kingdoms, even ſuch as were in thoſe Days, were the Objects of Ambition; and *Proetus* appears to have been deeply tainted with it: he had already endeavoured to wreſt the Crown of *Argos* from his Brother; and, failing in the Attempt, had been obliged to retire to *Tyrinthus*, a far leſs conſiderable Principality: he therefore determined to carry on his Schemes in a more ſubtle Manner, and contrived a Stratagem to ſupplant *Danae* of the Royal Succeſſion[a]. For this Purpoſe, the Prieſts were employed, to inſtil ſuperſtitious

[z] He lived, probably, about 110 Years before the *Trojan* War: for *Tlepolemus* Son to *Hercules*, who was at the Siege of *Troy*, was only the fourth Generation removed from him; *Hercules* being the Son of *Amphitryon*, *Amphitryon* of *Alcaeus*, and *Alcaeus* of *Perſeus*. He is here ſaid to have been of the Family of the *Inachidae*: he was the Great-Grandſon of *Abas*, falſely called *Danaus*'s Grandſon —— the Truth is, *Abas* was of *Egyptian* Origin, as was *Inachus*, and all his Family: and thence, I conjecture, they, who have aſſigned to *Danaus* an high Antiquity, have ſuppoſed him to be the Father of all the *Argive* Princes, who were of the *Egyptian* Line.

See Dialogue the ſecond, P. 58, 59, *&c.* and alſo the laſt Note of the ſaid Dialogue.

[a] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 2, et 4. *Pauſ.* in Corinth.

tious Fears into *Acriſius*; and an Oracle was obtained, that threatened him with Loſs of Life from the Hand of his Grandſon. The King was weak enough to liſten to theſe artful Suggeſtions; and *Danae* was cloſely impriſoned in a Tower, whoſe Walls were lined with Plates of Braſs, and before whoſe Gates a ſtrong Guard watched continually. But all *Acriſius*'s Precautions availed little —— *Jupiter*, ſays the Fable, having changed himſelf into a Shower of Gold, made his Way through the Roof of the Priſon [b]; that is, the Preſents of ſome neighbouring Prince [c] corrupted thoſe who kept her, and opened him an Entrance into the Apartments of the young Princeſs. This Intrigue was ſoon diſcovered by the Birth of a Son; and *Acriſius*, whoſe Reſentments were heightened by the Remembrance of the Oracle, commanded the Child and her to be expoſed to the Mercy of the Seas, in a ſmall Veſſel, in which it was ſcarcely poſſible they ſhou'd eſcape. They were nevertheleſs preſerved. The Waves left them on the Iſland *Seriphus* [d], where *Dictys*, Brother to *Polydectes* King of the Iſland, took Care of the Education of *Perſeus*, for ſo was the young Prince called, and ſaved *Danae* from the Violence, which *Polydectes* wou'd have offered to her. When *Perſeus* was grown up, he reſolved to leave *Seriphus* in Search of Adventures;

[b] *Ovid.* Metam. L. 1. *Horat.* Carm. L. 3. Ode 16. *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 4.

[c] It appears from *Apollodorus*, (L. 2. C. 4.) that ſome antient Authors ſuſpected *Proetus* himſelf to have been the Perſon: and *Voſſius* (de Idol. L. 1.) has embraced this Opinion. But is not this ſomewhat inconſiſtent with the Purpoſes of his Ambition? It was not his Intereſt, that there ſhould be any of the Lineage of *Danae*, to ſucceed to the Throne of *Argos*.

[d] An Iſland in the *Egean Sea*, one of the *Cyclades*. See Dialogue the fifth.

tures; and having equipped a Ship, or rather a ſmall Fleet, ſet Sail for the Iſlands of the *Gorgades*, on the Coaſts of *Africa*. Theſe Iſlands were governed by three Siſters, *Stheno*, *Meduſa*, and *Euryale*, the Harmony of whoſe Counſels was ſuch, that the Poets have feigned, that they had but one Eye in common among them. They were alſo famed for their Extent of Commerce; and on this Account they are ſaid to have been the Daughters of a Sea-God and Sea-Goddeſs, *Phorcys* and *Ceto*, a Fiction frequently made uſe of in Favour of thoſe, who excelled in Naval Skill: and ſo formidable had their Wealth and the Power of their Fleets rendered them to all the Nations around, that they are fabled to have had brazen Hands and Wings of Gold [e]. But notwithſtanding all the Advantages they were poſſeſſed of, *Perſeus* ſucceeded in his Enterprize againſt them; *Meduſa* was ſlain, and the young *Grecian* plundered the Treaſures of the *Gorgades*. The Conduct and Valour of *Perſeus* in this Expedition the Poets have ſet forth by an ingenious Fiction: They tell us, that *Mercury*, a God remarkable for Swiftneſs, gave him a Sword; that *Minerva*, or the Deity of Intrepidity and wiſe Counſels, furniſhed him with a Shield; and *Pluto*, or the God of Darkneſs, with an Helmet that rendered him inviſible: I ſuppoſe, to imply the Bravery and Diſpatch, with which he ſurpriſed and defeated the *Meduſean* Forces. And ſo prodigious was this Succeſs of his accounted, that they alſo tell us, that the Head of *Meduſa*, which he afterwards bare in his Shield, was encompaſſed with Snakes, and had ſuch an hideous Aſpect, that it petrified all that beheld it: it is poſſible *Perſeus* might have carried about him ſome Trophy, or perhaps

[e] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 4. *Rudbek. Atlantica.* T. 3.

perhaps have had inſcribed on his Shield ſome Recital or Portraiture of his Adventures, which ſo aſtoniſhed the Beholders, that they became like Men of Stone, motionleſs, and unable to reſiſt him: or indeed it may be, this only is meant by it, that the Report of his Bravery and wonderous Feats ſpread a Terror before him, and prepared the Victory for him where-ever he ſhewed himſelf [f].

Clean. Well—but, *Palaemon*, they tell us of a winged Horſe, called *Pegaſus*, which ſprang out of the Blood of *Meduſa*.

Pal. Critics ſuppoſe, that this *Pegaſus* was one of the Ships of *Meduſa*, probably ſo named from its ſwift ſailing, and which *Perſeus* became poſſeſſed of, by the Death of that unfortunate Princeſs. But, *Cleanthes*, you forget an other Circumſtance, which is mentioned by your Friend *Ovid*— he tells us, that Coral was formed out of her Blood: what ſay you to this Part of her Hiſtory [g]?

Clean. Oh *Palaemon*, that plainly bears the Stamp of Fiction. Surely you do not think me ſo credulous!

Pal. And yet the Unravellers of antient Fables pretend, that this ſtrange Story contains a plain Fact, only ſomewhat diſguiſed by its Poetical Dreſs. It ſeems, Coral was found in great Plenty about the *Gorgades*, and the Victory obtained by *Perſeus* gave the *Grecians* an Opportunity of gathering it without Oppoſition. The Poets told this their own Way, and ſo was the Blood of *Meduſa* metamorphoſed.—Nevertheleſs, *Cleanthes*, I muſt tell you, there are thoſe, who think this boaſted Expedition

[f] *Apollod.* ubi ſupra. *Pind.* Pyth. Ode 12. Nat. Com. L. 7. *Banier* Explic. Hiſt. des Fables, Ent. 20.

[g] *Ovid.* Metam. L. 4.

pedition means only a mercantile Voyage, and that *Perſeus* was a mere adventuring Trader, who ſailed out to obſerve diſtant Coaſts, and to eſtabliſh a Commerce with the Nations he ſhou'd meet with[h]: but that the *Grecian* Writers, to magnify the Actions of their Countryman, have related this Enterprize in the pompous Manner, which it now appears in.

Clean. What, *Palaemon?* not even allow him to have been a Warriour!

Pal. Be comforted, *Cleanthes*; we ſhall not give up his Military Character ſo eaſily. From the Iſlands of the *Gorgades*, he paſſed over into *Mauritania*, where reigned *Atlas*, a Prince of Gigantic Size, and enormous Strength, if we are to believe the Poets, and who was poſſeſſed of vaſt Wealth; his Flocks and his Herds were without Number, and the very Trees of his Garden bowed down with Fruits of Gold. Here *Perſeus* met with formidable Oppoſition; but the Head of *Meduſa* ſoon reduced his Enemies, and *Atlas* was changed into a Mountain, which bare his Name[i]: that is, *Perſeus* and his Forces engaged him on ſome one of the Mountains of *Mauritania*, which became famous by the Defeat and Death of that unfortunate Prince, and was thence called the Mountain of *Atlas*. However, *Perſeus* ſeized his Golden Apples, or rather his Treaſures, which probably owed their Encreaſe to ſome Golden Mines; whence the Fiction, that his Gardens produced Fruits of Gold.

Clean. But why then ſhou'd *Atlas* be ſaid to have ſupported the Heavens on his Shoulders?

Pal.

[h] *Le Clerc* Notes ſur *Heſiode.*

[i] *Ovid.* Metam. L. 4. *Banier* Explic. Hiſtor. des Fables, Ent. 20.

Pal. This ſeems to be a Mixture of Hiſtory and Fable. *Atlas*, we are told, was an excellent Aſtronomer; and the Mountain, on which he was wont to make his Obſervations, might, on Account of its Height, ſeem to reach the Heavens [k]. From theſe Particulars, it was eaſy for Men who loved marvellous Fictions, to ſay that the Heavens reſted on the Shoulders of *Atlas*. And thus alſo the Fabuliſts tell us, that *Hercules* eaſed *Atlas* of his Burden, and ſupported the Heavens for one Day. This Fiction probably had its Riſe from ſome Aſtronomical Obſervations, which *Hercules* made, or employed others to make, perhaps on the ſame Place, where *Atlas* had formerly made his.

The next Exploit, which *Perſeus* performed, was on the Coaſt of *Phoenicia*, where he aſſiſted *Cepheus* King of *Joppa* [l] againſt ſome, who had invaded his Territories; and was rewarded with the Princeſs *Andromeda*, *Cepheus*'s Daughter. The Manner, in which the Poets have diſguiſed this Expedition, deſerves Notice. —— They tell us, that the Kingdom of *Cepheus* was infeſted by a Sea-monſter, and that the King was commanded by an Oracle to give his Daughter to be devoured by it, as the only Means of freeing his Country from this Plague. *Cepheus* at length conſented; *Andromeda* was bound to a Rock [m], and the Monſter was approaching, when *Perſeus* appeared in the Air, mounted on the winged Horſe *Pegaſus*,

[k] *Herodotus* tells us that, even in the later Ages, the *Lybians* called the Mountain *Atlas*, the *Pillars of Heaven*. In *Melp.*

[l] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 16. *Newton*'s Chronology.

[m] According to *Joſephus* (Bell. *Jud.* L. 4.) the People of *Joppa* could ſhew the *very Rock*, and the Marks of the Chains, with which the Princeſs had been bound, impreſſed on it.——Such Pains were ſometimes taken, to eſtabliſh ſpecious Monuments of the Truth of the worſt-grounded Fictions.

and darting down on the Monſter ſlew him, and delivered the Princeſs. It is ſuppoſed that this Monſter was ſome neighbouring Prince of great Power, but of a cruel ſavage Diſpoſition, who courted *Andromeda*, and being refuſed by her Father, revenged himſelf by laying waſte the Coaſts of *Joppa*. *Cepheus* was obliged to purchaſe Peace at the Expence of his Daughter, and the Day for the Eſpouſals was appointed, when *Perſeus* arrived, and ſaved the Princeſs. He attacked this *Monſter of a Man*, and after a bloody Engagement at Sea, in which the Ship *Pegaſus* did great Service, obtained a complete Victory over him[n].—After theſe Succeſſes, *Perſeus* returned into *Greece*, and delivered his Mother from the Hands of *Polydectes* King of *Seriphus*. From *Seriphus* he paſſed into *Peloponneſus*, where the Fortunes of *Acriſius* had undergone a ſevere Revolution: for no ſooner had *Proetus* ſeen his Brother childleſs, but he put his Schemes in Execution againſt him, and invaded the Kingdom of *Argos*. It was therefore *Perſeus*'s firſt Care to expel the Uſurper, and to reſtore his Grandfather to the Throne: but, ſhortly after, he was undeſignedly the Cauſe of his Death by a Quoit, which, as he was throwing it, fell on the Foot of the old King. This obliged *Perſeus* to leave *Argos*. For among the antient Inhabitants of *Greece* in ſuch Deteſtation was Murder held, that he who had killed an other, even without Deſign, was forced to go into Baniſhment, and to ſeek Expiation at ſome foreign Court. *Perſeus* therefore, being now ſtained with the Blood of *Acriſius*, reſigned his own Kingdom to the Family of *Proetus*, and retired to *Tyrinthus*, in the Neighbourhood of which he built *Mycenae*, a City which ſoon became one

[n] *Banier* Explic. Hiſt. des Fables, Ent. 20.

one of the moſt powerful in theſe ſouthern Parts, and eclipſed the Glory of *Argos*.

Eud. I thought *Argos* and *Mycenae* had been one Kingdom.

Pal. They were near to each other, and therefore are they often confounded; and indeed at laſt they fell under the Government of one Prince [o]: But nevertheleſs in the earlier Ages they were diſtinct States, and under the Power of different Sovereigns. At *Argos* reigned the Houſe of *Proetus*; and accordingly, Part of this Kingdom having been given as a Reward to *Melampus*, an excellent Phyſician of thoſe Days [p], on account of his having recovered *Proetus*'s Daughters from a violent Hypochondriac Diſtemper [q], we find *Adraſtus*, Grandſon to *Bias*, *Melampus*'s Brother, in Poſſeſſion of the *Argive* Throne, at the Time of the *Theban* War [r]. But the Kingdom of *Mycenae* devolved to *Sthenelus* Son to *Perſeus*, and to *Sthenelus* ſucceeded *Euryſtheus* his Son, co-temporary to the great *Hercules*, and famed for the Hatred he bare to him.

Clean. So then, *Perſeus* ended his Days in Peace on the Throne of *Mycenae*.

Pal. In Peace and Glory, as may be conjectured from the honourable Station, which the Poets have aſſigned to him and his Family. They tell us, that he and his Wife *Andromeda*, with her Father and Mother, *Cepheus* and *Caſſiopeia*, were tranſlated into Heaven, and changed into Conſtellations. It is

[o] See Dialogue the fifth.

[p] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 2.

[q] In their Phrenſy, they fancied themſelves to be Heifers, and ranged through the Meads of *Argos*.

Proetides implerunt falſis mugitibus agros.

Virg. Ecl. 6. l. 48.

[r] See above, Dialogue the ſecond, P. 60. N. *x*. See alſo a farther Account of *Adraſtus*, in the following Part of this Dialogue.

natural to ſuppoſe, that *Perſeus* employed his laſt Years in Aſtronomical Studies, in which *Cepheus* alſo is ſaid to have borne a Part. And perhaps the Stars, which are known by thoſe Names, were firſt obſerved by one of thoſe two Princes[s]; a ſufficient Authority for Fabulous Writers, who oftentimes have built their Fictions on a much ſlenderer Foundation.

But enough of *Perſeus*——It is Time now to conſider the State of the reſt of *Greece*. We have ſeen how ſhe received her Inhabitants from different Parts. Ye will, I believe, be glad to know what Improvements they made, and what was the Fate of the Kingdoms, which they eſtabliſhed.

Of all the Principalities, which the Deſcendents of *Deucalion* founded in different Parts of *Greece*[t], none was more conſiderable than *that* on the Iſthmus, which divides the *Aegean* from the *Ionian* Sea: here, as I told you Yeſterday[u], *Siſyphus* Grandſon to *AEolus* built a City, called at the Beginning *Ephyre*, but more generally known by its later Name of *Corinth*[w]. *Siſyphus* had a Son named *Glaucus*; and *Glaucus* was Father to *Bellerophon*[x], a Prince, whoſe Adventures hold a diſtinguiſhed Place in the *Grecian* Annals. *Hipponomus* was his Name at firſt; but having had the Misfortune to kill one *Bellerus*, he was thence called *Bellerophon*, or the Slayer of *Bellerus*. This unhappy Chance obliged him, though Heir to the Crown

[s] So thought the great Prince of Philoſophers among the *Romans*——*Nec vero Atlas ſuſtinere cœlum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaſo, nec ſtellatus Cepheus cum uxore, genero, filiâ, traderetur, niſi cœleſtium divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulae traduxiſſet.* Cicer. Tuſc. Quaeſt. L. 5.

[t] *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 7.

[u] See Dial. 2. P. 57.

[w] *Pauſ.* in *Corinthiacis.*

[x] *Homer.* Iliad. Rhap. 6. L. L. 152, &c.

Crown of *Corinth*, to leave his natal Land; and he retired to *Argos*, where King *Proetus* admitted him to the Rites of Expiation. *Proetus* was an old Man, for you know, *Cleanthes*, he was Brother to *Acriſius*; and though probably much younger than he, yet muſt he have been far ſtricken in Age, when *Bellerophon* made his Appearance in *Argos*[y]. But he had a Queen, in Years far unequal to him, *Sthenoboea*[z], or *Antea*, as *Homer* calls her[a]; ſhe ſaw the young Prince with *guilty* Eyes, and ſoon found the Opportunity of making her tender Wiſhes known to him. *Bellerophon* had Virtue, and rejected her Suit; and *Sthenoboea*, fired

[y] It has ſeemed ſtrange, that *Bellerophon*, who was only two Generations earlier than the *Trojan* War, ſhou'd have been expiated by *Proetus*, Uncle to *Perſeus*, who muſt have lived five or ſix Generations before the Expedition to *Troy*. And hence have ſome conjectured *, that there were two *Proetus*'s, the firſt Brother to *Acriſius*, the ſecond co-temporary to *Bellerophon*. But this Suppoſition ſeems not to be ſufficiently founded in Hiſtory. It may therefore be obſerved, that *Proetus* might have been many Years younger than *Acriſius*, and even younger than *Danae*; it being very poſſible that *Acriſius* ſhou'd have a Daughter, before his Brother *Proetus* was born. For though *Apollodorus* in one Place (the Beginning of the 2 Ch. of his 2 Book) tells us, that *Acriſius* and *Proetus* were born at one Birth: yet in an other Part of the ſame Chapter he ſays, that it was *Proetus* who ſhared his Kingdom with *Melampus*; and it is certain there was only one Generation between that in which *Melampus* lived, and that of *Adraſtus*, who was living at the Time of the *Theban* War, about 20 Years before the Siege of *Troy*; ſo that by this Account, *Proetus* muſt have ſurvived *Acriſius* by a greater Number of Years, than can with any Probability be aſſigned to him, had he been of equal Age with *Acriſius*. Now *Bellerophon* was a young Man, in the Bloom of Life, when he came to the *Argive* Court; ſuppoſe therefore *Proetus* to have lived to old Age, perhaps may he have reached 70 or 80 Years, and, in that Caſe, it is not inconſiſtent that *Bellerophon* ſhou'd have ſeen *Proetus*.—— See, concerning the Times of *Bellerophon*, Dial. 2. P. 60. N. *y*.

* M. *Banier*. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. T. 10.

[z] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 2.

[a] *Homer*. Iliad. Rhap. 6. L. 160.

fired at his Scorn, accuſed him to *Proetus* of having attempted her Honour. The credulous King gave Ear to the Accuſation; but ſo highly in thoſe Days were the Laws of Hoſpitality revered, that he would not embrue his Hands in the Blood of one, who had ſought Refuge in his Dominions; and therefore he ſent him to *Jobates*, King of *Lycia*, and Father to *Sthenoboea*, with Diſpatches, in which *Bellerophon*'s guilt was laid open, and *Jobates* called upon to revenge the Inſult offered to his Daughter. The firſt Reception, *Bellerophon* met with at the Court of *Lycia*, was noble and generous: but when *Jobates* had read the Contents of the fatal Letters, he reſolved that he ſhould periſh; and, in order to this, commanded him to march againſt the *Chimaera*, a Monſter, the Terror of *Lycia*, and which had already ſpread Deſolation through all the Country round. They tell us, that this horrid Ravager had its upper Parts like a Lion; its middle Parts like a Goat, and its Tail like the Tail of a Dragon; and from its Mouth Flames of Fire poured forth. I ſuppoſe, *Cleanthes*, I need not tell you, that theſe are the Ornaments of Fiction; though from theſe very Exaggerations you may judge how extremely hazardous was the Enterprize. But Innocence is always protected from above, and *Bellerophon* came off victorious. The ſame Succeſs attended him in all his other Dangers; and though expoſed a-new to various Trials, yet did he triumph over every Difficulty, and ſubdue all the Enemies, that were raiſed againſt him. *Jobates* was a wiſe and good Prince; he admired the many excellent Qualities, that appeared in this *Grecian* Stranger, and began to ſuſpect the Truth of an Accuſation, ſo inconſiſtent with *Bellerophon*'s blameleſs Manners. In ſhort, he received him into his Favour; he ſhared his Kingdom with him;

and

and gave him one of his Daughters to Wife [b]. Thus was *Bellerophon* eſtabliſhed in *Lycia:* and accordingly *Homer* numbers his Grandſon *Glaucus* among the *Aſiatic* Princes, who came to the Aſſiſtance of *Priam*, when the confederate *Greeks* warred againſt him [c].

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, are not we told, that *Bellerophon*'s latter Days were clouded o'er by ſome dire Misfortune?

Pal. Yes——ſome of the Writers of Fable ſay, that he conceived the ambitious Thought of mounting up to Heaven on a winged Horſe, and that *Jupiter* caſt him down to Earth, where he was doomed to wander, forlorn and comfortleſs [d]. It is ſcarcely worth enquiring, what particular Circumſtances may lie concealed beneath this ill-wrought Fiction. *Homer* [e] gives us an other Account far more natural; and he ſeems to have known well the Hiſtory of the Princes of *Lycia*, and probably might have ſpent ſome Time at the *Lycian* Court [f]: He tells us, that the Domeſtic Calamities, which *Bellerophon* was viſited with, his Daughters deſtroyed by the Arrows of *Diana*, that is, ſnatched away by a ſudden Death; and his eldeſt

[b] Vide *Homer*, ubi ſupra. *Pindar.* Olymp. Ode 13. *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 8. et L. 13.

[c] *Homer.* Iliad. Rhap. 2. L. 876.

[d] *Horat.* Carm. L. 4. Ode 11.

[e] Iliad. Rhap. 6. L. 200, *&c.*

[f] *Homer* ſeems to have ſought every Opportunity of doing Honour to the Great Families of *Aſia Minor:* And indeed it appears, that the *Aſiatic* Kingdoms, and their moſt eminent Princes, were as familiarly known to him, as the Hiſtory of *Greece* and of her Kings. This is not ſurprizing, if we admit, what is moſt probable, that *Homer* was born on the Coaſt of *Aſia:* He had viſited the Courts he ſpeaks of, and had felt the Beneficence and Protection of the Deſcendants of theſe antient Heroes.—— See more concerning *Homer*, Dialogue the fourth.

eldeſt Son ſlain in the Field of Battle, preyed ſo deeply on the Spirits of this wretched Father, that he ſunk into a gloomy Melancholy, and ſpent his laſt Years in a lonely Retirement, far away from the chearful Reſort of Men.——

Clean. Pray, *Palaemon*, may we expect as entertaing an Hiſtory from every Royal Family of *Greece?*

Pal. Why, *Cleanthes*, if you have ſuch Delight in wonderous Tales; Thanks to the Poets, they have abundantly provided for your Entertainment. And the Adventures of *Cadmus* and his Family are, I think, to the full as ſtrange, as any I have yet recited to you.

Clean. Cadmus! you mentioned him to us already [g]. And I remember, my friend *Ovid*, as you are pleaſed to call him, tells many an aſtoniſhing Story of that Founder of the *Theban* Kingdom [h].

Pal. You may recollect then, what a Number of Prodigies he met with, from his firſt Entrance into *Aonia*, for ſo was *Boeotia* called in antient Days [i]; his encountering a Serpent of a monſtrous Size, and his Victory over him; his ſowing the Seed of the Serpent; the Growth of armed Men, that ſprung up from this uncommon Seed; their engaging together, and killing one the other, till at laſt, five only remaining, they made Peace, and became the Companions of *Cadmus*.—— Such an *Air* of Romance have the Poets given to his ſeveral Exploits.——You may remember alſo, what a Cloſe of Life they have feigned for him; and how his Wife *Hermione* and he went into *Illyrium*

[g] See Dial. 2. P. 41.
[h] *Ovid.* Metam. L. 3.
[i] *Pauſan.* in Boeoticis,

rium, and were transformed into Serpents [k].—— The Fortunes of his Children were not leſs amazing. His Daughter *Ino*, Wife to *Athamas*, was obliged to leap into the Sea, with her Son *Melicertes* in her Arms, to avoid the Rage of her diſtracted Huſband, and was changed into a Sea-Goddeſs, and *Melicertes* into a Sea-God [l]. *Semele*, an other of his Daughters, was Miſtreſs to *Jupiter*, by whom ſhe became pregnant, but was deſtroyed by the Pomp and Splendor of the God, who, in Compliance with her ambitious Requeſt, came arrayed in all the Brightneſs of his Majeſty. The Infant was not yet born, when this fatal Accident befell her; but *Jupiter* took him out of her Womb, and encloſed him in his Thigh, where he remained, until his Term was completed. This Child proved to be *Bacchus*, the God of Wine and Jollity [m].

Eud. I ſuſpect, the Poet had quaffed deep of the Gifts of the Jovial God, when he brought forth this monſtrous Fiction.

Pal. Indeed, *Eudoxus*, Fictions ſuch as theſe are a laſting Reproach to the Nation, that believed them. And one might be tempted to imagine, that it was the *Privilege* of the groſs heavy *Boeotians*, to embrace the moſt abſurd Superſtitions. *Ignorance is the Mother of Credulity.* And certainly their Accounts of their Founder *Cadmus* and his Family are the moſt prepoſterous of any of the *Grecian* Legends, and ſeem well adapted to the Genius of an ignorant and ſimple People. However, under this dark Diſguiſe, thus much of Hiſtory has been

[k] *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 4. et 5.

[l] She received the Name of *Leucothea*, and *Melicertes* that of *Palaemon*. *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 4. *Ovid.* Metam. L. 4.

[m] *Apollod.* ubi ſupra. *Ovid.* Metam. L. 3. *Diod. Sic.* L. 4. ſub initio.

preſerved, that ſoon after *Cadmus* and his *Phoenicians* had paſſed into *Boeotia*, Vines were cultivated, probably by ſome of the *Cadmean* Family; and the Feaſt of the Vintage introduced: for ſuch undoubtedly were the *Bacchanalian* Feſtivals at their firſt Inſtitution. And though the *Boeotians* might, in their Manner of celebrating them, intend particular Honours to the Perſon, who taught them the Art of dreſſing the Vine, and preſſing the Grape; nevertheleſs, as to moſt of the Adventures of *Bacchus*, and the Exploits aſcribed to him, we are rather to look for them in the Hiſtory of ſome *Egyptian* or *Phoenician* Prince, which ſeems to have been interwoven with that of the *Grecian* God [n].

But the moſt memorable Part of the Annals of the Houſe of *Cadmus* is the Hiſtory of *Oedipus* and his Children [o]. Next to *Cadmus*, *Polydorus* his Son reigned at *Thebes*; who, dying in a ſhort Time, was ſucceeded by *Labdacus*, as yet a Minor. *Labdacus* alſo, ſoon after he was of Age, died, and left an infant Child, named *Laius*. *Laius*'s Fortunes were extremely various: in his earlier Years he had many ſevere Dangers to encounter; he was diſpoſſeſſed of his Paternal Inheritance by *Amphion* and *Zethus*; and was obliged to take Refuge at the Court of *Pelops*. At length, he recovered the *Theban* Crown, and having married *Jocaſta*, became Father of the famed *Oedipus*. E'er the Birth of this ill-fated Child, the Prieſts had declared, that *Jocaſta* wou'd bring forth a Son, and that he was deſtined to be the Murderer of his Father, and the inceſtuous Huſband of his Mother. The King therefore, affrighted at this menacing Oracle, as ſoon as the Child

[n] *Herod.* in Euterp. *Plut.* de Iſid. et Oſir. *Diod. Sic.* L. 1. See alſo Dial. 2. P. 31, *&c.*

[o] *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 5. *Pauſ.* in Boeoticis.

Child was born, gave Directions, that he ſhould be put to Death, and had him delivered to a truſty Servant for that Purpoſe. But the Miniſter of his Orders, moved with Mercy towards the young Prince, ſpared his Life, and gave him to the Care of a Shepherd, with expreſs Injunctions, that the Secret of his Birth ſhould never be divulged. After a Variety of Adventures, he became dear to *Polybus* King of *Sicyon* [p], and was educated as the Heir of his Dominions: but underſtanding, that he was not Son to the *Sicyonian* King, he left his Court, and went to the Oracle of *Delphi*, to enquire concerning his Parents: At the ſame Time, *Laius* likewiſe, diſturbed at a Report, *that Oedipus was yet living*, was journeying thither to know what had been the Fate of his Son. They met at *Phocis*; and a Fray happening among their Attendants, *Oedipus* unwittingly killed his Father.—— Soon after this, he was induced to viſit *Thebes* by an high Reward promiſed to whoever ſhould free the Country from a Monſter, that infeſted it. The *Sphynx* it was called: and the Writers of Fable pretend, that it had the Face of a Woman, the Breaſt, the Claws, and the Tail of a Lioneſs, and the Wings of a Bird; and that it devoured all them, that cou'd not expound the Riddle it propoſed to them [q].

[p] *Pauſan.* in Corinthiacis. —— Some have ſuppoſed *Polybus* King of *Corinth*, but no ſuch Name is to be found in the Liſt of the *Corinthian* Princes.

[q] The Riddle, as preſerved by antient Writers, ſtands thus— What Creature is it, that goes firſt on four Feet, then on two, then on three?—and the Solution is, *MAN*. In his Infancy, he crawls: when of riper Years, he walks erect: and at length, when Age and Infirmities come on, he employs a Staff for his Support.——

Vide *Schol.* in Sophoc. *Oedip.* Tyran. et *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 5.

Though *Suidas*[r] tells us, that this Monſter was no other than a Woman, famed for her Cruelties, and at the Head of a numerous Band of Robbers, who lived in a ſtrong Hold near *Thebes*, and by her Ravages had rendered herſelf formidable to the *Boeotian* People. However, in vain had *Creon*, who had filled the Throne from the Time of *Laius*'s Death, endeavoured to put an End to this Devaſtation; and his Son *Haemon*, with many other noble *Thebans*, had already periſhed in the Attempt. In this calamitous Situation, he offered to beſtow both the Kingdom and *Jocaſta* on him, who ſhou'd ſucceed in the perilous Adventure. A Prize ſo inviting encouraged *Oedipus*; he attacked the *Sphynx*, deſtroyed it, and was rewarded accordingly. But this Scene of Happineſs was ſoon changed: he diſcovered the Misfortunes of his Birth, and became one of the moſt affecting Inſtances of the Uncertainty of human Things[s].

Clean. Poor *Oedipus!* I never think of his hapleſs Fate without ſhuddering.

Pal. There is nevertheleſs Room for Suſpicion, that the Tragic Poets, to heighten the Diſtreſs of their own Pieces, have blackened his Hiſtory. *Homer* draws it in much ſofter Colours: he tells us, that the Gods ſaved him from the Guilt, which he was plunging into; and that, immediately after his Marriage, he diſcovered *Jocaſta*, or *Epicaſte*, for ſo *Homer* calls her, to be his Mother[t]. *Pauſanias* is of the ſame Opinion, and relates, that he afterwards married *Euryganea*, the Daughter of *Hyperphas*, and reigned proſperouſly over the *Theban*

[r] *Suidas* in Οἰδίπους.—See alſo the Account *Pauſanias* gives us of this pretended Monſter, in his Antiquities of *Boeotia*.

[s] *Sophocl. Oedip.* Tyrann. et *Oedip.* Colonus.

[t] *Homer.* Odyſ. Rhap. 11. L. 270, &c.

ban Kingdom [u].——But, whatever may have been the latter Part of his Fortunes, the Fate of his Children is extremely intereſting. He left two Daughters *Antigone* and *Iſmene*, and two Sons *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. The young Princes agreed, that they ſhould reign, each of them one Year, alternately; and *Eteocles*, as the eldeſt, aſcended the Throne firſt. But the Charms of Regal Power prevailed over every other Conſideration; and he refuſed to admit his Brother to his Share of the Sovereignty [w]. *Polynices*, aſſiſted by *Adraſtus* King of *Argos*, whoſe Daughter he had married, and by five other great Princes [x], declared War againſt him. This War proved fatal to the *Cadmean* Family; both *Eteocles* and *Polynices* fell: and of thoſe Chiefs, who had aſſiſted *Polynices*, all, *Adraſtus* only excepted, fell alſo; and with them a great Number of *Argives* of inferior Quality. Revenge gave continuance to a War, which ought naturally to have ended with the Death of the two contending Princes: and ſuch a virulent Hatred did *Creon*, who had ſucceeded to the Throne, bear to the Friends of *Polynices*, that he even refuſed the Rites of Burial to the *Argives*, and cauſed *Antigone* to be interred alive, becauſe ſhe had privately paid the laſt Duties to *Polynices* her Brother [y]. *Adraſtus* therefore, whoſe Army was

[u] In *Boeoticis*.

[w] *Diod. Sicul.* L. 4. *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 6. *Pauſ.* in Boeoticis. *Stat.* Theb.

[x] *Tydeus*, Son to *Oeneus* King of *Aetolia*, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, *Hippomedon*, and *Parthenopaeus*. —— *Diod.* et *Apollod.* ubi ſupra.

[y] *Sophocles*, in his Play of *Antigoné*, has drawn, in ſo affecting a Manner, the Diſtreſſes of this unhappy Princeſs, that, at the firſt Repreſentation of the Piece, the *Athenians* decreed the Poet the

was now extremely weakened, was obliged to implore Aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, in Behalf of his unfortunate Countrymen. He fled to the Altar of *Mercy* at *Athens*. Obſerve, *Cleanthes*, how exalted muſt have been the Sentiments of this generous People. They alone of all the *Grecians* [z] numbered the *Genius of Mercy* among their Gods, and worſhipped him with ſolemn Rites. For, as *Diodorus*, to their immortal Honour, bears Witneſs, not through all *Greece* were there any to be found, who prized ſo highly *the ineffable Delight of ſweet Humanity* [a]. The *Athenians* readily eſpouſed the Cauſe of the ſuppliant *Argives*, and obliged *Creon* to grant a Burial Place for the Slain, under *Cadmea*, the *Theban* Citadel [b].——Ten Years after, the Sons of thoſe Chiefs [c], who had aſſiſted at the Siege of *Thebes*, having raiſed numerous Forces under the Conduct of *Alcmeon* the Son of *Amphiaraus*, renewed the War again. This is called *the War of the* Ἐπίγονοι, or *Succeſſors*. And what is extremely remarkable, as in the firſt Expedition, of all the Confederate

the Government of *Samos* for his Reward. —— No Wonder that Literature ſhould have flouriſhed highly among a People of ſo delicate a Taſte, and where Merit was honoured with ſuch Diſtinctions.

[z] Ἀθηναίοις, ſays *Pauſanias*, ἐστιν Ἐλέου βωμός, ᾧ, μάλιστα Θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὅτι ὠφέλιμος, μόνοι τιμᾶς Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι.—— In Atticis.

[a] Ἀθηναῖοι διαφέροντες ἄλλων χρήστοτητι. —— How glorious ſuch a Panegyric!

[b] *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Theſeus*, ſays, that the Bodies of the Dead were recovered by Perſuaſion and mutual Agreement, and that they were buried, not in *Thebes*, but in the Territories of *Attica*. On the other Hand, *Euripides*, in his *Suppliants*, *Apollodorus*, and ſome other Authors, ſay, that *Creon* was compelled by Force of Arms to allow them a Place for Interment.

[c] Theſe were *Alcmaeon*, and *Amphilochus*, the Sons of *Amphiaraus*; *Aegialeus*, the Son of *Adraſtus*; *Diomedes*, the Son of *Tydeus*; *Promachus*, the Son of *Parthenopacus*; *Sthenelus*, the Son of *Capaneus*; *Therſander*, the Son of *Polynices*; and *Eurypylus*, the Son of *Hippomedon*.—— *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 7.

Confederate Princes, *Adraſtus* alone eſcaped with Life, ſo in the laſt, *Aegialeus* Son to *Adraſtus* was the only one of the Allied Kings, that was ſlain [d].

Clean. How did this War end at laſt?

Pal. Authors differ much about the Fate of the *Theban* People. *Apollodorus* tells us [e], that they fled away with their Wives and Families, and left *Thebes* to the Mercy of the Ἐπίγονοι, who plundered the City, and quite razed its Walls. Others affirm, that *Therſander* Son to *Polynices* recalled the *Thebans*, and reigned over them, and was their Leader in the Expedition to *Troy* [f].

Clean. But do not the Bards of old ſay, that *Amphion* built the Walls of *Thebes* with the Muſic of his Lyre [g]?

Pal. They do, *Cleanthes*; and it is an eaſy happy Fiction. The Muſic of his Lyre was the perſuaſive Power of his Eloquence, or rather of his Numbers [h]; for in thoſe firſt Days of *Greece*, not only was the Poetic Tale cloathed in Numbers, but alſo the Orator's Speech, and even the Political Precepts of the Lawgiver, were delivered in the ſame harmonious Form. *Amphion* therefore, by the prevailing Force of his tuneful Verſe, ſo wrought on the rude *Thebans*, that they became ſubmiſſive

[d] *Apollodorus*, ubi ſupra.

[e] *Apollodorns*, ubi ſupra.

[f] It appears that he never reached *Troy:* and hence it is, that *Homer* has not mentioned his Name among the *Boeotian* Chiefs. He miſſed his Courſe, and landing in *Myſia* was ſlain by *Telephus*.—*Pauſ.* in Boeot.

[g] Dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor arcis,
Saxa movere ſono teſtudinis, et prece blandâ
Ducere quo vellet. ——————Horat de Art. Poet.

[h] *Pauſanias* informs us, that he conſiderably improved the Muſic of the *Grecians*, and encreaſed the Number of the Strings of the Lyre from four to ſeven.—— In Boeot.

ſubmiſſive to his Government, and aſſiſted him in fortifying their City againſt the many Enemies, that aſſailed him on every Side. For *Homer* tells us [i], that the Wars, which he and his Brother were engaged in, undoubtedly againſt *Laius* and his Friends, obliged them to encompaſs *Thebes* with Walls, and to raiſe Towers around it. It is nevertheleſs difficult to ſay, whence this *Amphion* ſhould have been ſo favourably ſpoken of, for he was a baſe Uſurper, and a Man of Violence and Blood [k].

Eud. And yet, they have made him alſo the Son of *Jupiter*.——

Pal. Yes, he is ſaid to have been the Son of *Jupiter* [l] by *Antiope* [m], according to the Humour of thoſe Times; for every Princeſs, who ſuffered herſelf to be diſhonoured, charged the Crime to the Account of ſome Deity or other. But with all the Advantages of Birth and Abilities, he was poſſeſſed of, his Days were far from being proſperous. As long as he was ſeated on the *Theban* Throne, he was ſurrounded with Fears and Dangers; and in the End, he and all his Houſe were deſtroyed by a violent Plague. Hence the Fiction, that *Apollo* and *Diana* ſhot his Children with their Arrows [n], and that his Wife *Niobe* was ſo deeply affected by the Misfortunes of her Family, that ſhe was changed into a Stone, which, ſay the Poets, is ever ſtreaming with Tears [o].

Eud.

[i] *Homer.* Odyſſ. Rhapſ. 11. L. 261, *&c.*

[k] Vide *Pauſ.* ubi ſupra.

[l] *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 5.

[m] She was Daughter to *Nycteus*, and Niece to *Lycus*, who had both been ſucceſſively Guardians of the *Theban* Kingdom, during the Minority of *Labdacus*, Father to *Laius*.

[n] *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 5.

[o] ——————Lacrymas etiam nunc Marmora manant.——
Ovid. Met. L. 6.

Eud. I believe, *Palaemon*, *Thebes*, which you now ſeem to have done with, was not far from *Attica*; and it is a conſiderable Time, ſince we have heard any Thing particular of the Fortunes of that illuſtrious State. What think you.——

Pal. I was juſt paſſing over to *Athens*. —— The People there, though free from the violent Convulſions, that ſhook the other States of *Greece*, enjoyed not a ſettled Peace: they had inteſtine Wars, and were involved in frequent Diſputes about the Succeſſion to the Crown, which divided the Princes of the Royal Family one againſt an other[p]. After the Death of *Erechtheus*, his Son *Cecrops*, the ſecond of the Name, aſcended the Throne, but was ſoon driven from it by his Brother *Metion*, and retired to *Megara*, where he died. His Son *Pandion* endeavoured to make good his Pretenſions to the Crown of *Athens*, but, failing in the Attempt, he likewiſe ended his Days in Exile[q]. This *Pandion* was Father to the unfortunate *Philomela*, the Victim of the brutal Luſt of her Brother-in-law *Tereus*[r], King of *Daulis*[s]. After *Pandion*'s Death, his Sons, notwithſtanding a ſharp Oppoſition from the *Metionidae*, recovered the Kingdom, and the Throne was aſſigned to *Aegeus* the eldeſt Son[t], in whoſe Days an other Revolution threatened the *Athenian* State[u]. *Aegeus* had a Brother named *Pallas*, who was Father of fifty Sons, and, proud of his numerous Iſſue, openly avowed his

[p] *Apollod.* L. 3. C. 14.

[q] *Apollod.* ubi ſupra. *Pauſ.* in Atticis.

[r] A well-known Story —— *Ovid.* Metam. L. 6. —— *Tereus* was originally of *Thrace*, but had ſettled in *Greece*.—— *Pauſ.* in Attic. *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 9.

[s] A ſmall Sovereignty in *Phocis*.—— *Strabo*, ubi ſupra.

[t] *Apollod.* ubi ſupra. *Pauſan.* in Atticis.

[u] *Plut.* in Theſeo.

Hopes of obtaining the Crown. The King himſelf was obliged to diſſemble, and having wedded *Aethra*, Daughter to *Pittheus*, Prince of *Troezen*, concealed his Marriage, and had his Son *Theſeus* privately educated at his Grandfather's Court. In the Midſt of theſe Civil Diſſentions, *Androgeos*, the Son of *Minos* King of *Crete*, arrived at *Athens*, to be preſent at the Celebration of the *Athenaea*, the great *Athenian* Feſtival. The Sons of *Pallas* took Care to cultivate the Favour of the young Prince, whoſe Father was juſtly eſteemed one of the wiſeſt and moſt powerful Monarchs of his Time. *Aegeus* was alarmed at this, and, liſtening too much to his Fears, cauſed *Androgeos* to be aſſaſſinated. The *Cretan* King, as ſoon as he heard of his Son's Death, and the treacherous Manner of it, prepared to attack the *Athenians* with all his Forces, and in a ſhort Time poſſeſſed himſelf of *Megara*, a City on the *Attic* Frontiers, where reigned *Niſus*, *Aegeus*'s Brother [w]. The Heavens alſo declared in Favour of *Minos*, and the Viſitation of a Famine was added to the Horrors of War. Theſe ſevere Calamities obliged *Aegeus* to enquire of the Oracle, which made Anſwer, that he muſt appeaſe *Minos*: and through the Interceſſion of *Aeacus* King of *AEgina* [x] was a Peace granted to him, on theſe Conditions, that every ninth Year ſeven young Men and ſeven Maidens ſhould be ſent to *Crete*. This grievous Tribute had been twice exacted [y], when *Theſeus* firſt

[w] *Scylla* Daughter to *Niſus*, betrayed the Place to *Minos*.—— *Apollod.* ubi ſupra. *Ovid.* Metam. L. 8.

[x] *Diod. Sic.* L. 4.

[y] Firſt on the Concluſion of the Peace, and nine Years after; ſo that *Theſeus* came to *Athens* about 18 Years after the War with *Minos*.

firſt came to *Athens:* He had already made his Name terrible, having on his Way from *Troezen* deſtroyed ſeveral Robbers of great Strength, who infeſted the Roads, and tortured all thoſe, who fell into their Hands [z]. Arriving at length at the Court of *Aegeus*, and producing the Pledges of his Birth [a], he was acknowledged as the King's Son; and ſhortly after obtained a complete Victory over the *Pallantidae*, who, ſeeing themſelves cut off from the Hopes of the Succeſſion, roſe up in Arms, and purpoſed to invade the Throne.—— The Time of the third Tribute was now come; and the People openly murmured againſt a King, whoſe raſh Action was become the Means of bereaving them of their Children, whilſt he was the only Perſon exempted from the Puniſhment. *Theſeus* heard their Complaints, and generouſly reſolved to ſilence them. The Victims, that were ſent to *Crete*, were choſen *by Lot*. The young Prince offered himſelf of his own Accord, *without any Lot*, and promiſed that he wou'd endeavour to put an End to the cruel Oppreſſion, which his Country laboured under. He went accordingly, with the Prayers and Bleſſings of the *Athenian* People. What were the Dangers he was to be expoſed to, it is yet a Queſtion. The fabulous Writers feign, that *Minos* delivered theſe tributary Victims to a Monſter, called the *Minotaur*, a Creature, Half-Bull, and Half-Man, to be devoured. Others ſay, that this *Minotaur* was a real Man, named Ταῦρος, a Commander

[z] *Plut.* in Theſeo:

[a] *Aegeus* had concealed under a large Stone at *Troezen*, a Sword and a Pair of Shoes, with Directions to *Aethra*, that, if ſhe brought forth a Son, who, when he was come to Man's Eſtate, ſhou'd be able to lift up that Stone, ſhe ſhou'd with all Secrecy ſend him away with the Things to *Athens*.—— *Plut.* in Theſeo.

in the *Cretan* Fleet, and who, on Account of his harſh brutal Diſpoſition, had been choſen by *Minos* to be the Keeper of the *Athenian* Captives, and treated them with the utmoſt Barbarity. It was the Cuſtom to exhibit theſe Captives at certain Games, which had been inſtituted in Honour of *Androgeos:* and ſome ſay, that *Theſeus*, by *Minos*'s Permiſſion, engaged with *Taurus*, and having overcome him, obtained his Liberty, and the Remittal of the Tribute [b].——But, however this may be, *Theſeus* came back in Triumph, though his Return proved fatal to his aged Father. He had given Directions to change the black Colours, which the Tributary Ship always hung out at her Departure for *Crete*, into white ones, if *Theſeus* happened to come back in Safety. The young Prince, elated with his Succeſs, forgat the King's Directions; and *Aegeus*, who was wont every Day to aſcend an Hill, that leaned over the Sea, to watch the returning Ship, not perceiving any Alteration in the Colours, ſuppoſed that he ſhou'd ſee his Son no more, and unable to ſurvive the Loſs, threw himſelf down headlong [c].

Clean. But pray, *Palaemon*, is this the *Minos*, who was the Diſciple of the *Idaei Dactyli?*

Pal. It appears from the different Times, in which they lived, that they were different Perſons; there being an Interval of ſeveral Years between them: probably this *Minos* was the Grandſon or Great-Grandſon of the *Cretan* Lawgiver [d]. Nevertheleſs,

[b] *Philochorus* apud Plutarchum.

[c] *Plutarch.* in Theſeo.

[d] *Minos* the ſecond died about the Year 940 before *Chriſt*, or about forty Years before the Overthrow of the *Trojan* Empire: *Minos* the firſt reigned in *Crete* about the Time, that *Cadmus* came into *Greece*. *Diodorus* (L. 4.) ſuppoſes, that *Minos* the ſecond was Son to *Lycaſtes*, who was Son to *Minos* the firſt: but how is it poſſible to trace

theleſs, many of the Antients [e] ſeem to have confounded them together; and indeed they bear a very near Reſemblance to each other, not only in their Names, but much more in their Endowments, and the many valuable Advantages they procured to their People. *Minos* the firſt was a Prince of a noble Mind, juſt, brave, wiſe; he made excellent Profit of the Inſtructions of the Sages of Mount *Ida*: he cultivated the moſt uſeful Arts; he raiſed the *Cretans* from a low rude State, to be a knowing improved Nation; and eſtabliſhed his Government on the firm Baſis of well-digeſted equal Laws. *Minos* the ſecond purſued the ſame glorious Plan of advancing the Public Good; he fitted out powerful Fleets; he encouraged Commerce, and made Settlements on many of the neighbouring Iſlands; he adorned his Kingdom with ſumptuous Cities, and noble Structures; he ſpared no Pains to invite to his Court all Foreigners, who were eminent in any Science, and made his Son viſit thoſe States of *Greece*, that were moſt renowned for Wiſdom. But, notwithſtanding all his Virtues, the War he engaged in againſt the *Athenians*, and the oppreſſive Tribute he exacted of them, proved the Means of tarniſhing his Fame. *Wits are of an unforgiving Temper*; and *thoſe* of *Athens* did moſt ſeverely

trace accurately the Generations of Kings ſo little known in Hiſtory? It is likely the *Egyptian* Sages arrived in *Greece* with the firſt Adventurers from *Egypt*; which was about 200 Years before the Siege of *Troy*; and Authors are generally agreed, that the Care of *Minos*'s Education was intruſted to them by King *Aſterius*. It may be indeed, that *Minos* was not yet born, when they came to *Aſterius*'s Court; or that they viſited other Parts, before they made *Crete* their Place of Reſidence——but even ſo, it is to be ſuſpected, that there were more Generations between the Reign of the firſt and the Reign of the ſecond *Minos*.

See Dial 2. P. 24, *&c.*

[e] *Plat.* in Minoe. *Plut.* in Theſeo. *Apollod.* paſſim.

ſeverely avenge their Country. They repreſented him a bloody Tyrant, delighting in nothing but Ravage and Deſtruction; they branded his whole Houſe with Infamy; and have made the Crimes of his Family memorable throughout all ſucceeding Ages[f]. And this inclines me to believe, that the Return of *Theſeus* was not owing to *Minos*, but rather to the Intrigues of ſome at the Court of *Crete*, who favoured the Eſcape of the *Athenian* Prince. And ſo much the more, as the Poetical Writers tell us, that *Ariadne*, Daughter to *Minos*, aſſiſted *Theſeus*, and accompanied him in his Flight[g]; and that *Daedalus* taught him the Method

[f] Hence the ſhocking Account we have of *Paſiphae*, and the *Minotaur*, *Veneris monimenta nefandae.*

[g] *Theſeus* has ſuffered much Reproach on account of this Princeſs——he is charged with having forſaken her in the Iſland of *Dia*, or *Naxos*, where *Bacchus*, or rather *Onarus*, Prieſt of *Bacchus*, (*Plut.* in Theſ.) met with her, and married her. However, there is an antient Author, quoted by *Plutarch*, (*Paeon*) who had recorded, that it was Death, that bereaved *Theſeus* of *Ariadne*, and that ſhe died in the Pangs of Child-birth —— and indeed this ſeems to be confirmed by the Words of *Homer*——

——καλήν τ' Ἀριάδνην,
Κούρην Μίνωος ὀλοόφρονος, ἣν ποτε Θησεὺς
Ἐκ Κρήτης ἐς γουνὸν Ἀθηνάων ἱεράων
Ἦγε μὲν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο. πάρος δέ μιν Ἄρτεμις ἔσχε
Δίῃ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, Διονύσου μαρτυρίῃσι.
Odyſſ. Rhapſ. 11. L. 320.

Fair Ariadne, *from ſage* Minos *ſprung:*
Love's Wiles ſeduc'd her, from her native Land
To flee with Theſus *o'er the briny Surge,*
And ſeek th' Athenian *Tow'rs: but Heav'n denies*
The Nymph's fond Wiſh; on Naxos' *verdant Shore*
She ends her Days, for Bacchus *wills her Death,*
And lo, Diana *aims the deadly Dart.*

It may be, that the young Princeſs died at the Time of Vintage, and that therefore it is ſaid that *Bacchus* willed her Death, or, literally, according to the *Greek*, witneſſed againſt her. Or perhaps the Poet only alludes to the received Opinion, that *Naxos* was under the eſpecial Protection of the God of the Vine. Vide *Euſtath.* in Loc. ſupra citat.

thod of eluding *Minos*'s Vengeance, which ſo incenſed the King, that, *Daedalus* having eſcaped out of his Dominions, he purſued him to *Sicily*, where he loſt his Life by the Treachery of King *Cocalus*[h].

Clean. This *Daedalus* is the *Athenian* Artiſt, whom you mentioned to us Yeſterday[i]?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*, the ſame[k]. He had fled from *Athens* ſome Years before, and had taken Sanctuary at the Court of *Minos*. I have told you already, how excellent he was in Statuary and Architecture; and how many curious mechanical Inſtruments we owe to him. But great Abilities and Integrity of Mind are not always found together; and *Daedalus* ſuffered Envy to betray him into a Crime of the blackeſt Nature. You know, he had a Nephew, named *Talus*; he was a Man of an extraordinary Genius, and though much younger than his Uncle, rivalled him in Reputation by two very uſeful Inventions, the Saw and the Potters Wheel, or, according to others, the Compaſſes. Jealous of his growing Fame, *Daedalus* determined to remove him; and ſoon after tumbled him down from one of the *Athenian* Towers. This bloody Action would not have gone unpuniſhed; but *Daedalus*, fearing the Juſtice of his Country, made

[h] Some Authors ſay, that the Daughters of *Cocalus*, deſirous to ſave ſo excellent an Artiſt, as *Daedalus*, put *Minos* to Death. Under Pretence of paying the uſual Offices of Hoſpitality to the *Cretan* King, they put him in a Bath, heated to an exceſſive Degree, and ſtifled him.——

Conon. Narrat. 25. *Pauſ.* in Achaicis. Vide etiam *Diod. Sic.* L. 4.

[i] See Dial. 2. P. 53.

[k] He was of the Royal Blood of *Athens* *.——In thoſe early Ages, even mechanical Arts were not beneath Perſons of nobleſt Birth.

* *Pauſan.* in Achaicis.

made his Way to *Crete*, where he was received favourably, and lived in high Eſteem at the *Cretan* Court. The Antients aſcribe to him the famous Labyrinth, and ſeveral other great Works, which *Minos* is ſaid to have carried on under his Direction. —— However, having incurred the King's Diſpleaſure, on account of *Theſeus*, he was obliged to take Refuge in *Sicily*: and it was on this Occaſion, that he ſpread out Sails, to quicken his Courſe, the Uſe of which had never been known, until this Time; whence the Fiction, that he formed to himſelf Wings, and flew away[l].

Clean. But what became of *Theſeus?*

Pal. At his Return to *Athens*, after he had performed his Vows to the Gods[m], and paid the Tribute of Tears due to his Father's Memory, he ſet about ordering the Commonwealth. *Attica* had hitherto been divided into twelve petty Diſtricts, each under its peculiar Magiſtrates and Laws. He conſulted the Public Strength by uniting them all into

[l] *Ovid.* Metam. L. 8.

[m] Beſides the *Oſchophoria*, ΟΣΧΟΦΟΡΙΑ, or the *Feaſt of Boughs*, inſtituted on this Occaſion, concerning which ſee *Plutarch*; and the Iſthmian Games in Honour of *Neptune*, concerning which, ſee Dial. 5. *Theſeus* alſo appointed the *Theoria*, ΘΕΩΡΙΑ, to be for ever obſerved. Before he left *Athens*, he had made a Vow, that the *Athenians* ſhou'd annually ſend Deputies to *Delos*, aboard the ſame Ship, whereon he was to embark, if he returned ſafe. In Diſcharge of this Vow, the *Athenians* every Year ſent a ſolemn Deputation to the *Delian* Temple: And as ſoon as the Prieſt had crowned the ſacred Veſſel, in Order for her Departure, the City was purified, and no Criminal was put to Death, till her Return; of which a ſignal Inſtance may be ſeen in the Caſe of *Socrates*. This Deputation was called Θεωρία, the *Viſit to the God*; the *Deputies* Θεωροὶ; and the *Veſſel*, Θεωρὶς.——The Antients tell us, that the ſame Veſſel, which *Theſeus* ſailed in, was by continual Repairs preſerved for ſeveral Years, until the Days of *Demetrius Phalereus*, who flouriſhed in the 115th Olympiad.

into one Body, and made *Athens* the Metropolis: and, having aboliſhed the diſtinct Judicatures, erected one common Hall for Juſtice, the *Prytaneum* of *Athens*, a Building, which remained even to *Plutarch*'s Days. From this Time the *Athenaea*, or *Great* Athenian *Feſtival*, received the Name of *Panathenaea*, or *Feaſt of the United States of* Attica. — The better to cement this Union, *Theſeus* encreaſed the Power of the People; and generouſly gave up Part of his own Prerogative, that he might ſecure the Liberties of his Country. And then, to preſerve a due ſubordination, he divided the Members of the Common-wealth into three Claſſes — the Nobles — the Artificers — and the Huſbandmen. The Nobles enjoyed the greateſt Honours: The Care of Religion, the Choice of Magiſtrates, and the diſpenſing of the Laws, were intruſted to them. The Huſbandmen had moſt Wealth. And the Artificers were moſt numerous [n]. So that a kind of Equality was eſtabliſhed; and, as I ſuppoſe, without the Conſent of the three Eſtates, no Law cou'd be enacted. Thus did *Theſeus* become the Founder of Liberty at *Athens*; and accordingly was he repreſented in one of their Porticoes, accompanied by the *Genius of Democracy* [o].—— This Part of *Theſeus*'s Life is extremely honourable. It were to be wiſhed, this great Hero had not fallen into Exceſſes, which ſully the Glory of his former Years.

But of theſe hereafter.—— I muſt firſt mention to you an other extraordinary Perſon, who appeared about this Period of Time *, and whoſe Example is ſaid to have inſpired *Theſeus* with the Deſire of ſignalizing himſelf againſt the Ravagers

[n] *Plut.* in Theſeo. *Diod.* L. 4.

[o] *Pauſan.* in Atticis.

* About the Year before *Chriſt* 950. See the End of this Dialogue.

of *Greece*; I mean the mighty *Hercules:* though the Accounts, we have of him, are ſo darkened with Fable, that it is well if we can get ſafe thro' this obſcure Part of antient Hiſtory.

Perſeus, as I told you [p], after he had exchanged the Kingdom of *Argos* for that of *Tyrinthus*, built *Mycenae*, and made that new City his Royal Seat. *Sthenelus*, *Perſeus*'s eldeſt Son, ſucceeded his Father at *Mycenae*; and *Alcaeus*, his other Son, had *Tyrinthus* bequeathed to him. *Amphitryon* was the Son of *Alcaeus*, but, having killed *Electryon* his Uncle, he was forced to leave his Paternal Inheritance [q]; and during his Exile had by his Wife *Alcmena* a Son, named at firſt *Alcides*, and afterwards *Hercules*, and fabled by the Poets to be the Son of *Jupiter*. This young Hero, from his earlieſt Childhood, gave amazing Proofs of his undaunted Courage; and ſoon excited the Jealouſy of many of the *Grecian* Princes. Particularly, *Euryſtheus* King of *Mycenae*, and Son to *Sthenelus*, conceived againſt him the moſt violent Hatred, and left no Method untried to work his Deſtruction. Among other Means, the Oracles were not forgotten: and *Hercules* was commanded, in the Name of *Juno*, to undertake all the Enterprizes, that *Euryſtheus* ſhould be pleaſed to call him to. You may judge, *Cleanthes*, theſe were not the leaſt dangerous. But *Hercules*'s Valour triumphed over them all; and what was deſigned for his Undoing, proved the Foundation of his Glory.——One of the moſt remarkable of his Feats was the ſlaying a Monſter, that frequented the Ferns of *Lerna*, whoſe Strength was ſo prodigious, that thoſe wondering Ages have recorded its having nine Heads, and that as ſoon as one was cut off, two others ſprang up in the ſtead of it.—— He alſo engaged with *Diomedes* King

[p] See above, P. 74.
[q] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 4.

King of *Thrace*, who was wont to feed his Horſes with human Fleſh: *Hercules* conquered the cruel Tyrant, and gave him to be deſtroyed in the ſame Manner, that he had deſtroyed others.——He killed certain Birds of an uncommon Kind, that fed about the Lake *Stymphalis*, and were a Terror to the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Parts.——He caught by the Throat the *Nemean* Lion, whoſe Skin no Arrows cou'd pierce, and ſtifled him.—— And took alive a Boar, furious, and of enormous Size, that laid *Arcadia* waſte[r].

Clean. But, I ſuppoſe, *Palaemon*, moſt of theſe are, as uſual, *Poetical Feats*, which it wou'd be ridiculous to believe implicitly.

Pal. Undoubtedly, *Cleanthes*, many of thoſe Monſters, which they tell us of, never had Exiſtence, but in the Land of Fables. Nevertheleſs, through this Gloom of Fiction, which the Acts of *Hercules* have been enveloped in, you may perceive, that his Exploits muſt have been many, and attended with uncommon Dangers. Probably, by theſe Creatures of hideous Form, which the Poets deſcribe to us, are meant ſome of the inhuman Ravagers of thoſe Days, who prided themſelves in brutal Strength, and lived by Ravening and Bloodſhed. Is it a Wonder that, when Fables were in Uſe, Men ſuch as theſe ſhou'd have been transformed into Monſters, which they ſo nearly reſembled? Hence do we read of Boars, and Bulls, and Dragons, and Serpents, conquered by thoſe antient Heroes of *Greece*[s]. Theſe were

[r] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 5. *Diod. Sic.* L. 4. See alſo *Spence's* Polymetis, Dial. 9.

[s] Of this kind was the Sow of *Cromyon*, called *Phaea*, which *Theſeus* deſtroyed: *Plutarch* tells us, that this was a Woman remarkable for Cruelties and Luſt, who had the Name given her on account of her Beaſtly Exceſſes. And *Strabo* ſays, (Geogr. L.

Wretches, whoſe Crimes had made them a Reproach to human Nature. *Hercules* therefore, not alone, as many of the vaunting *Greeks* have recorded, but at the Head of choſen Troops, attacked them in their Faſtneſſes, and delivered his Country of thoſe Sons of Carnage and Violence.—Beſides, there are other Atchievements of his, which are freer from thoſe fictitious Ornaments.—He recovered the *Thebans* their Liberty, at the Time they were oppreſſed by *Erginus* King of the *Minyeans*, who had impoſed on them an annual Tribute. — He engaged in the *Argonautic* Expedition; and aſſiſted at the ſacking of *Troy* — He ſtormed *Pylus*, and ſlew *Neleus*, and all his Sons, *Neſtor* only excepted — He reduced *Lacedaemon*, and gave the Throne in Truſt to *Tyndarus*—He defeated the *Centaurs*, a People in the Plains of *Theſſaly*, who firſt introduced into thoſe Parts the Art of managing Horſes, and whoſe Outrages and ſuperior Might had rendered them formidable to all around them [t].

Clean. Well—but were not theſe Labours of his attended with Peace as well as Glory? and, after all his Conqueſts, did he not alſo conquer the hoſtile Spirit of *Euryſtheus?*

Pal. No, *Cleanthes.* It was Envy, that incenſed *Euryſtheus* againſt him; and Envy is not to be ſubdued by worthy Deeds. *Euryſtheus* was an Enemy to *Hercules*, as long as he lived; and even againſt his Children did he preſerve the ſame virulent Spirit. For it appears, that he rather choſe to give his only Daughter to a Stranger, to *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops*, and appoint him his Succeſſor, than

L. 8.) that ſhe was the Mother of the *Calydonian* Boar (of which ſee more below) who, I ſuppoſe, was ſome lawleſs Ravager, by whom the *Calydonian* Territories were infeſted.

[t] *Diod.* ubi ſupra. *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 5, 6 et 7. *Homer* Iliad. Rhapſ. 5. L. 638. et Rhapſ. 11. L. 689.

than to ſuffer a Prince of the *Herculean* Branch to aſcend the Throne after him. We ſhall ſee in Time the Effects of this ill-judged Policy of *Euryſtheus*; it gave Riſe to many bloody Wars, that proved almoſt fatal to this Part of *Greece*[u].

Eud. Are there not more Exploits recorded of *Hercules*, than thoſe you have mentioned to us?

Pal. It were tedious to recite to you every one, which the Writers of Fable make mention of. There were alſo many more Perſons of the Name of *Hercules*, Men of Renown in antient Times, whoſe Actions have been all aſcribed to this *Grecian* Worthy. For when the *Grecians*, by their Improvements in Literature, had extended their Empire over moſt Parts of the World, they, like other Conquerors, poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole Portion of Glory, that belonged to the great Perſons of other Nations, and beſtowed it all on their own Countrymen. Thus, the Actions of the *Hercules* of *Ida*—the Conqueſts in *Spain* by the *Phoenician Hercules*—the Expedition into *Africa* by an other of the ſame Name, ſuppoſed to have been King of *Egypt*—have all been adjudged to the Son of *Amphitryon*[w]. Nay, not contented with this, they conferred divine Honours on him, and in Time worſhipped him, as one of the Gods of *Greece*: though certainly, however brave and able a Warriour he may have been, he was far from being a fit Pattern for a People; at leaſt, if we may believe the monſtrous Accounts the Poets give us, of

[u] See Dialogue the fifth.

[w] *Cicero* mentions ſix of the Name of *Hercules*——the moſt antient, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Liſyto*——an other, the Son of the *Nile*, an *Egyptian*——a third, one of the *Idaei Dactyli*, in whoſe Honour Funeral Solemnities were celebrated, *cui inferias afferunt*——a fourth, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Aſteria*, worſhipped at *Tyre*——a fifth, the *Hercules* of the *Indies*, called *Belus*——the ſixth, the Son of *Alcmena*, and a third *Jupiter*.——

Cicero de Nat. Deor. L. 3.

of his diſſolute Manners, and of the many Amours he was engaged in. And as for his Death, it was unworthy of any Hero, much more of one, who was deſtined to a Place among the Gods. Racked by the Pains, which a poiſoned Shirt, ſent him by his jealous Wife *Deianira* [x], or perhaps rather ſome poiſonous Draught he received from her, occaſioned to him, he put an End to his own Life on Mount *Oeta* [y].

Clean. And was this the *Hercules*, whom *Theſeus* purpoſed to imitate?

Pal. It was: and accordingly, like him, he was mighty in martial Deeds [z]: he warred againſt the *Centaurs*; he went out with *Meleager* to the Chace of the *Calydonian* Boar [a]; and accompanied the Princes of his Time in moſt of their dangerous Enterprizes. But this is not the only Reſemblance he bears to him. Moſt of the Heroes of that Age had Valour without having Virtue. They were Strangers to that more refined Glory, which the Conqueſt of ourſelves beſtows upon us: and after having in ſome Things approved themſelves the

[x] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 7.

[y] *Quomodo nunc quidem eſt*, ſays a very wiſe Pagan, *non video, quo pacto ille, cui "in monte Oetaeo illatae lampades fuerint," ut ait Accius, "in domum aeternam Patris" ex illo ardore pervenerit.*—— Cicero de Nat. Deor. L. 3.

[z] *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 8. et L. 3. C. 15. *Diod. Sic.* L. 4.

[a] It has already been obſerved, (above, N. *s.* P. 99.) that this was ſome inhuman Plunderer, that laid *Calydon* waſte. It appears, that this *Monſter* had ſtrengthened himſelf greatly, I ſuppoſe, by the Acceſſion of Numbers, like himſelf; ſo that many of the Princes of *Greece*, with *Meleager* Prince of *Calydon* at their Head, formed the famous *Aetolian* Confederacy, attacked him in his Hold, and put him to Death. The Poets have taken uncommon Pains to disfigure this Piece of antient Hiſtory —— and the Prieſts were not wanting to conſecrate the Fable. *Pauſanias* tells us, that there was a Tuſk a Yard long, preſerved in the Temple of *Bacchus*, which the Prieſts affirmed to be the very individual Tuſk of the *Calydonian* Boar.

Pauſ. in Arcadicis

the Firſt of Men, they yielded to Weakneſſes, which the meaneſt of Humankind ſhou'd bluſh to have been guilty of [b]. You may judge, *Cleanthes*, how low were the Morals of a People, whoſe greateſt Princes were openly libidinous and abandoned; and what kind of a Religion it muſt have been, that admitted the Worſhip of Perſons, ſuch as theſe. —— However, *Theſeus*, notwithſtanding all the ſignal Services he had performed for his Country, loſt his Crown and his Life, on account of his vicious Exceſſes. The moſt promiſing Beauty of *Greece*, in thoſe Days, was *Helen*, Daughter to *Tyndarus*, King of *Sparta*. She was thirteen Years old only [e], and *Theſeus* was fifty; and nevertheleſs, he ſtaked all his Honours to obtain her, and accompanied by *Pirithous*, ſtole her away out of the Temple of *Diana Orthia* [d], where ſhe was aſſiſting at the Celebration of ſome ſacred Feſtival [c]. Her Brothers *Pollux* and *Caſtor* purſued the Raviſhers, and laid Siege to *Athens*; but a powerful Party being formed in the City by certain of *Theſeus*'s Enemies, they ſoon opened the Gates to the *Spartan* Princes, and directed them to *Aphidnae*, a City in *Attica*, where *Helen* was concealed. The two Brothers marched thither, and, having ſtormed the Place, recovered their Siſter, and made captive

[b] Vide *Plutarch* in Theſeo.

[c] See the Concluſion of this Dialogue.

[d] ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΟΡΘΙΑ, *Diana the Severe*——Human Victims, ſays *Pauſanias* (in *Laconicis*) were antiently offered on her Altar. *Lycurgus* ſomewhat ſoftened the cruel Rite, and ordered the Altar to be ſprinkled with the Blood of the *Spartan* Boys, whom it was the Cuſtom to whip here, as a Means of forming them to a Contempt of Pain.——See Dialogue the ſixth.

[e] She was dancing, according to *Plutarch*. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that Dances were frequently conſecrated to religious Purpoſes: of which Inſtances may be ſeen even in Holy Writ.

captive *Aethra* Mother to *Theſeus*. During this Tranſaction, *Theſeus* had engaged in an other Act of Violence: he was gone to the Court of *Aidoneus* King of the *Moloſſi*, *Pluto* the Poets call him [f], with *Pirithous*, to ſteal away his Daughter for his Friend: but the *Moloſſian* Prince, being appriſed of their Deſigns, put *Pirithous* to Death, and held *Theſeus* in hard Durance, until the Arrival of *Hercules* [g], at whoſe Interceſſion he ſet him again at Liberty.——Howbeit, there was an End of *Theſeus*'s Proſperity. He returned to *Athens*, but *Meneſtheus* [h], who was at the Head of the oppoſite Faction, and had artfully improved to his own Advantage the Faults, *Theſeus* had been guilty of, ſpirited up the People againſt him, and obliged him to leave the City. This unhappy Prince therefore, now a wandering Exile, retired to *Scyros*, an Iſland in the *Aegean* Sea, where he ſoon after loſt his Life by the Treachery of *Lycomedes* King of the Iſland; and the Sovereignty of *Athens* remained in the Hands of *Meneſtheus*, the ſworn Enemy of *Theſeus* and his Race [i]. Many Ages after

[f] His Dominions were ſituated in the weſtern Parts of *Greece*; and perhaps alſo he practiſed Evocations*: whence, as well as on account of his Name, ΑΙΔΩΝΕΥΣ, the *Inviſible*, he is ſaid to have reigned over the Infernal World.——

See P. 27. N. *g*. and P. 31. N. *p*.

* *Herodot.* in Terpſichore.

[g] So ſays *Plutarch*: and from this it appears, that *Hercules* lived much nearer the Times of the laſt *Trojan* War, than many Chronologers have been willing to allow. For *Theſeus* ſtole away *Helen*, towards the End of his Life: and, in a ſhort Time after, ſhe was married to *Menelaus*; and, probably in leſs than one Year after her Marriage, was borne off by *Paris*.—— But I ſhall refer the Reader to the Concluſion of this Dialogue.

[h] He was of the Royal Blood of *Athens*, and Great-Grandſon to *Erechtheus*: for he was Son to *Peteus*, Son to *Orneus*, Son to *Erechtheus*.—— *Pauſ.* in Corinthiacis.

[i] And accordingly, *Homer* tells us, that *Meneſtheus* led the *Athenian* People to the *Trojan* War. Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 352.

ter[k] his Bones were removed to *Athens* in great Pomp; and the *Athenians*, willing to efface the Remembrance of the Errors of his latter Days, appointed ſolemn Sacrifices to be offered in his Honour, and erected a noble Monument to him, as to the Founder of their Liberties[l]. —— I was willing to conclude the Hiſtory of a Man, who made ſo great a Figure in the earlier Times of *Greece*[m]. I ſhall now ſtep back to the Expedition of

[k] In the 77th Olympiad, about 450 Years after his Death. — See Dialogue the eleventh.

[l] This Monument was appointed to be a Sanctuary for thoſe Slaves, who were oppreſſed by cruel Maſters——the propereſt Compliment, that cou'd be paid to the Founder of Liberty.— Vide *Plut.* in Theſeo.

[m] The Adventures of *Phaedra* and *Hippolytus* have an immediate Connexion with the Hiſtory of *Theſeus*; but, as the Accounts we have of them are liable to great Objections, I choſe to throw them into the Form of a Note.——Some Years after *Theſeus*'s Return from *Crete*, he concluded an Alliance with *Deucalion*, Son and Succeſſor to *Minos*, and took his Siſter *Phaedra* to Wife. He had, before this, a Son by *Antiope* Queen of the *Amazons*, whoſe Name was *Hippolytus*. The young Prince was educated at the Court of *Pittheus* at *Troezen*; and there *Phaedra* ſaw him and loved him. *Hippolytus* was a Stranger to the deluſive Paſſion; his choſen Delights were thoſe of the Chace; and he received the Declaration, which the Queen cauſed to be made to him, with the Abhorrence, natural to a Mind innocent and unbroken by the Uſe of Pleaſures. *Phaedra*, frantic at his Refuſal, accuſed him to *Theſeus*; or, according to others, ſhe put an End to her Life, and was found with a Paper in her Hand, which contained a full Detail of the Reaſons, that moved her to deſtroy herſelf, and charged *Hippolytus* as acceſſary to her Guilt. As ſoon as the fatal Information reached *Theſeus*, he forgot *the Father*, and, in the Bitterneſs of his Soul, imprecated the cruelleſt Curſes againſt his Son. *Neptune*, ſay the Poets, had ſworn to ratify whatever Prayer the *Athenian* King ſhou'd offer; and, in Diſcharge of his Oath, he cauſed Sea Monſters to aſcend from the Deep, as *Hippolytus* was riding in his Chariot along the Shore. The Horſes, affrighted at the horrid Sight, ruſhed away o'er the Rocks; the Chariot flew aſunder; and the unhappy

of the *Argonauts*, which happened ſome few Years before theſe laſt Events, which we have been ſpeaking of.

Eud. I never met with any Accounts of thoſe *Argonauts*, but what were extremely embaraſſed with Fable and Abſurdity.

Pal. The *Argonautic* Expedition was looked upon as one of the moſt glorious Exploits of the firſt Ages of *Greece*; and therefore no Wonder, that antient Writers ſhou'd have beſtowed on it ſo many of the Embelliſhments of Poetry and Fiction. But I ſhall endeavour to diveſt it of ſome of thoſe pompous Ornaments, and ſhew it to you in a plainer Dreſs.——You know, the *Argonauts* were ſo called from the Ship *Argo*[n], in which they ſailed. Every Thing contributed to make their Enterprize memorable——the Quality of the Perſons, who engaged in it, all Men of Princely Birth,

unhappy *Hippolytus* was at length taken up, all mangled, and expiring.——It is eaſy to obſerve, that this Story owes its principal Embelliſhments to Fable. *Hippolytus* is ſaid to be Son to the Queen of the *Amazons*, a Nation, which, though entirely compoſed of Women, formed, as we are told, a flouriſhing State, and waged mighty Wars. But ſome of the wiſeſt of antient Writers have laughed at the very Nature of a State ſuch as this.——The Manner of *Hippolytus*'s Death is not leſs romantic: though *Diodorus* (L. 4.) relates it in a more natural Way. As he was riding in his Chariot, full of gloomy Thoughts, on Account of the Suſpicions, which his Father entertained of him, the Reins fell from his Hands, and the Horſes, finding themſelves unreſtrained, ran off precipitately, and the young Prince was torn in Pieces.——However, who knows but the whole Story was invented, in order to heap Reproach on the Houſe of *Minos?* And though the Art of the Poets may now have been aiding to the Deluſion, yet may it be ſafer to number it among the *Splendida miracula* of thoſe early Ages.

[n] So called on account of its Form, according to *Bochart*, (Chanan. L. 2.) from the *Phoenician* Word *Arco*, long: Ships of War were of this Shape; thoſe deſigned for mercantile Voyages were round.

Birth, and high Accompliſhments——the Novelty of the Attempt, the undertaking a Voyage of ſuch length in a Ship of their own building——and above all, the Feats, which they performed in *Thrace*, in the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and on many Parts of the *Aſiatic* Coaſt [o]. At the Head of theſe Adventurers was *Jaſon*, Nephew to *Pelias* King of *Jolchos* in *Theſſaly*. *Pelias* had uſurped the Throne from his Brother *Aeſon*, *Jaſon*'s Father, and jealous of the many Virtues, that graced this young *Theſſalian* Hero, ſought to remove him, under Pretence of doing him Honour. At the ſame Time, nothing cou'd be more flattering to the Ambition of a Prince, in the Bloom of Life, earneſt after Glory, and fond of Arms, than ſuch an Expedition. He was to bid Defiance to a potent Monarch, *AEetes* King of *Colchos*, who had broken through the moſt ſacred Laws of Hoſpitality——and to revenge the Injuries offered to a Perſon, not only of Royal Birth, but who alſo belonged to him by the near Ties of Blood. This was the unhappy *Phryxus*, Son to *Athamas* and *Nephele*, who had been forced to forſake his Father's Houſe, on account of the Cruelties of *Ino*, *Athamas*'s ſecond Wife. She exerted her utmoſt Rage againſt the Children of *Nephele*, and even availed herſelf of a certain Oracle, which the venal Prieſts [p] had invented at her Inſtigation, in order to have them put to Death. The impending Danger obliged *Phryxus* and *Helle* his Siſter to ſeek

[o] *Apollon. Rhod. Valer. Flacc. Diod. Sic.* L. 4. *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 9. *Pindar Pyth.* Ode 4.

[p] She had the Seed-Corn parched, before it was put into the Ground: and when Enquiry was made of the Gods, why the Land was curſed with Barrenneſs, Anſwer was made, that *Phryxus* muſt be ſacrificed, before the Gods wou'd be appeaſed.—*Apollod.* L. 1. C. 9.

Protection in ſome foreign Country; and accordingly, having ſeized a Part of their Father's Treaſures, they embarked on board a ſmall Veſſel, whoſe Enſign was a Ram, and bare away for *Aſia*. This was the Circumſtance that firſt gave Occaſion to the Fable, that *Phryxus* and *Helle* were carried off on a Ram with a Golden Fleece. *Helle* died at Sea, but *Phryxus* paſſed over ſafe, and was kindly received at the Court of *AEetes*, who gave him his Daughter *Chalciope* in Marriage. For ſeveral Years he lived at this Court in great Proſperity, and ſaw himſelf bleſſed with a numerous Iſſue; but in Proceſs of Time, his Wealth tempted the faithleſs King, who put him to Death on ſome pretended Cauſe of Complaint, and took Poſſeſſion of his Riches [q]. The News of this fatal *Cataſtrophé* ſoon reached *Greece*; and it was thought worthy the Concern of the *Grecian* Princes, to take Vengeance for the Wrongs done to *Phryxus*. *Pelias*, well pleaſed at the Opportunity, encouraged *Jaſon* to undertake ſo noble a Cauſe, and promiſed him powerful Aſſiſtance. A number of Confederates chearfully joined in the Deſign; and, what *Greece* had never yet ſeen, a large Galley or Ship of War was built in *Theſſaly* for this Purpoſe. Aboard this Veſſel embarked *Jaſon*, and along with him, *Hercules*, *Zethes* and *Calais*, *Pollux* and *Caſtor*, *Peleus*, *Telamon*, and in a Word, all the moſt eminent of the *Grecian* Princes. After many ſtrange Adventures, they reached the *Aſiatic* Coaſt, that Part, where the Kingdom of *Troy* was. *Laomedon* was on the Throne at this Time; and at firſt he implored Aid of the *Argonauts*, and made a League with them: a Monſter was wont to come up from the Sea, and infeſt his Territories; and he promiſed

[q] *Apollod.* ubi ſupra.

miſed them a conſiderable Recompence [r], if they wou'd deſtroy it. *Hercules* accepted the Offer; and having preſented himſelf before the Monſter, darted through his Jaws, ſay the Poets [s], and making his Way into his Belly, ſlew him, and forced a Paſſage out again [t]. You will think, *Cleanthes*, that ſuch an extraordinary Service might well claim its Reward: but the perfidious *Laomedon*, as ſoon as the Danger was removed, made light of the Stipulation; which ſo incenſed the *Argonauts*, that they ſtormed his City, and put him and all his Sons to the Sword, *Podarces* only excepted, whoſe Life was ranſomed at an high Price, whence he retained the Name of *Priamus* [u], or the *Ranſomed*. They alſo took Priſoner *Heſione* Daughter to *Laomedon*, and beſtowed her on *Telamon* Prince of *Salamis*.—From *Troas*, they proceeded on through numerous Hardſhips and many *Hair-breadth 'ſcapes*, till at length, they entered into the *Euxine* Sea, and reached *Colchos*. On their firſt Arrival here, *Medea* Daughter to *AEetes*, having fallen in Love with *Jaſon*, came over to the *Argonauts*. This Princeſs aſſiſted them much by her prudent Counſels, and directed them in the *Route* they were to obſerve: She alſo taught them by what Means they ſhou'd recover the Golden Fleece; and if we are to believe the Writers of old, it was guarded by Bulls with brazen Feet, and whoſe Noſtrils breathed forth fiery Flames, and by a Dragon, which never cloſed his Eyes. Probably, this boaſted Fleece was the Spoils of *Phryxus*, which were ſecured,

[r] According to *Homer* (Iliad. Rhapſ. 5. L. 640.) *Laomedon* promiſed them his Horſes: though by theſe ſome imagine, that Ships are rather to be underſtood.

[s] *Lycophron.*

[t] Voyez *Banier* Explic. Hiſtor. des Fables, Ent. 22.

[u] ΠΡΙΑΜΟΣ, from πρίαμαι, *to ranſom.*

ſecured, along with the King's Treaſures, in ſome Place of great Strength and difficult of Acceſs. Nevertheleſs, by the Contrivance of *Medea*, all thoſe Difficulties were ſurmounted, and the *Argonauts*, being now laden with Plunder, were preparing to return, when *Abſyrtus*, Son to the King, and General of his Armies, marched againſt them; but, having been drawn into an Ambuſcade, he was killed, and his Forces put to flight. The Fabuliſts have related this Event in a ſtrange Manner. According to them, *Medea* tore in Pieces the Body of *Abſyrtus*, and ſcattered his Limbs in the Way, that *AEetes* might be delayed in gathering them up. It is eaſy to perceive, that we are only to underſtand by this the Diſperſion of the *Colchian* Army, which broke and fled, as ſoon as their General was ſlain.——After this, the *Grecians* left *Colchos*, and ſhaped their Way homeward, making their Courſe memorable by a Variety of new Exploits [w]. But you may judge of theſe from what you have already heard.——Many of them are ſo marvellous, that I fear *Cleanthes* himſelf wou'd ſcarcely believe them.

Eud. This Account then, which you have given us, is to be looked upon as the Groundwork of all the Fables, which the Poets have invented concerning the *Argonauts?*

Pal. This is the Account generally received—but notwithſtanding, there are Authors, who pay little Attention to the Hiſtory of *Phryxus*, and have aſcribed this Expedition to very different Motives. —— *Plutarch* [x] tells us, that the Deſign of the *Argonauts* was to clear the Sea of Pirates.——Some think [y], it was to excite the *Aſiatic*

[w] *Apollon. Rhod. Val. Flaccus.*
[x] *Plut.* in Theſeo.
[y] Sir *Iſaac Newton*, Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. &c.

tic Kings to aſſert their Liberties on the Death of *Seſoſtris*, to whom they had been Tributaries; and to form an Alliance between them and the Princes of *Greece*.——And again, others [z] are of Opinion, that it was merely for the ſake of eſtabliſhing a Commerce with thoſe of *Aſia*. It is poſſible they might have had this laſt in View; though from the Hoſtilities, which they committed, it is natural to conjecture, that they meant alſo to revenge themſelves on ſome of thoſe Nations for Injuries received, probably, for the Ravages, which Ships from thoſe Parts had often made on the *Grecian* Coaſts [a]——But, whatever might have been the Purpoſe, the Voyage of the *Argonauts* is a valuable Piece of antient Hiſtory, as this Enterprize may truly be ſaid to have given a Beginning to a Maritime Power among the *Greeks*. And we may judge, how highly Navigation was accounted of, even in thoſe diſtant Times, from the many Fables, with which they have dreſſed out this their firſt Naval Eſſay. All the Gods, it is ſaid, preſided at the building of this important Veſſel: the Ship itſelf was *gifted* with the Power of Speech, and propheſied to the Princes, that ſailed in her: and after the Expedition was ended, it was thought beneath the Dignity of ſo precious a Monument to be intruſted to the Care of Men, it was tranſlated into Heaven, and had a Place among the Conſtellations.

Eud. What ſeems to be as ſurprizing as any Circumſtance in this whole Relation, is, that ſo many Princes ſhou'd have engaged in an Expedition, which, whatever was the Deſign, muſt, in thoſe Days, have been eſteemed extremely dangerous, with no more than one ſingle Veſſel.

Pal.

[z] *Le Clerc.* Bibl. Univ. T. 6.
[a] Vide *Herodot.* in Clio.

Pal. It is owing to the Vanity of the *Greeks*, that they have pretended this. It appears from *Homer*[b], who was by far more faithful to hiſtorical Truth, than any of the firſt *Grecian* Writers, that they had a much greater Strength. He tells us, that at the ſacking of *Troy*, *Hercules* alone had ſix Ships under his Command: and there being ſo many other Princes, in Quality and Power not inferior to him, it may be collected that their Force muſt have been very conſiderable. Indeed the Ship *Argo* appears to have had the Commander in Chief on board, and to have been the largeſt Veſſel of the whole Fleet, and perhaps the only one, that had been built in *Greece*, and for this Reaſon has ſhe borne away, though ſomewhat unjuſtly, the whole Glory of this Expedition.

Clean. And pray, *Palaemon*, are we to hear no more of *Medea*, and her Exploits?—But, I ſuppoſe, you chooſe to paſs over the many black Crimes, the Hiſtory of that wicked Woman abounds with.

Pal. Well, my dear *Cleanthes*, I ſee what a dangerous Set of People theſe Poets are. Here is a poor Lady, whom they have traduced[c], now above two thouſand Years ago[d], and to this Day is her Name execrable. Know then, that her Hiſtory ought to ſtand in a much fairer Light, than it has been placed in by Poetical Writers. After the Return of the *Argonauts*, *Jaſon* and ſhe left the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Jolchos* to *Acaſtus* Son of *Pelias*, and retired to *Corinth*, where, according to ſome Authors, ſhe had high Pretenſions.

[b] Iliad. Rhapſ. 5. L. 638, *&c.*

[c] Vide Medeam *Euripid.*

[d] *Euripides* flouriſhed about the eightieth Olympiad, that is, about 360 Years before *Chriſt*.

ſions[e]. Their Abode here for the Space of ten Years was attended with much Proſperity, and they enjoyed among the *Corinthians* a very exalted Station, and ſcarcely leſs than Regal Honour. But in Time, *Jaſon* forgat his plighted Faith: he remembered not the many important Kindneſſes he had received from *Medea*; and taken with the Charms of a new Miſtreſs, the Daughter of *Creon* King of *Corinth*, he reſolved, *at all Hazards*, to gratify his Paſſion, and to divorce a Wife, whom he had ceaſed to love. The *Corinthians* alſo, engaging in *Jaſon*'s Intereſt, declared againſt this unfortunate Princeſs, and had even the Cruelty to maſſacre her Children in the Temple of *Juno*, where they had taken Refuge. Such an avowed Violation of all the Laws, both of Humanity and Religion, cou'd not but reflect infinite Diſhonour on the *Corinthian* Name: and therefore ſucceeding Generations thought it expedient to diſguiſe the Circumſtances of the Event, and to make *Medea* herſelf the Actreſs of the bloody Deed. For this Purpoſe, a large Sum was offered to *Euripides*, a famed Dramatic Writer of *Athens*, to engage him to employ his Talents in Favour of *Corinth*; and I wiſh I cou'd ſay, that the Poet had refuſed the baſe Bribe. But it appears, that he too induſtriouſly performed the Part aſſigned to him: he introduces her in his Drama, a baſe, perfidious, violent, mercileſs Woman; he charges her with having embrued her own Hands in the Blood of her Children, and ſacrificed *Creon*'s whole Family to the Fury of her Reſentments[f]. The Poet's Art has given Probability to theſe dark Falſhoods: and not only did *Medea* live an injured wretched

[e] *Pauſan.* in Corinthiacis.
[f] Schol. in Medeam *Euripidis*, Verſ. 273.

Life, her Memory alſo has become the Sport of Calumny, and bears the Infamy of thoſe Crimes, to which ſhe herſelf fell a Victim.

Clean. Indeed, *Palaemon*, you ſurprize me much. I thought her a very Monſter, enured to every Species of Guilt, practiſed in the blackeſt Poyſons, and one of the felleſt Enchantereſſes of thoſe Times.

Pal. An *Enchantereſs*, *Cleanthes!* why, a modern Wit wou'd tell you, that *all fine Ladies are Enchantereſſes.* But, beſides that kind of magic Charm, which I queſtion not that *Medea* was ſufficiently powerful in, at leaſt e'er the Loſs of her youthful Bloom had made *Jaſon* faithleſs——ſhe was alſo poſſeſſed of ſeveral valuable Arts, ſhe underſtood the Nature of Diſtempers, and was deeply ſkilled in the medicinal Virtues of many Simples. Now, you muſt know, *Cleanthes*, in Ages of Ignorance, ſuperiour Knowledge always makes a Magician. Hence, probably, the Tale of her reſtoring *Aeſon* to Life——ſhe mixed together the Juices of kindly Herbs, that eaſed that aged Prince of his Infirmities, and lengthened out his Days beyond the uſual Courſe [g].

Clean. But then, *Palaemon*, ſhe ſtands accuſed of having poyſoned *Pelias*; or, agreeably to the Style of Fiction, ſhe perſuaded his Daughters to boil the old King, under Pretence that he wou'd riſe young and vigorous out of the magic Kettle. The credulous Fools tried the Experiment, and deſtroyed their Father [h].

Pal. This Story is alſo the Invention of malicious Writers.——*Pauſanias* tells us, from an antient Monument, which was preſerved in the Temple

[g] *Ovid.* Metam. L. 7.
[h] *Apollod.* L. 1. C. 9.

Temple of *Juno* at *Olympia*, that *Jaſon* and his Companions aſſiſted at the Funeral Games, that were ſolemnized in Honour of *Pelias*, who, 'tis likely, had died about the Time of the Return of the *Argonauts*; and that they were entertained in friendly guiſe by *Acaſtus* and his Royal Siſters [i]. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that *Jaſon* cou'd have remained at *Jolchos* in Peace, had *Medea* compaſſed the King's Death. —— Indeed *Diodorus* [k] gives her a Character far different. If his Teſtimony is to be depended on, ſhe was a Princeſs of high Accompliſhments, and who added to the Advantages of a very improved Mind, the Excellences of an Heart generous and good. Whilſt ſhe lived at *Colchos*, it was her Cuſtom to employ her Abilities in relieving the Diſtreſſed, in warning Strangers of the Perils, that threatened them from her inhoſpitable Father, and in diſappointing the bloody Purpoſes of that inhuman King. For it ſeems, *AEetes* laid wait for all Strangers, that entered his Dominions; and of thoſe, who fell into his Hands, few found Mercy. This Conduct, which *Medea* obſerved, drew on her the King's Indignation, and ſhe was in Diſgrace, when the *Argonautic* Fleet appeared on the *Colchian* Coaſt. Theſe Circum-

[i] Theſe Funeral Games were deſcribed on the Cover of a Cheſt, in which *Cypſelus*, afterwards Tyrant of *Corinth*, was concealed by his Mother, when the *Bacchiadae* ſought him, to put him to Death. (Of which ſee an Account by *Herodotus* in his *Terpſichor.*) The *Cypſelidae* dedicated this Cheſt, or, perhaps, rather a Cheſt of the ſame Form, but of richeſt Workmanſhip, in Memory of *Cypſelus*'s Deliverance. The Inſcription on this antient Monument was, according to *Pauſanias*, after the Manner that Oxen mark out the Furrows, ΒΟΥΣΤΡΟΦΗΔΟΝ, one Line ran from left to right, and the other from right to left, the one beginning where the other ended. Moſt of the antient Inſcriptions were in this Form. Vide *Pauſan.* in Eliac. L. 1.

[k] L. 4.

ſtances therefore plead ſtrongly in her Behalf: and if this unfortunate Princeſs joined her Father's Enemies, there is Reaſon to believe, that the Wrongs done to her Siſter *Chalciope*, and her Family, the Abhorrence ſhe had of *AEetes*'s Cruelties, and the Treatment ſhe herſelf had Cauſe to fear, forced her to it[l].

Eud. Is it known preciſely, at what Time this Expedition was?

Pal. It may be conjectured, that it was about twelve or thirteen Years before the firſt *Theban* War, which I juſt now mentioned to you; and thirty-five Years[m], or about one Generation of Men, befor the Everſion of *Troy:* for it appears, that *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Hercules*, *Ajax* and *Teucer* Sons of *Telamon*, *Achilles* the Son of *Peleus*, and ſeveral other of the Sons of the *Argonauts*, were at this ſecond *Trojan* War. It may be ſuppoſed, that *Theſeus* was about twenty, when he went to *Crete*; and that it was not till ſeveral Years after, that the *Argonautic* Expedition happened, probably when he was about thirty-eight[n]. *Caſtor* and *Pollux*

[l] I have not taken Notice of her going to *Athens*, and marrying *Aegeus*. That is a Falſhood ſo abſurd, that it does not even require to be confuted.

[m] *Newton*'s Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. *&c.*

[n] From the *Argonautic* Expedition, which happened, if not exactly in the Year, which it is aſſigned to by Sir *Iſaac Newton*; yet certainly about that Time, unto the laſt *Trojan* War, the Enterprizes of the *Greeks* croud in ſo thick upon us, that it is difficult to determine their Epochas to any Degree of Exactneſs. And *Plutarch*, who, in his Life of *Theſeus*, mentions moſt of thoſe Events, has not given us any Clew, to guide us through the mazy Period. I ſhall therefore attempt ſome vague Account of the Order, in which thoſe Tranſactions appear to have been—*Theſeus* went to *Crete*, when he was about twenty Years old, that is, about the Year before *Choiſt*, 953: for it appears from *Plutarch*, that the third Tribute was then due, and the Death of *Androgeo*;

Pollux muſt then have been in the early Bloom of Life; for they were Brothers to *Helen*, Children of

drogeos ſeems to have happened, ſoon after *Aegeus*'s Return from *Troezen*, where he had married *Aethra*, and left her with Child of *Theſeus*. *Minos* made War on *Athens*, and on the Concluſion of the Peace the firſt Tribute was exacted. Nine Years after, the ſecond was paid, when *Theſeus* was about eleven: for *Androgeos* muſt have been ſome ſhort Time at *Athens*, before he was murdered; and, together with this Interval, the Preparations which *Minos* made againſt *Aegeus*, and the carrying on of the War cou'd not take up much leſs than two Years. Nine Years after the ſecond Tribute, the third was due; and then *Theſeus* went to *Crete*.——As *Theſeus* journeyed from *Troezen*, the Roads were infeſted by ſeveral inhuman Ravagers; and therefore, probably, *Hercules* had not yet made his Name terrible in *Greece*: indeed it may be a Queſtion, whether *Hercules* ſet out on his Exploits, much earlier than *Theſeus*.——After *Theſeus* was returned from *Crete*, he employed himſelf in modelling the Common-wealth, and providing for the Peace and Happineſs of *Athens*. During theſe domeſtic Occupations, I ſuppoſe, he married *Phaedra*.—— About the Year 35, before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, the *Argonauts* left *Greece*: whether *Theſeus* was among them, or not, it is difficult to determine: *Apollodorus* ſays, he was; other *Argonautic* Writers omit him.——Some few Years after the Return of the *Argonauts*, about the Year 30, as I conjecture, before *Troy* was overthrown, was the *AEtolian* Confederacy on account of the Boar of *Calydon*: it cou'd ſcarcely be ſooner, for *Meleager*, the Chief Leader at the *Calydonian* Chace, was one of the *Argonauts*. —— *Tydeus* was Brother to *Meleager*, but ſomewhat younger than he: he was one of the Captains in the firſt *Theban* War; which fell out about the Year 920 before *Chriſt* *; or at moſt, two or three Years earlier. And accordingly, it appears, that *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (Iliad. Rhapſ. 4. L. 376) remembered to have ſeen *Tydeus* and *Polynices* ſolliciting Aids at the *Mycenean* Court. Whence (let me obſerve it by the Way) it may be gathered, that *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* were rather the Sons, than the Grandſons of *Atreus*. *Euryſtheus* muſt have been living at this Time; for *Euryſtheus* reigned till after the Death of *Hercules*; (See Dialogue the fifth) and *Hercules* did not die till after the Rape of *Helen* by *Theſeus*. (See above, P. 104.) At the Time of this firſt *Theban* War, *Theſeus* was on the Throne of *Athens*: for *Adraſtus* applied to the *Athenians*,

* See P. 64. Note *y*.

of the ſame Mother; and *Helen* was at moſt thirteen Years old, when *Theſeus* was fifty: ſo that, allowing

nians, as we have ſeen above, P. 86; and both *Plutarch* (in Theſeo) and *Apollodorus* (L. 3. C. 7,) agree, that *Theſeus* marched to the Aſſiſtance of the *Argives*. —— It muſt have been ſoon after this, that he ſtole away *Helen*; and, probably, in a ſhort Time, after ſhe was recovered from him, ſhe was married to *Menelaus*; and in about a Year after her Marriage, ſhe was carried off by *Paris*; for *Homer* makes her ſay, in the tenth Year of the *Trojan* War, that twenty Years had elapſed, ſince ſhe came to *Troy*:

Ἤδη γὰρ νῦν μοι τόδε εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστὶν, ——
Ἐξ οὗ κεῖθεν ἔβην, καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθα πάτρης.
Iliad. Rhapſ. 24. L. 765.

Now twice ten Years (unhappy Years) are o'er,
Since Paris *brought me to the* Trojan *Shore.* Pope.

Suppoſe therefore, that the firſt *Theban* War happened 23 Years before the Overſion of *Troy* —— the following Year, *Helen* was ſtolen away by *Theſeus*, and recovered again by *Pollux* and *Caſtor*: and at the Beginning of the next Year, when ſhe was about 14, ſhe was married to *Menelaus*: and before one Year more rolled round, ſhe was carried off by *Paris*: for *Helen* only ſays, that it was now the *twentieth* Year, ſince ſhe came to *Troy*; the twenty Years were not yet completed. Indeed, it may ſeem ſtrange, that ſo many Years ſhou'd have paſſed away between the Inſult offered to the *Spartan* King, and the Invaſion of *Aſia* by the *Greeks*: for the *Trojan* War laſted but ten Years: whence then was it deferred ſo long? how were the ten preceding Years employed?——To this it may be ſufficient to anſwer, that the mighty Preparations, which were made for this War, the aſſembling of Forces, the fitting out Fleets, the conſulting of Oracles, required a much longer Space, than wou'd now be neceſſary for an Expedition of this Nature. Beſides, it does not appear, that the *Greeks* determined immediately on carrying the War into *Aſia*: they had Hopes, that *Priam* and the Princes of *Troy* wou'd reſtore *Helen*, and the plundered Wealth of *Sparta*. And therefore we ſee, (*Homer.* Iliad. Rhapſ. 3. L. 205, *&c.*) that *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* were ſent on an Embaſſy to the *Trojan* Court; but the Negotiation proved ineffectual, and the War became neceſſary. And ſo certain

lowing *Caſtor* and *Pollux* to have been about ſeventeen, when they inliſted under *Jaſon*, they were about thirty, when *Theſeus* ſtole away their Siſter *Helen.*——*Helen* was married very young to *Menelaus*; and was ſcarcely more than fifteen, when ſhe was borne away by *Paris:* ſhe was in *Troy* twenty Years; and yet, after ſo long a Space, ſhe had the Power to ſoften the Heart of the injured *Menelaus*, and melt him into Forgiveneſs——perhaps a Form like hers had peculiar Privileges belonging to it. But however, to-Morrow we ſhall talk over the Adventures of this fatal Beauty, whoſe Name has been rendered memorable by the Misfortunes ſhe occaſioned, and whoſe Charms may be ſaid to have proved ruinous to moſt of the *Grecian* States, not leſs than to the *Aſiatic* Nations.

DIALOGUE

certain it is, that this foreign War did not take up the Attention of all *Greece*, from the Time that *Helen* was borne away, that we find, a domeſtic War brake out in the very Heart of *Greece*, three Years before the Expedition againſt *Troy*, the ſecond *Theban* War, I mean, which was by ten Years poſterior to the firſt.

DIALOGUE THE FOURTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

THE Hiſtory of the ſecond *Trojan* War has had an eminent Advantage; it has been ſung by the greateſt Geniuſes of Antiquity, and has given Riſe to the two fineſt Poems, that *Greece* and *Rome* had to boaſt of. However, we are not to ſuppoſe, that *Homer* or *Virgil* entered deep into all the Hiſtorical Cauſes of this War: they were only to make Choice of thoſe Portions and Circumſtances of it, that were moſt ſuſceptible of Poetical Ornament, and might advance higheſt the Glory of thoſe Nations, for whom they wrote. It may therefore be allowable to conſider it in an other Point of View, and to trace its Connexion with the preceding Part of the *Grecian* Hiſtory.

Menelaus, Huſband to *Helen*, was the Deſcendant of *Tantalus*, King of *Sipylus*. You know, *Cleanthes*, the Crimes of that perfidious Prince loſt his Family the Crown *. He had offered Violence to *Ganymede*, the Son of *Tros* King of *Troy*, even in the Temple of *Jupiter*, whither he was come to ſacrifice; and the Princes of that Houſe never ceaſed warring againſt the Houſe of *Tantalus*, 'till they had dethroned the guilty Race. *Pelops*, Son to *Tantalus*, for *Tantalus* did not live to ſee the final Overthrow of his Family, retired into *Greece* to *Piſa*, where he obtained to Wife *Hippodamia* Daughter of King *Oenomaus*, and got Poſſeſſion of the Sove-

* See Dialogue the ſecond. P. 57.

Sovereignty [p]. He had two Sons by her, *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*. *Atreus* married *AErope*, Daughter to *Euryſtheus* King of *Mycenae*, and ſucceeded *Euryſtheus*. *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* were the Grandſons, or rather, according to ſome Authors, the Sons [q] of *Atreus*: after his Death, *Agamemnon* aſcended the Throne of *Mycenae*; and *Menelaus*, by the Marriage of *Helen*, became King of *Sparta*. *Helen* was the Daughter of *Tyndarus* and *Leda*; they owed the *Spartan* Crown to the Bounty of *Hercules*, and were bound by a ſolemn Promiſe to reſtore it to his Poſterity [r]. But the State of the *Herculean* Princes was much fallen [s]: and the faithleſs *Tyndarus* thought himſelf diſcharged from an Obligation, which, he flattered himſelf, might now be violated with Impunity. And probably hence it was, that he wedded his Daughter *Clytemneſtra* to *Agamemnon*, and made Choice of *Menelaus* for his other Daughter *Helen*. He ſought to ſecure himſelf by a double Alliance with a Family, whoſe Crown the *Heraclidae* had likewiſe Claim to, and who therefore, from Principles of Intereſt, muſt be always ready to concur in excluding them out of *Peloponneſus*.— It may naturally be conjectured, that the *Trojan* King beheld with Indignation the flouriſhing Fortunes of this Race of *Tantalus*, whoſe Crimes had been rewarded with the Poſſeſſion of ſo many Kingdoms.

But, beſides this particular Cauſe of Hatred to the *Pelopidae*, he had reaſon to complain of *Greece* in general: they had laid waſte his Country in the Time of the *Argonautic* Expedition; they had

[p] *Pindar.* Olymp. Ode 1. *Pauſan.* Eliac. L. 1 et 2.

[q] See Dialogue the third, P. 117. N. *n*.

[r] See Dialogue the third, P. 100.

[s] Concerning the various Diſaſters, that befel the Houſe of *Hercules*, after his Death, ſee Dialogue the fifth.

ſpilled the Blood of all his neareſt Kindred; and had taken away his Siſter *Heſione* captive. *Priam* made Preparations for repaying theſe Wrongs to *Greece*; he fortified his City, and formed many conſiderable Alliances; and when he thought himſelf in a Condition to bid Defiance to his Enemies, *Paris* was ſent with a Fleet to make Repriſals. His firſt Expedition was on the Coaſts of *Laconia*, where, in the Abſence of *Menelaus*, he plundered his Treaſures, and carried off his Wife *Helen*, who, if the Poets may be believed, was not ill pleaſed with her Captivity.

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, we are told, that *Paris* was hoſpitably entertained at the Court of *Menelaus*, and perfidiouſly deluded away the *Spartan* Queen.

Pal. Antient Writers are by no Means agreed as to the Motives, that engaged *Paris* in this Expedition [t]. However, many of them acknowledge, that he ſet out in a hoſtile Manner, and even pretend, that it was to vindicate his Aunt *Heſione*, who ſuffered much injurious Treatment from her Huſband *Telamon*. Whatever was the Motive, it is ſcarce to be imagined, that he ſhou'd come with Views of Amity to the Court of any of the *Pelopian* Princes, where at beſt he muſt have expected a cool and contemptuous Reception. And indeed, the large Spoils, which *Paris*'s Fleet returned laden with, and which, as it appears from *Homer*, contributed [u], not leſs than the Rape of *Helen*, to excite the *Grecians* to Arms, make it much more probable, that his principal Purpoſe was to inſult and ravage. But the Accounts, we have of this Event, are moſtly from *Grecian* Authors, and, no Doubt,

[t] Vide *Herodot.* in Clio. et Natal. Com. L. 6. C. 23.
[u] Iliad. Rhapſ. 3. V. 282.

Doubt, but they have endeavoured to blacken the *Trojans*, and to render the Cauſe of their own Country honourable and fair-ſeeming.

Eud. There is an other Difficulty in the Hiſtory of *Helen*.——Her two Brothers, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, were they living at the Time of her being borne away? If they were, how happens it, that *Helen* is called Queen of *Sparta*, and that *Menelaus* is ſpoken of as being on the *Spartan* Throne, when, in Truth, the Succeſſion belonged to the Sons of *Tyndarus*? And beſides, if they were in *Sparta*, why did they not make ſome Oppoſition to the *Trojans*? But if they were dead, why does *Homer* ſuppoſe it otherwiſe? for you know, he introduces *Helen*, in the Review ſhe takes of the *Grecian* Chiefs, expreſſing much Surprize at their Abſence [w].

Pal. Some Authors are of Opinion, that *Tyndarus* divided his Kingdom equally among his three Children, *Caſtor*, *Pollux* and *Helen* [x]; and perhaps the Throne of *Sparta* was allotted to *Helen*, and the Territory of *Laconia* portioned out between her two Brothers. They were not dead, when *Paris* invaded *Greece*, but they fell, probably, on that very Occaſion, in Defence of their Country [y]. *Helen* was unacquainted with this fatal Circumſtance, for *Paris*'s Fleet bare her away immediately from the Scene of Danger [z].

Clean. So, *Palaemon*, not a Word of the Judgment of *Paris*, and the Golden Apple?

[w] Iliad. Rhapſ. 3. V. 236.

[x] *Pauſan.* in Laconicis. *Meurſius* de Regno Laconico.

[y] They periſhed in a Storm, ſays an antient Writer, as they were in Purſuit of the *Trojans*.

Dares-Phryg. apud Meurſ. de Regno Laconico.

[z] To the Iſland *Cranae*, lying off the Point of *Taenarus*.

Vide *Homer*. Iliad. Rhapſ. 3. V. 445.

Pal. I ſee, *Cleanthes*, you have ſtill a Kindneſs for the Poets. Come then, will you favour us with this Tale? I dare ſay, you remember it well; and we ſhall be glad to hear it from you.

Clean. With all my Heart; you ſhall have the Fable in the beſt Manner I can tell it.——This famed Golden Apple[a] was the Preſent of the *Goddeſs of Diſcord:* ſhe had been neglected, at the Nuptials of *Peleus* and *Thetis*, to which all the other Deities were invited. In Revenge, ſhe cauſed an Apple of Gold to drop down among them, with this Inſcription, TO THE FAIREST. Immediately, Envy divided the whole Aſſembly; each Goddeſs, but eſpecially *Juno*, *Minerva*, and *Venus*, claimed the Prize, and *Jove* himſelf was unable to ſilence the Contentions of theſe Rival Beauties. At length, it was agreed to refer the Deciſion to ſome artleſs ruſtic Youth; and *Paris*, who, though of Royal Birth, had received his Education among the Shepherds of Mount *Ida*[b], was appointed Judge. The three Goddeſſes appeared before him; and each of them endeavoured to purchaſe his Favour, on the momentous Occaſion. *Juno* was the *Goddeſs of Empire*; ſhe promiſed him Regal Dignity and Extent of Dominion. *Minerva* was the *Goddeſs of Wiſdom*, and the Protectrice of the Liberal Sciences; ſhe offered to render him one of the ſageſt and moſt accompliſhed Princes of the Earth. But *Venus*, the *Deity of Love*, tempted him with the Poſſeſſion of Beauty. The Heart of the young Shepherd betrayed him; he gave her the Apple: and in

[a] Vide *Euripidem* in Troadibus. *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 13. *Virgil.* Aeneid. L. 1. *Ovid.* Epiſt. Parid. ad Helenam.

[b] There were two Mountains of the Name, the one in *Phrygia*, the other in *Crete*.

in Return, ſhe beſtowed on him *Helen*, the faireſt Princeſs of thoſe Days. Howbeit, *Juno* and *Minerva* were mindful of the Indignity, and puniſhed it. The *Power* and *Wiſdom* of *Greece* were called forth to overturn the Kingdom of *Troy*, and the unhappy *Paris* paid with the Loſs of Life for the improper Choice, he had been guilty of.

Pal. An ingenious Apologue, indeed!——You ſhall have my hearty Conſent, *Cleanthes*, to keep your Goddeſſes, if they never give you worſe Inſtruction. Remember only the excellent Leſſon, which you have told us from them; that the ſoft Blandiſhments of Pleaſure always prove fatal, when Reaſon and Duty are not ſuffered to hold the ſupreme Guidance. *Minerva* was the *Inſpirer of ſage Counſels:* and *Juno* not only was the *Goddeſs of Empire*, ſhe was alſo the *Patroneſs of virtuous Love. Paris* ~~diſclaimed~~ the Influence of theſe Deities; and therefore brought he unutterable Diſtreſſes on himſelf and his Country.

Clean. There is a Circumſtance in the Hiſtory of this *Thetis*, which I do not well underſtand: we are told, that ſhe was a *Sea-Goddeſs*. Whence, *Palaemon*, this Fiction?

Pal. It is merely a Poetical Compliment. *Thetis* was the Daughter of a Prince, whoſe Dominions were ſituated in the maritime Parts of *Greece*; ſome ſay, that her Father was King of the Iſland *Seyros*[c]. It was uſual, in the Ages of *Fable*, to beſtow a Part of the Empire of the Deep on thoſe Princes, who were ſeated on the Sea-coaſt: and leſs cou'd not be done for One, who was to be the Mother

[c] Probably ſhe was Siſter to the *Lycomedes*, by whom *Theſeus* was deſtroyed; for *Achilles* was concealed at the Court of this *Lycomedes*; and it was by his Daughter *Deidamia*, that he had *Pyrrhus*.

Mother of *Achilles*, the boasted Champion of the *Grecian* People.——

But we must return to the soberer Style of History. —— The Rape of *Helen* occasioned great Consternation, especially at the Courts of *Sparta* and *Mycenae*: and it was determined to send an Embassy, to demand Reparation of the *Trojan* King. *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Prince of *Ithaca* were chosen for this important Purpose[d]; and certainly no Designation cou'd be more judicious. *Menelaus* was the injured Person, and wou'd not fail warmly to urge a Cause, in which he was so nearly interested: and *Ulysses* was one of the wisest and most eloquent of the *Grecian* Princes. Nevertheless, neither *Ulysse*'s Abilities, nor *Menelaus*'s earnest Plea availed aught[e]: and, after many fruitless Negotiations, they returned to *Greece*. All Thoughts of Peace were now laid aside, and a powerful Confederacy was formed, to carry the War into *Asia*. This Confederacy owed its Strength to a shrewd Counsel, of which *Ulysses* was the Author[f]. The Charms of *Helen* had brought many Suitors to the *Spartan* Court: and, besides *Menelaus*, she numbered most of the Princes of *Greece* among her Admirers,

[d] Iliad. Rhapf. 3. V. 205.

[e] *Herodotus* has given us a very remarkable Account of this Matter, which, he says, he had from the *Egyptian* Priests. He tells us, that it was not in the Power of the *Trojans* to restore *Helen*; for that *Paris*, in his Return from *Sparta*, was driven by a Tempest on the Coast of *Egypt*; and that *Proetus*, then King of *Egypt*, being informed of the Injury he had done to *Menelaus*, dismissed *Paris* with many Reproaches, but detained *Helen* and the *Spartan* Treasures. After the Destruction of *Troy*, *Menelaus* discovered his Mistake, and, sailing to *Egypt*, recovered both his Treasures and his Wife. According to *Herodotus*, this Circumstance was well known to *Homer*: but he chose to exchange Historical Truth for the Embellishments of Fable.——
Vide *Herodot.* in Euterp.

[f] *Apolled.* L. 3. C. 10.

Admirers, *Meneſtheus* of *Athens*, *Ulyſſes*, *Antilochus* Son to *Neſtor*, *Ajax* and *Teucer* Sons to *Telamon*, *Ajax* Son to *Oileus* King of *Locris*, and ſeveral others. *Tyndarus* dreaded the Conſequence of preferring one among ſo many Competitors, of ſuch Quality and Power. But *Ulyſſes* removed the Difficulty: he adviſed *Tyndarus* to exact an Oath from each of the Princes, that they wou'd maintain an inviolable Friendſhip with, and be ever ready to aſſiſt and defend him, on whom he ſhou'd beſtow the Princes. And every one of them chearfully entered into an Engagement, which, his fond Hopes told him, he ſhou'd himſelf enjoy the Advantage of. It now appeared, how well deviſed was the Project of the ſubtle *Ulyſſes:* martial Preparations were made throughout all *Greece*; and *Agamemnon*, *Menelaus*'s Brother, the moſt powerful at Sea of any of the *Grecian* Kings, and whoſe Dominion extended over many of the Iſlands[g], as well as over a conſiderable Part of *Peloponneſus*, was named Chief of the Confederate Forces.—— But, notwithſtanding theſe Shews of War, there is Reaſon to ſuſpect, that many of the *Grecians* were in their Hearts averſe from this Expedition, and privately laboured to diſcredit it. A Report was induſtriouſly propagated, that *Troy* cou'd not be taken but at extreme Hazard; and that many Things were firſt to be performed, of which even the Poſſibility was much to be queſtioned[h]. The *Greeks* were to obtain the Image of *Pallas*, which was moſt religiouſly preſerved in the *Trojan* Citadel: and *Laomedon*'s Tomb, which was built on one of

[g] Thucyd. L. 1.

[h] Natal. Comes, L. 4. C. 5. Iliad. Rhapſ. 9. V. 411. et Rhapſ. 24. V. 540. *Virg.* Aeneid. L. 2. V. 165. Vide et Servium in loc. *Virg.* citatum; et *Apollodorum* de Palladio. L. 3. C. 11.

of the Gates of *Troy*, was to be demoliſhed by the *Trojans* themſelves. Beſides, the firſt *Grecian*, that ſhou'd ſet his Foot on the *Trojan* Shore, was doomed to die. The Prieſts declared, that without *Achilles* the Son of *Peleus*, the *Greeks* cou'd not be victorious; and yet they affirmed, that if *Achilles* went to the War, he ne'er ſhou'd ſee his native Country more. The Oracles required alſo, that the Arrows of *Hercules*, which had been dipped in the Blood of the *Hydra*, ſhou'd be brought to the Siege of *Troy*; but it was not to be expected, that *Philoctetes*, the Friend of *Hercules*, to whoſe Care they had been intruſted, wou'd ever be aſſiſtant to the aggrandizing of the Houſe of *Pelops*.——Nevertheleſs, moſt of the Difficulties were removed, or rather, the Influence of theſe Reports taken off, by the Abilities and Art of *Agamemnon*'s Friends: and ten Years[i] after the Rape of *Helen*, a numerous Army with a Fleet of 1200 Tranſports[k] was got in

[i] It will not ſeem ſtrange, that ſo many Years ſhou'd have elapſed between the Rape of *Helen*, and the carrying the War into *Aſia*, if we conſider, what has already been in Part obſerved, Dial. 3. P. 118, in the Note, that, beſides the various Intereſts to be reconciled, and the many Negotiations neceſſary, to effect a General Confederacy of the *Grecian* People——beſides the Military Preparations to be made, which to a Nation, unacquainted with Expeditions of this Kind, muſt have coſt much Time and Labour; the Attention of the *Grecians* was alſo taken off from this War by ſeveral Domeſtic Occurrences, ſuch as, the ſecond *Theban* War; the Attempts of the *Heraclidae* to recover the Throne of their Forefathers——Of which laſt ſee more in Dialogue the fifth.

[k] *Thucydides* obſerves, that of the *Grecian* Ships the largeſt (thoſe of the *Boeotians*) contained 120 Men, and the ſmalleſt (thoſe of *Philoctetes*) contained fifty. Eſtimate therefore the whole Fleet at a Mean between theſe two, and each Ship will be found to contain 85 Men; and, at this Proportion, the Number of Men, contained in the whole Fleet, will be found to have been not leſs than 102000.—— *Thucyd.* L. 1.

in Readineſs[l]. The Place of Rendezvous was *Aulis*, a Port of the Iſland *Euboea*; and all Things ſeemed now to promiſe a proſperous Expedition; when they who oppoſed *Agamemnon*'s Counſels, had a new Opportunity of carrying their Schemes into Execution. There was a dead Calm for ſome Days; and the Prophet *Calchas*, having been gained over by ſome of the Enemies of the *Atridae*, declared, that the Gods were offended with *Agamemnon*, and that Propitious Gales never ſhou'd reviſit the *Grecian* Fleet, until he had appeaſed Heaven by the Sacrifice of his Daughter *Iphigenia*. The Prophet's Declaration was ſoon divulged among the ſuperſtitious Soldiery; and *Agamemnon*, too anxious to preſerve the Supreme Command, reſolved to gratify his Ambition at the Expence of his Paternal Tenderneſs. However, the Princeſs was not ſacrificed[m]; *Achilles*, they ſay, interpoſed in her Behalf, and threatened Deſtruction to *Calchas*, if he did not ſave her: the affrighted Soothſayer found out ſome other Way of placating the Gods, and

[l] According to *Thucydides*, this was the firſt General Confederacy formed by the Nations of *Greece*——Πρὸ γὰρ των Τρωϊκῶν ἐυδὲν φάινεται πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλας.——For neither did the *Aetolian* League, nor the *Argonautic* Aſſociation take in all the *Grecian* States.

[m] Some Authors, among whom are *AEſchylus* in his *Agamenon*, *Sophocles* in his *Electra*, and *Virgil* in the 2d Book of his *Aeneid*, ſuppoſe this Princeſs to have been really ſacrificed: others, ſuch as *Euripides* in his *Iphigenia*, and *Ovid* in the twelfth Book of his *Metamorphoſes*, ſay otherwiſe. *Cicero*, in his third Book of *Offices*, tells us, that *Agamemnon* really performed the Immolation of his Daughter, but that it was in Diſcharge of a Vow, that he had made in the Year, in which *Iphigenia* was born: he had devoted to *Diana* the faireſt of all the Creatures, that ſhou'd be born that Year in his Dominions.——And yet *Homer* ſuppoſes *Iphigenia* to be living at *Mycenae*, in the tenth Year of the *Trojan* War, and makes not the leaſt mention of the intended Sacrifice.—— Vide Iliad. Rhapſ. 9. V. 287.

and in a ſhort Time the Fleet ſailed for *Aſia.*——*Priam* was not ignorant of their Deſigns; and had employed every Method, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt them: neither Fortifications, nor Martial Equipments, nor Alliances had been forgotten; and ſo many were the Princes, who eſpouſed his Cauſe, that it coſt the *Greeks* nine Years to reduce thoſe Nations, that were confederate with *Troy* [n]. In the tenth Year, they ſat down before the City: And here, if we may believe the Poets, were the moſt amazing Acts of Proweſs performed on either Side——the *Trojans*, and eſpecially the Princes of the Houſe of *Priam*, eminently diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the Defence of their Deareſt Rights——and, on the other hand, the *Grecians* daring all the Dangers of the War, to weaken and diſtreſs the *Trojans*. At length, the great *Hector* fell. That brave Son of *Priam*, who had long approved himſelf, both in Council and in Arms, the faithfulleſt Friend to his Country's Cauſe, and had often ſent Diſmay and Confuſion through the *Grecian* Hoſt, was ſlain by *Achilles*, and opprobriouſly dragged around the Walls of *Troy* [o].——It were to be wiſhed, *Homer* had not made his Hero ſully all his Glories, by wreaking his Vengeance in ſo poor a Manner on the Corſe of this noble *Trojan* [p].

Eud. *Homer* nevertheleſs ſeems to pay an high Compliment to the *Trojan* Prince——His Death puts a Concluſion to the *Iliad*, as if, when he was fallen, there was nothing more, worthy to be recorded.

Pal.

[n] Vide Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 295, *&c.* Rhapſ. 6. V. 415. et Rhapſ. 9. V. 338.

[o] Iliad. Rhapſ. 22. V. 361 et 395.

[p] Perhaps *Homer* meant this as an Inſtance of the dire Effects of Furious Wrath, even in the moſt generous Minds.

Pal. It was not the Plan of *Homer* to ſing the Hiſtory of the Siege of *Troy*, but only of the Anger of *Achilles*; to ſhew the fatal Effects of ungoverned Paſſion, and what a Train of Calamities the Faults of Princes bring upon their People. You may remember, *Eudoxus*, *Agamemnon*'s Pride and injurious Haughtineſs open the Scene [q]: he had refuſed to accept of a Ranſom for *Chryſeis*, Daughter to *Chryſes*, Prieſt of *Apollo*; and *Apollo*, moved by the Prayers of this afflicted Father, ſends a Plague among the *Greeks*. For nine Days had the raging Peſtilence waſted the *Grecian* Army, when a Council is convened, and *Calchas* makes known the high Beheſts of Heaven: *Achilles* ſupports the Prophet; and urges the King to do Honour to the God, and ſave his Country. *Agamemnon*, preſſed by the Neceſſity of Affairs, and full of ſullen Wrath, reſtores to the Prieſt his captive Daughter; but then, to indemnify himſelf, he vauntingly ſeizes on *Briſeis*, a Fair Slave, whom *Achilles* loved with extreme Tenderneſs. *Achilles* felt ſenſibly the Inſult, and reſolved to ſerve no longer under ſo violent and unjuſt a King. This brought numberleſs Evils on the *Greeks*; the *Trojans* being victorious in every Place, in the Abſence of *Achilles*: until, *Patroclus Achilles*'s Friend being ſlain in one of theſe Engagements, the Power of Friendſhip triumphed over every other Conſideration, and he marched out again to Battle. His Preſence brought back Victory to the *Grecians*, and *Hector*, the Bulwark of *Troy*, ſoon fell by his Hand——Theſe are the Out-lines of the *Iliad*. Within theſe, the Divine Poet has wrought a Number of beautiful Epiſodes with ſo much Delicacy and Strength of Genius; he has painted Nature with ſuch lively

[q] Vide Iliad. Rhapſ. 1. et paſſim.

Colouring; and has ſo happily availed himſelf of the Machinery of Deities, which the Pagan Religion admitted of; that, now for above 2400[r] Years, his Works have been the Delight of the moſt improved Nations; and have been thought worthy the Care and Attention of ſome of the greateſt Princes of the Earth[s].

Clean. But, in the End, was not *Achilles* ſlain alſo?

Pal. He was ſlain in the Temple of *Apollo*[t], whither he was come, to wed *Iphigenia* Daughter to *Priam*. It is ſaid, that he had determined to forſake the *Grecian* Confederacy, and to become a Friend to *Troy*; but *Paris*, having concealed himſelf behind the Statue of the God, wounded him treacherouſly with an Arrow. This Circumſtance gave the Poets occaſion to ſay, that the fatal Shaft was ſhot by *Apollo* himſelf.

Eud. According to *Virgil*[u], *Pyrrhus*, Son to *Achilles*, came afterwards to the Siege of *Troy*——

Pal. He came indeed, and ſeverely did he revenge his Father's Death on the perfidious *Trojans*. Soon after his Arrival, the City was taken, or rather betrayed into the Hands of the *Greeks*. He filled the Royal Palace with Slaughter; neither Age nor Dignity checked his reeking Sword; he did not even ſpare old *Priam*, whoſe Virtues his very Enemies bare Witneſs to; and cauſed *Polyxena* to be ſacrificed at the Tomb of *Achilles*[w].

Clean. The *Greeks* then returned victorious?

Pal.

[r] From the Days of *Lycurgus*, the *Spartan* Lawgiver, who firſt brought his Works out of *Aſia* into *Greece*.——
Plutarch. in *Lycurg.*

[s] *Alexander* the Great, and the *Ptolemies* of *AEgypt*.

[t] *Dictys* Cretenſis, L. 3 et 4. *Hygin.* Fabula 107.

[u] Aeneid. L. 2. V. 469, &c.

[w] Aeneid. L. 3. V. 321.

Pal. They did; but it was a dear-bought Victory, *Cleanthes.* They had loſt the Flower of their Army, and many of the braveſt of their Chiefs, *Peneleus*, Leader of the *Boeotian* People, *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Hercules*, *Therſander* the Son of *Polynices*, *Antilochus* the Son of *Neſtor*; and even of thoſe Princes, who eſcaped with Life, few ever ſaw their Country again in Peace. Their long Abſence from their ſeveral Kingdoms had encouraged Faction, and given Riſe to many Diſorders in their private Families.——*Pyrrhus*, *Achilles*'s Son, was deprived of his Father's Kingdom in *Theſſaly*, and obliged to ſettle in *Epire* [x].——The brave *Diomedes*, whoſe Valour had greatly contributed to the Reduction of *Troy*, found his Court diſtracted through the Intrigues and Debaucheries of his Queen *AEgialea*, and, aſhamed of her infamous Practices, retired into *Italy* [y].——*Philoctetes*, who reigned over a Part of *Theſſaly*, was expelled by his ſeditious Subjects [z], and departed likewiſe into *Italy*, where he built the City of *Petilia* [a].——*Agapenor* King of *Arcadia* was driven by contrary Winds to an other Country [b], and never returned to *Greece*.——*Agamemnon* came back to *Mycenae*, but was ſoon after murdered by his own Wife *Clytemneſtra*, and her Gallant *AEgiſthus* [c].——And the wiſe *Ulyſſes*, whoſe Counſels had often been the Safety of the *Grecian* Army, was for ten Years toſſed from Sea to Sea, and when at laſt he reached

[x] Aeneid. L. 3. Juſtin. L. 17.

[y] Antonini Liberalis, Metam. C. 37. Aeneid. L. 11. V. 243, &c. Vide et Servium in loc. *Virg.* citat. et *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 6.

[z] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 6.

[a] Aeneid. L. 3. V. 402.

[b] He ſpent the Remainder of his Days in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, where he built the City *Paphos*.—— Vide *Pauſan.* in Arcadicis.

[c] *AEſchylus* in Agamemnone. Odyſſ. Rhapſ. 3. V. 303 et Rhapſ. 11. V. 408.

ed *Ithaca*, he was a-new obliged to take up Arms againſt the Chief Lords of his Kingdom, who had uſurped lawleſs Power, and held his Queen *Penelope* in a Kind of Thraldom [d].——The Fate alſo of *Idomeneus* King of *Crete* was extremely deplorable: in the Midſt of a Storm he had raſhly vowed, to ſacrifice to the Gods the firſt Thing, he ſhou'd meet with, after his landing on the *Cretan* Shore. No ſooner was he arrived, but his own Son, *his eldeſt Child*, moved by filial Affection, ran eagerly to embrace him: the ſuperſtitious Father had the Weakneſs to fulfil his Vow, and forfeited his Crown by it, his Subjects riſing in Arms againſt him. He afterwards made *Italy* his Place of Refuge, where, 'tis ſaid, he eſtabliſhed to himſelf a Principality in the Country of the *Salentines* [e].——But, beſides theſe, many other of the *Grecian* Chiefs ended their Days miſerably. *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* killed himſelf, becauſe the *Greeks* had adjudged *Achilles*'s Armour to *Ulyſſes* [f]. *Meneſtheus* King of *Athens* died at Sea. And *Ajax*, the Son of *Oileus*, with his whole Fleet periſhed in a violent Tempeſt [g].

Clean. And was not *Palamedes* alſo taken off by an untimely Chance?

Pal. His Misfortune was of a different Kind: he was put to Death by the *Greeks* before *Troy*, for holding a private Correſpondence with the Enemy [h]: Some pretend, that he fell a Victim to the Jealouſy of *Ulyſſes*, and others of the *Grecian* Leaders. But it may rather be ſuppoſed, that the *Euboeans* invented this Report out of Regard to *Palamedes*'s Memory:

[d] Odyſſ. Rhapſ. 16, &c.
[e] Aeneid. L. 3. V. 121 et 400.
[f] Odyſſ. Rhapſ. 11. V. 542, &c. *Ovid.* Metam. L. 13.
[g] Odyſſ. Rhapſ. 4. V. 509.
[h] Aeneid. L. 2. V. 83. Vide et *Dict. Cretens.*

Memory; for, you know, he was Son to *Nauplius* King of *Euboea*. However, it is ſaid, that *Nauplius* grievouſly reſented the Death of his Son, and, by putting out falſe Lights, cauſed many of the *Greeks*, on their Return homeward, to periſh on the *Euboean* Coaſt.

Eud. The Loſs of ſo many Princes muſt have occaſioned great Revolutions in the ſeveral States of *Greece*.——

Pal. The Government changed Hands almoſt in every Place. At *Athens*, *Demophoon* the Son of *Theſeus* obtained the Sovereign Power. The Kingdom of *Arcadia*, which had belonged to *Agapenor*, paſſed to an other Line. *Merion* aſcended the Throne of *Crete*, after the Expulſion of *Idomeneus*. And the *Dorians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſland of *Rhodes*, where *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Hercules* had been King. As for the Kingdom of *Mycenae*, *Clytemneſtra* and *AEgiſthus* enjoyed it, on the Murder of *Agamemnon*: but in ſome Years, *Oreſtes*, who had been privately educated at the Court of *Strophius*, Prince of *Phocis*, being come to Age, returned to *Mycenae*, and put to Death both his Mother and her Adulterer[i]. He afterwards married *Hermione*, Daughter to *Menelaus* and *Helen*, and Heireſs of the Crown of *Sparta*. She had been eſpouſed to *Pyrrhus*; but *Oreſtes*, who claimed her by Virtue of a prior Promiſe, cauſed *Pyrrhus* to be ſlain in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*[k]. He was aſſiſted in all theſe Enterprizes by his faithful *Pylades*, the Son of *Strophius*. The Friendſhip and extreme Likeneſs of theſe two Princes are well known: and ſo entirely are they ſaid

[i] For ſeven Years, ſays *Homer*, the wicked *AEgiſthus* enjoyed the Fruits of his Crimes; the eighth Year *Oreſtes* returned.—— Odyſſ. Rhapſ. 3. V. 305, &c.

[k] Aeneid. L. 3. V. 330, &c. *Pauſ.* in Atticis.

ſaid to have loved each other, that, when *Thoas* King of *Taurica* wou'd have put *Oreſtes* to Death, they both earneſtly contended, who ſhou'd die, each of them affirming himſelf to be *Oreſtes* [l].

Clean. Is it not ſaid, that *Oreſtes* was perſecuted by the *Vengeful Furies?*

Pal. We are told, that he was tormented by them, for having embrued his Hands in the Blood of his Mother *Clytemneſtra*, and was obliged to go through many Expiations, before he cou'd be freed from the Horrors, that beſet him. No Doubt, but the Guilt of his Parricide might juſtly haunt his diſtracted Thoughts——but probably, his Supplications to Heaven, and Length of Time, reſtored him again to Peace [m].

Eud. Oreſtes is not to be excuſed: whatever was the Guilt of *Clytemneſtra*, it was not at his Hands ſhe was to receive her Puniſhment. But indeed he was of a Family that delighted much in Blood: their whole Hiſtory is a Series of Inceſts and Murders of the blackeſt Kind.

Pal. And therefore has *Horace* [n] called them, *Saevam Pelopis Domum*, the *Bloody Houſe of Pelops.* And certainly never was there a Family, that bare the Name more deſervedly. It may be of Uſe to you, *Cleanthes*, to give you ſome Detail of their Domeſtic Hiſtory. —— *Tantalus* King of *Sipylus* [o], beſides his baſe Treachery to *Ganymede*, and a ſordid Avarice, which made him a Scourge to his People, was alſo a Prince of great Cruelty, and was guilty of ſacrificing human Victims. He invited the Gods to a Feaſt, and ſerved up to them his

[l] Vide *Ciceron.* de Amicitiâ, et *Valer. Max.* L. 4. C. 7.
[m] Vide *Pauſ.* in Atticis et Laconicis.
[n] Carminum, Lib. 1. Ode 6.
[o] Vide *Diod. Sic.* L. 4. *Pindar.* Olymp. Ode 1. *Virgil.* Georg. L. 3. V. 7. et Antonini Liberalis Metamorph. C. 37.

his Son *Pelops*; that is, as may be conjectured, he attempted to offer up his own Son on the Altars of the Gods, but *Pelops* eſcaped from the Hands of his inhuman Father. The Poets have taken care to puniſh him for his Crimes: they have placed him in the Infernal Regions, and condemned him to Eternal Torments.——His Son *Pelops* [p] fled into *Greece*, after the Overthrow of his Kingdom, and eſtabliſhed to himſelf a Settlement by Treachery and Blood. *OEnomaus* King of *Piſa* had promiſed to beſtow his Daughter on whomſoever he ſhou'd be conquer'd by in the Chariot-race [q]: *Pelops* bribed *Myrtilus* the King's Charioteer to cut in two *OEnomaus*'s Chariot, and ſlightly to join again the Parts together. In the Midſt of the Courſe, the Chariot opened, and the old King, falling out, loſt his Life. *Pelops* took Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and rewarded *Myrtilus*'s Services by putting him to Death [r].——He had two Sons, *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*. *Atreus* married *Aerope*, the Daughter of *Euryſtheus*, in whoſe Right, you know, he became King of *Mycenae*: *Thyeſtes* his Brother debauched her, and had by her two Children. *Atreus* diſcovered the Intrigue, and, concealing his Reſentment, invited *Thyeſtes* to a Banquet [s]: the Children were ſlain, and the Fleſh given to *Thyeſtes* to feed on [t]. The

[p] Vide *Hygin.* Fab. 84. *Stat.* Theb. L. 1. et *Pindarum*, ubi ſupra.

[q] It is ſaid, that *OEnomaus* put to Death all the Suitors, who pretended to his Daughter, and cou'd not fulfil the propoſed Conditions. But it is likely this Charge againſt him was invented by *Pelops*, and the Friends of his Family.

[r] *Pauſan.* in Arcadicis.

[s] *Ovid.* Triſt. L. 2. V. 391. Apud *Senec.* Trag. *Thyeſtis.*

[t] This hideous Story was wrought by *Varius* (the Poet, whom *Horace* ſpeaks ſo highly of, in the firſt Book of his Lyric Pieces,

Ode

Sun, ſay the Poets, turned back from the Sight, and refuſed to behold the horrid Crimes of the *Pelopian* Race. *Thyeſtes* was avenged by his Son *AEgiſthus*, whom he had by his own Daughter *Pelopia*: for *AEgiſthus* killed *Atreus*, and ſeized on the Kingdom of *Mycenae*: but *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* attacked him, and recovered it. —— *Agamemnon* was one of the wealthieſt and moſt potent Princes of his Time: and yet, notwithſtanding all his Proſperity and the Greatneſs of his Power, the Fate of his Family overtook him; he was murdered by *AEgiſthus*, who had corrupted *Clytemneſtra*, and, after his Death, uſurped the *Mycenean* Throne.

Eud. I do not remember, that *Homer* has made mention of theſe tragical Exploits of the *Tantalidae*.——

Pal. He has not mentioned them, the Hiſtory of *Tantalus* only excepted. And this Circumſtance may be alledged in Support of what many excellent Writers have thought, that *Homer* was one of the *Greeks* of *Leſſer Aſia* [u]. For, *Cleanthes*, about eighty Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, a ſevere Revolution befel moſt of the Kingdoms of *Peloponneſus*, and many of the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts were obliged to ſeek new Fortunes in a foreign Land [w]. Now, very probably, theſe exiled *Greeks* brought away with them high Notions of the Majeſty and Splendor of the Princes of the Line of *Pelops*, and, eſpecially at their firſt Settlement in *Aſia*, might (from a Pride natural to Men, who come

Ode the ſixth) into a Play, now loſt, which, ſays *Quintilian*, was inferior to none of the *Grecian* Dramas —— *Varii* Thyeſtes *quilibet Graecorum comparari poteſt*.——

Quintil. de Inſtit. Orat. L. 10.

[u] See Mr. *Pope*'s Eſſay on *Homer*: and alſo, *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of* Homer, *London*, 1736.

[w] See Dialogues the fifth and ſixth.

come among a ſtrange People) make their Boaſt of the exalted Virtues, the Magnificence, and Noble Feats of thoſe their Antient Kings. Nothing therefore cou'd be more unpopular for *Homer*, than to touch on the Diſgrace of an Houſe, held there in ſuch diſtinguiſhed Reverence.

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, may it not be, that many of theſe flagitious Acts have been the Invention of a later Age, to gratify the Princes, that ſucceeded in the Kingdoms of *Peloponneſus?*

Pal. Indeed, *Eudoxus*, it is very poſſible, that many of thoſe Crimes may have been aggravated. Or perhaps alſo, the Dramatic Poets, according to an Art, which we have already ſeen an Inſtance of [x], have endeavoured to give theſe Parts of Hiſtory a blacker Caſt, than properly belongs to them, in order to render their own Pieces the deeper and more affecting. —— However, it is likely, that the Charge againſt that Houſe is not entirely groundleſs; for we find that *Homer*, in his Deſcription of the Realms below, has aſſigned to *Tantalus* his Place in the Abodes of Woe and Horror [y]. And it is well worthy of Notice, that of all the Princes of this Family, this ſhou'd be the only one, whom *Homer* has ventured to repreſent in a diſadvantageous Manner: for obſerve, *Eudoxus*, *Tantalus* never reigned in *Greece*; he was the Perſon, whoſe Crimes loſt to *Pelops* the Crown of *Sipylus*; and, probably, his Violence and Impieties were well remembered among the *Aſiatic* Nations: ſo that, not only the *Greeks* cou'd have little Concern for his Fame, but beſides, it was ſcarcely poſſible to diſguiſe the Hiſtory of a Prince, in a Land, where his very Name was had in De-

[x] See Dialogue the third, P. 84.
[y] Odyſſ. Rhapſ. 11. V. 581.

teſtation.——Before I have done with *Homer*, I muſt mention to you, that this Opinion concerning his Country has given Birth to a Conjecture, which places his inimitable Work in a new Point of View. They ſuppoſe, that he wrote his Iliad at a Period of Time, when Jealouſies began to diſunite the *Ionian* States, and their mutual Contentions afforded juſt Cauſe to fear, that they wou'd ſoon fall a Prey to ſome of the *Aſiatic* Powers. At this perilous Conjuncture therefore, *Homer* interpoſed: he ſhews them the fatal Conſequences of divided Counſels, and the dreadful Ills, which Haughtineſs and ungoverned Ambition bring along with them. And, at the ſame Time, he reminds them of the glorious Atchievements, which their Forefathers wrought, when all *Greece united* roſe in Arms to revenge lawleſs Inſult, and laid the proudeſt Empire of *Aſia* in the Duſt. In this Light, it is only the leſs conſiderable Part of *Homer*'s Excellence, that he had the higheſt-flown Fancy, joined with a moſt amazing Strength of Genius, he is alſo a Great, a Faithful Patriot; his Works are inſpirited with the moſt generous and noble Sentiments; and all the Characters he introduces are inſtructive Examples to his imprudent Countrymen.——

Eud. In what Year was *Troy* taken?

Pal. In the Year before *Chriſt* 900, or 124 Years before the Reſtoration of the Olympiads by *Iphitus*; and about 20 Years after the Rape of *Helen*. And from this Epoch may nearly be determined the Period, in which lived thoſe firſt Improvers of *Greece*, whoſe Hiſtory has been obſcured by Fables. For between the Age of thoſe Princes, who aſſiſted at the Siege of *Troy*, and the Age of *Cecrops* and the other Founders of the *Grecian* States, there intervened ſix Generations, which being

being computed at 30 Years to a Generation, make 180 Years: and therefore the firſt Beginnings of Cities in *Greece* cannot be much earlier than about 210 or 220 Years before the *Trojan* Era [z].

Eud. I thought, *Palaemon*, that certain Chronologers aſcribed a much earlier Date to many of the *Grecian* Kingdoms, particularly to thoſe of *Argos* and *Sicyon*.——

Pal. The Antiquity of thoſe Kingdoms they have indeed advanced to a very extravagant Degree: and at *Sicyon*, are we told, there was a Succeſſion of Kings for near 900 Years [a] before the taking of *Troy*. But however, the very Accounts, they give us of theſe, afford ſufficient Argument of their having never exiſted. For certainly never did Princes hold a Place in Hiſtory to leſs Purpoſe. We neither know any thing of their Virtues, nor of their Vices; and for aught that appears, they had neither Wars, nor Improvements, nor Literature among them; but all, that thoſe Writers have pretended to ſave out of this Waſte of Hiſtory, is a long Liſt of Names, and the Number of Years each Prince is ſuppoſed to have enjoyed his Sovereignty.——They, who were at the Pains of forging this wonderous Catalogue, ſhou'd have gone ſomewhat farther, and have alſo invented Annals for this Train of Kings.

Eud. But how is it known that the Everſion of *Troy* was only 900 Years before *Chriſt?*

Pal.

[z] See Dialogue the ſecond, P. 15 and P. 60, N. *y*.

[a] *Acuſilaus* ſuppoſed *Phoroneus* the Founder of *Sicyon* to have lived 1020 Years before the firſt Olympiad, that is, 896 Years before the taking of *Troy:* but this is a moderate Computation: for others ſuppoſe this kingdom earlier by ſeveral hundred Years. Vide *Euſeb.* Chronicon, et *Scaliger.* Excerpt. Graec. See alſo Dialogue the ſecond, P. 60. N. *y*.

Pal. It is collected from the Number of Kings[b], that reigned in *Sparta* between the Return of the *Heraclidae*, and the Battle of *Thermopylae*. For it is generally allowed, that the Return of the *Heraclidae* was 80 Years, after *Troy* was overthrown[c]: and the Battle of *Thermopylae* was 480 Years before *Chriſt*. If therefore we can determine, how many Years elapſed between the Return of the *Herculean* Princes, and this Battle, we ſhall then know exactly, at what Time ended the *Trojan* Empire.—Now the antient Chronology being extremely defective, the only Method of Computation is by the Reigns of Kings. And in a Series of Kings, as they are liable to violent Deaths more than other Men, and as the Crown does not always deſcend from Father to Son, but Princes from the Collateral Line come in, and ſometimes Uncles ſucceed their Nephews; ſo it is judged ſufficient to compute each Reign at about 18 or 20 Years, the one with the other. By this Way of Computation therefore it is evident, that from the Return of the *Heraclidae*, to the Engagement of *Thermopylae* under *Leonidas*, there elapſed about 340 Years. For during this Period there reigned at *Sparta* ſeventeen Kings of each Race, and, one Reign with an other, may be allowed 20 Years to each King. Hence it follows, that there are 420 Years from the Deſtruction of *Troy*, to the Battle of *Thermopylae*; and 480 Years from that Battle to the Birth of *Chriſt*——in all, Nine hundred Years. And, whatever antient Chronologers may ſay, much farther than this the Times of *Troy* cannot have been, eſpecially as this Computation by the Succeſſion of Kings is in perfect Agreement with

[b] See *Newton*'s Chronol. of Antient Kingdoms, *&c.*
[c] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Diod.* in Prooem. Operis.

with the Reigns of the ſeveral Kings, recorded in the beſt-atteſted Hiſtories.

Eud. From what you ſay it appears, that the Hiſtorical Accounts of the *Grecians*, for many Ages, were extremely perplexed. Pray, *Palaemon*, cou'd the Want of a determinate AEra occaſion ſo much Confuſion?

Pal. Undoubtedly, *Eudoxus*, much Irregularity muſt have ariſen from their not having a fixed Epoch. But beſides, it may alſo be ſuſpected, that many of thoſe, who firſt recorded Events among the *Greeks*, officiouſly endeavoured to throw a Veil of Obſcurity over the remoter Times. I am glad, however, that you have reminded me of my Promiſe: I engaged, three Days ago[d], to explain to you more particularly the ſeveral Cauſes of that Love of Fable, which the *Grecians* were poſſeſſed with. And, as we are now getting out of the Gloomy Regions of Fiction, it may be a proper Place to conſider them. Let me only deſire you to recollect the firſt Situation and Improvements of the *Grecian* People, and the various Diſguiſes, under which we have ſeen their Hiſtory concealed, in thoſe Parts we have touched upon: for we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to look back to them.

And the Original Cauſe of that Fabulous Turn, that prevails in many of the *Grecian* Hiſtorians, was the extreme Ignorance of the firſt Inhabitants; who, being deſtitute of Arts and Sciences, beheld with Admiration the various Improvements, which they from *Egypt* and *Phoenicia* introduced, their Expertneſs in Navigation, their Skill in Architecture, and related thoſe Things to their Poſterity with all the Embelliſhments, which Wonder is productive of. Thus the firſt Men, that came over

[d] See Dialogue the ſecond, P. 42.

over the Seas into *Greece*, were the Offspring of the Ocean——the firſt Cities were built by Deities, and the Fabricating of Iron was the Work of a God.

Eud. You put me in mind of the Amazement of the *Peruvian* Nations, when *Pizarro*'s Fleet appeared on that hapleſs Coaſt.

Pal. Yes, *Eudoxus*; and had thoſe mercileſs Plunderers, inſtead of rioting in Ravage and Blood, ſought only to *improve* and *bleſs*, wou'd they not, think you, have been as *Gods* to that *admiring*, *raptured*, *People.*——

But——ſecondly, the Vanity of ſucceeding Generations gave Continuance to this Deluſion; and the Adulation of ſervile Writers was not wanting to indulge them in it. Hence did moſt of the *Grecian* States number Deities among their antient Princes: and every Royal Houſe aſcribed its Foundation to Perſons of Heavenly Birth. This Affectation proved the great Means of corrupting their Chronology and Hiſtory. for they were unwilling to acknowledge, that thoſe had ever been Men, who were now accounted Gods; and therefore induſtriouſly ſhaded their Extraction and Exploits under the Diſguiſe of pompous Fictions.

They were alſo betrayed into this Love of the Marvellous, as I obſerved to you the other Day [c], by the kind of Literature, which the Oriental Nations brought in among them. For the Orientals delighted much in Figurative Turns, in ingenious Allegories, and bold Metaphors, which, being literally underſtood by this uninſtructed People, probably gave Riſe to many ſtrange Fables. Thus, if a Princeſs died in the Bloom of Youth, it was the God of the Inviſible World, that became enamoured

[c] See Dialogue the ſecond, P. 19 and 42.

moured of her Charms, and bare her away [f]. If a Plague raged, the Arrows of ſome Deity were ſhot forth [g]. Or was there a Youth of an happy Genius, and ſmitten with the Love of Science? he was the Darling of *Apollo*, and no Adventures befel him, but what the God was concerned in [h].

An other Cauſe, that introduced much Fable into Antient Hiſtory, was the Uſe of Apologues, which were extremely common in *Egypt* and *Phoenicia*, and which to this Day are very familiar to the *Eaſtern* Writers. Apologues were of two Kinds; that in which the Brute or Inanimate Creation were brought in, and Language and Sentiments aſcribed to them; ſuch are the Writings of *AEſop*, and the *Perſian Lokman:* and that, which contained ſome Fictitious Stories of Men or Gods, under which was couched a lively and inſtructive Moral. Of this latter Kind are many Traces to be found in the Hiſtory of the earlier Ages of *Greece*. Such was the Fable of *Prometheus*, and his animating a Man of Clay with Fire ſtolen from Heaven. Such were thoſe of *Phaeton*, and the Chariot of the Sun: of *Ixion*, and the Cloud: and of *Paris*, and the Golden Apple. Such likewiſe was *Prodicus*'s ingenious Apologue of *Hercules*, and the two Goddeſſes of Pleaſure and manly Virtue: and ſuch alſo the Account of the Pride and Puniſhment of the unfortunate *Niobe*. And this kind

[f] Perhaps this may partly be the Key to the Hiſtory of *Proſerpina*, and the Lamentations made by her Mother *Ceres* through the Plains of *Sicily*. She was ſome fair Princeſs, who, in the Flower of her Age, fell a Victim to Grim Relentleſs Death.—
See Dialogue the ſecond, P. 45, &c.

[g] ——— Ὤχετο κῆλα Θεοῖο.——
Homer. Iliad. Rhapſ. 1. V. 53.

[h] Vide Fabulam *Hyacinthi* apud *Ovid.* Metam. L. 15. et apud *Nicandrum* de Theriacis.

of Apologue was threefold: for either the Perſons introduced were purely imaginary, as in the Caſe of *Prometheus* and *Phaeton.* Or they were Perſons, who had really exiſted, but the Propriety of Character was not obſerved in the Stories related of them, as in the Caſe of *Niobe*[i]. Or laſtly, the Apologue faithfully repreſented that Caſt of Mind, for which they had been diſtinguiſhed, as in the Caſe of *Paris* and *Hercules.*——Now there is Reaſon to believe, that ſome of the later Writers of *Greece*, not attending to the Nature and Deſign of theſe Apologues, gave to many of them, very improperly, a Place in Hiſtory; and by theſe Means have written gravely of Men, who never exiſted, and have aſcribed to others Adventures, for which there was not a ſufficient Foundation.

It happened alſo that, as the firſt Accounts were written in the Language of *Phoenicia*, the *Greeks* took Advantage of the equivocal Meaning of many Words of that Language, and frequently formed a Marvellous Fable out of a plain-told Hiſtory[k]. Thus, in the Account of *Cadmus*, becauſe the ſame *Phoenician* Term may ſignify either a *bearded Javelin*, or *the Teeth of a Serpent*, and that the Word, that ſignifies *armed*, may alſo be tranſlated *five*, the *Greeks*, willing to give the Story a Romantic Turn, choſe to ſay, that *Cadmus*'s *five* Companions ſprung from a *Serpent's Teeth*, when they ought rather to have ſaid, that he *armed* his Soldiers with *bearded Javelins*[l]. Another

[i] The Pride of *Niobe*, there is Reaſon to conjecture, is merely a Poetical Invention. The Poets thought themſelves at Liberty to diſpoſe, as they pleaſed, of the Name of a Princeſs, the unfortunate End of whoſe Family might render credible any Crimes they cou'd charge her with.

[k] See *Bochart*'s Chanan. L. 1. C. 19, and in many other Places.

[l] However we ſhou'd take Care to be ſober in the applying of this Rule. It has been a Complaint againſt the learned *Bochart* himſelf,

Another Conſequence followed from the Introduction of the *Oriental* Learning among the *Greeks.* ——their firſt Authors wrote in the Stile of Poetry, and delivered the moſt common Tranſactions with all the Ornaments of Fiction. Thus, every Feat, which their Heroes were employed in, was the ſubduing ſome many-headed Monſter, or the engaging with Dragons, from whoſe Mouths iſſued forth devouring Flames. *Perſeus* returned victorious from the Iſlands of the *Gorgades*, and the Fame of his Exploits ſtruck Terror into his Enemies, and therefore was his Shield cloathed with Terrors, and they were changed into Stone at the Sight of it. The Attempt of the Rebels, who roſe againſt *Aſterius* King of *Crete*, became a War of Giants againſt the Gods; and the Weapons and Machines, he made uſe of to deſtroy them, were changed into the Thunderbolts of *Jove.*

A farther Obſervation on the Style of Poets may make you ſenſible of the many Inconveniencies, that followed from their Manner of relating. They filled their Accounts with a Number of Fictitious Beings. The very Tranſactions of the Heart and Imagination were inveſted with Forms, and took the Place of real Perſonages. Nay, the Circumſtances of a Country, its Woods and Rivers, the Seaſon of the Year, the Nature of the Weather, were diſguiſed under ſome Allegory, and occaſioned the Appearance of a Deity. Thus, if a Man took the Advantage of the Night, or of a thick Haze, to paſs undeſcried, it was ſome God, that enveloped him in a Cloud, and concealed him from human Sight [m]. If a Prince ſuffered his Wrath to

himſelf, that he has made uſe of it too frequently, and without ſufficient Grounds.

[m] Vide *Homer.* Iliad. Rhapſ. 24. V. 340, &c. et paſſim.

be reſtrained by Reflection, it was the Goddeſs of Wiſdom, that held his Arm [n]. Or if an other indulged a Looſe Paſſion, it was the Goddeſs of Love, that whiſpered him, and led him to the Arms of his Miſtreſs [o].——This is the Foundation of that Propriety, which, Critics tell us, *Homer* obſerved in the marſhalling of his Gods. He was deſirous to do Honour to his Countrymen: and therefore he repreſents all the Deities of *Conjugal Faith*, of *Wiſdom*, and *Intrepid Courage*, engaging on the Side of *Greece*; whilſt *Venus*, the *Tempter to ſoft Dalliance*——and *Mars*, the *Inſpirer of wild brutal Fury*——declare in Behalf of *Troy* [p]. The *Trojans* had a Number of Foreſts, that afforded them Places both of Ambuſcade and Retreat; and, on this Account, all the *Wood-land Deities* protect the *Trojan* Armies: but the Strength and Supplies of the *Greeks* were from their Fleets, and therefore are all the *Gods of the Sea* joined in cloſe Confederacy with the *Grecian* Forces.

Eud. But is it not plain, that theſe are mere Allegories? how cou'd a Nation miſtake ſuch Things?

Pal. Can you think, that an Hiſtory, written even now in this Kind of Style, wou'd be ſecure againſt all Miſconceptions? And obſerve, *Eudoxus*, theſe Poetical Pieces were the only Hiſtories they had.——But indeed, in the Ages of Paganiſm, the Matter was much worſe. Superſtition had conſecrated thoſe Allegorical Beings of Poetry, and, not ſatisfied with giving them Forms, had alſo appointed them Temples. Then Statuary and Painting lent their Art to help on the Infatuation. It

[n] Vide Iliad. Rhapſ. 1. V. 194.
[o] Vide Iliad. Rhapſ. 3. V. 383.
[p] Voyez *Boſſuet* Diſc. ſur l'Hiſt. Univ. Part 3.

It was hardly poſſible for them to believe, that *Minerva* was only the *Emblem of Wiſdom*, without any Bodily Exiſtence, when they beheld her Majeſty of Countenance, and that ſerene Compoſure of Features, which the Hand of *Phidias* had adorned her with, where Dignity and Sweetneſs were blended together: Or, that the *Goddeſs of Love* was not ſomething more than an Allegorical Repreſentation, when her Charms and Elegance of Form ſwelled forth to the Eye in all the Softenings of Sculpture, and the Artiſt had made her almoſt to breathe in the enlivened Marble. It may now be an eaſy Taſk to unravel many of the Allegories of Paganiſm: we may explain, what is meant by the Chariot of *Aurora*, or by *Phoebus*'s driving his Courſers along the Ways of Heaven; but, had we been accuſtomed to the rich Shrines and exquiſite Imagery of thoſe Allegorical Deities, and had ſeen whole Nations offering Incenſe on their Altars, are you ſure, *Eudoxus*, that the Names of thoſe Gods, when made uſe of in Hiſtory, wou'd not have miſled you, and that you wou'd always have underſtood the Alluſions of the Writer. One Inſtance may be ſufficient to convince you. *Memnon* was among *Priam*'s Auxiliaries at the laſt War of *Troy*; he is ſaid to have been the Son of *Aurora*, and a Number of ingenious Fictions have been raiſed on this Foundation. Will you ſay, that all the Pagan World underſtood well, that this was merely a Figurative Ornament; and that *Memnon* was feigned to be the Son of the Goddeſs, only becauſe he came from ſome of the Countries of the *Eaſt*, or, as the Poets might ſay, from the *Regions of the Morning?*

An other Cauſe, that contributed to deface the Hiſtorical Monuments of *Greece*, was the great Affectation of Antiquity. Becauſe other Nations pretended

pretended to a Succeſſion of Kings for an extravagant Length of Years, the *Grecians* alſo muſt make a Claim to ſomething of the ſame Kind, and therefore carried up their Accounts into far remote Times, and ſuppoſed Kingdom and Princes in *Greece*, at a Period, in which its Inhabitants, if it had any to boaſt of, were diſperſed through the Foreſts, and, inſtead of being capable to erect Empires, did not even know the common Bleſſings of Social Life.

This Affectation prompted them alſo to an other diſingenuous Practice. —— The Intercourſe, they enjoyed with the *Oriental* Nations, had brought in among them ſome faint Notices of the *Antediluvian* World and of the *Moſaic* Hiſtory, as well as of the *Phoenician* and *Egyptian* Heroes: and the *Grecians* took care to interweave the moſt remarkable Events of thoſe Hiſtories into their own Annals, and made *Greece* the Scene of all Tranſactions, that appeared great and wonderful. Thus, the Deluge of *Deucalion* was ſet off with moſt of the Circumſtances of *Noah*'s Flood: and the Exploits of *Moſes*, and *Joſhua*, of the *Egyptian Seſoſtris*, and the *Phoenician Hercules*, were moulded into the Hiſtory of the *Grecian Hercules* and *Bacchus*.

From the Conſideration of theſe ſeveral Cauſes, and perhaps more might be aſſigned, you may judge, how ill qualified were the *Grecians* to preſerve exact Hiſtorical Accounts of their earlier Ages. Nay, this very Abuſe of raiſing their Great Men to the Rank of Gods made it neceſſary for them, to conceal the real Date of Things.

Eud. I ſee it plainly —— Their Fables were, many of them, Corruptions of true Hiſtory, and, in Proportion as this was reſtored, the other muſt have loſt Ground. However, after ſome Time, *Greece* produced Hiſtorians of great Eminence; did

did not they treat thoſe Fictions with a proper Contempt, and endeavour to remove the Obſcurity, in which they had involved the Tranſactions of the firſt Ages?

Pal. The Writers of Proſe, who were the firſt, that recorded Events in the plain Style of Hiſtory, were not known in *Greece*, till about the Days of *Cyrus* the Great, and of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, that is, about 530 Years before *Chriſt*, or 370 Years after the *Trojan* War. By this Time, the antient Fictions had ſtruck deep Root, and were not to be removed eaſily. So that Hiſtorians choſe rather to adopt the Fabulous Accounts of the firſt *Greeks*, or to look on this Period, as beyond the Reach of their Inquiry. And accordingly, *Diodorus* expreſsly tells us [q], that *Ephorus* the Scholar of *Iſocrates*, *Calliſthenes*, and *Theopompus*, began their Hiſtories from the Return of the *Heraclidae*, and wou'd not enter into any Examination of the antient Fables.—Beſides, as I obſerved to you already, when Hiſtorians ſet about forming the *Grecian* Chronology, they were extremely vague and inaccurate in their Method of computing; becauſe, not having any certain Records, they reckoned back by Generations from the Times in which they wrote, ſuppoſing three Generations to be equal to an 100 or 120 Years, and each King's Reign to be equal to a Generation——a Method, liable to many Exceptions. For three Generations, as you have ſeen, make only about 90 Years, and the Reigns of three Kings much leſs, as it was generally the Eldeſt Son, that ſucceeded, who, of Conſequence, might be ſomewhat paſſed the Bloom of Life, before he aſcended the Throne; and in ſome Caſes, the Lineal Series was interrupted, and Collateral

[q] *Diodor.* Prooem. ad L. 4.

Collateral Princes, or Uſurpers, ſtepped into the Succeſſion..——It alſo appears, that theſe Chronologers have given many Princes a Place in Hiſtory, of whom it may even be queſtioned, whether they ever exiſted.——Indeed the Olympiads were excellent Guides: but then the Regular Solemnization of theſe was not eſtabliſhed, until the Days of *Iphitus*, about 120 Years after the taking of *Troy*; and they were not made uſe of as an Era, until the 129th Olympiad. For we find, that the *Parian* Marbles, which are eſteemed one of the moſt curious Monuments of Antiquity, and which were compoſed about ſixty Years after the Death of *Alexander* the Great, in the fourth Year of the hundredth and twenty-eighth Olympiad, make no mention of the *Olympic* Computation, but reckon back by Generations from the Time then preſent. And *Timaeus* of *Sicily*, who wrote in the next Olympiad, is ſaid to have been the firſt, that introduced it.

It is therefore very evident, that the *Grecians* might eaſily be led to claim a much higher Antiquity, than there is Reaſon to believe they were entitled to: though it is impoſſible to ſay, nor wou'd I have you imagine, that the Conjectures, I have been entertaining you with about the early Tranſactions of this People, are all of them certain and without Controverſy to be admitted. I wou'd have you inquire, and think for your ſelves. You know, *Eudoxus*, I have always encouraged you to it. And you have now ſeen, my dear *Cleanthes*, from the Obſervations we have made on ſome of your Favourite Heroes, how dangerous it may be warmly to engage in the Support of a Notion, not thoroughly examined. *Opinions haſtily conceived, and obſtinately adhered to*, will make you *Bad Men*, as well as *Bad Philoſophers*. Let me therefore

fore desire you, to consider the few Lights, I have set before you, rather as Helps and Incitements to farther Researches. And I shall think any Labour of mine extremely well bestowed, if I can spirit you up to a proper Activity of Mind, and render you keen in the Pursuit of Knowledge.

DIALOGUE THE FIFTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

HITHERTO we have been making our Way through the Miſt of Fables; we ſhall now ſee the Gloom diſſipate gradually, and the purer Light of Hiſtory beam down upon us. However, the Period, that immediately ſucceeded the *Trojan* War, affords few Events, that deſerve Notice: *Greece* was weakened by that fatal Expedition, which had waſted her brave Men, and deprived her of many of her ableſt Princes: violent Factions prevailed in ſeveral of her States; in others new Sovereigns had eſtabliſhed themſelves, and they, who had taken Advantage of the Public Calamity, to uſurp Supreme Power, ſought rather to make ſecure their own Acquiſitions, than to attempt any Thing great and excellent. Such was *Greece* for more than one Generation after the Return from *Troy*. And even in later Times, when ſhe had, in a Manner, recovered from thoſe deep Wounds, little is there to be met with worth reciting, as long as ſhe remained divided into ſo many Petty Sovereignties, and liable to the frequent Wars and Revolutions, which the Intereſts and Jealouſies, and perhaps the Crimes, of ſuch a Number of Princes cloſely bordering on each other, muſt naturally produce: But when once thoſe Petty Sovereignties were reſolved into larger and well-modelled States, and the Nations of *Greece*, inſtead of an Eſtabliſhment, which the Cruelties and oppreſſive Rule of their Kings had rendered odious,

odious, began to enjoy the Bleſſings of Free Government and Equal Laws, then alſo did they begin to riſe to Fame, and to diſpute for Empire with the mightieſt and moſt formidable People of the Earth.

But before we proceed, it will be neceſſary to take a Review of *GREECE* in general, and to ſhew you the Situation and Extent of thoſe Kingdoms, which antient Writers make mention of. I have for this Purpoſe deſired the Servant to leave the Maps in the Turret: I wiſh, *Cleanthes*, you would ſee, whether he has remembered my Directions.

Clean. The Maps are there: *Eudoxus* and I were amuſing ourſelves with them, before you came to us.

Pal. Well, then let us adjourn thither—We may begin by *PELOPONNESUS*, which was the moſt Southern Part of *Greece*. You ſee, *Cleanthes*, it is almoſt an Iſland, being joined to the main Land only by the *Corinthian* Iſthmus; and on this Account have ſome Authors conſidered it, as a Country diſtinct from *Greece Proper*. Its Eaſtern Coaſt is waſhed by the *Egean* Sea, its Weſtern by the *Ionian*, and the Southern by that Part of the *Mediterranean*, that was called the Sea of *Crete*; to the North, it has the *Saronic* Bay on one Side of the Iſthmus, and the Bay of *Criſſa* on the other. Its Name, you may remember, is from *Pelops*, who reigned here, he and his Poſterity, with great Splendor, and therefore it was ſaid to be *Peloponneſus*, or *Pelops*'s Iſland.

Obſerve, here in the South-eaſt Angle lies the *SPARTAN* Kingdom. Thoſe are its two Promontories, which are before you, that of *Malea*, and that of *Taenarus*; they are both ſituate on the *Mediterrranean*, and form between them the large *Laconic* Gulph. Into this the River *Eurotas* diſcharges

itſelf, and at the Mouth of the River were two Sea-Ports of ſome Note, *Acria* and *Trinaſus*; and near to *Trinaſus* ſtands *Gythium*, which in later Times became likewiſe a Port of conſiderable Figure[r].——On the Eaſt and North-eaſt runs the *Argolic* Bay, and to the Weſt the Bay of *Meſſenia*; ſo that you ſee, *Eudoxus*, had the Civil Conſtitution of the *Lacedemonians*[s] permitted them, they enjoyed many Opportunities of cultivating a maritime Power, as they lay open to the Sea on every Side, excepting that ſmall Part to the North, where they had the Kingdoms of *Arcadia* and *Argos* for their Limits, and that ſhort Line to the Weſt, where they were bounded by the *Meſſenian* Territories, of which likewiſe they at length became poſſeſſed.

Clean. I ſee *Sparta* lay on the River *Eurotas*.—

Pal. About thirty Miles from the Mouth of it. It was a plain-built unwalled City, without either Ornament or Strength, but what it received from the Virtue and Bravery of its Inhabitans.

Eud. And the Country around ſeems not to have been much adorned with Towns?

Pal. There were ſome Places of convenient Situation: yonder is *Epidaurus Limera*[t] on the Gulph of *Argos*; and here is *Leuctrum* on the *Meſſenian* Bay; and ſome others alſo there are, but ſcarcely any of them much improved. The troubled

[r] When the *Spartans* attempted the Empire of the Sea, it became their Arſenal for Naval Stores, and their Fleets were laid up here. *Strabo* tells us this Harbour was entirely the Work of Art. - L. 8.

[s] See Dial. the ſixth.

[t] Ἐπίδαυρος ἡ Λιμηρὰ, ſo called from the Conveniency of its Harbour, *quaſi* Λιμενηρὰ *. It was called thus, to diſtinguiſh it from *Epidaurus* of the *Argives*.——

* *Strabo*, L. 8.

troubled State of *Peloponneſus*, in the earlier Days of *Greece*, prevented the Advancement of Culture [u]; and after the Laws of *Lycurgus* were eſtabliſhed, you know, the Minds of the *Lacedemonians* were drawn off from all ſplendid and expenſive Arts. However, you may take Notice of ſome few, renowned in antient Times: ſuch is *Amyclae*, ſituate not far from the Foot of *Taygetus*, which, the Poets tell us, was the Birth-place of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; ſuch alſo was *Taenarus*, a City built on the Promontory of that Name, famed for its Cave, through which *Hercules* was fabled to have gone down into Hell [w].

Eud. And *Helos* I obſerve alſo: was not that the ill-fated City of the *Helotae?*

Pal. It was —— a flouriſhing City once, until deſtroyed by the *Spartans*. Mark it, *Cleanthes*; you ſhall in the proper Place know the Hiſtory of that unfortunate People.

After the Death of *Menelaus*, the Kingdom of *Sparta* fell to *Oreſtes*, by his Marriage with *Hermione*; and, in the Space of ſome few Years, came into the Poſſeſſion of the Princes of the Houſe of *Hercules*.

Eud. But did you not tell us, that *Oreſtes* was alſo King of *Mycenae* [x]?

Pal. He was, in Right of his Father *Agamemnon*. The Kingdom of *MYCENAE*, you may ſee, lieth on the North-eaſt Side of *Peloponneſus*, and runs to a Point towards the Eaſt between the *Saronic*

[u] *Strabo* tells us, (Geogr. L. 8.) that in early Days ſuch was the Number of Cities in this Part of *Greece*, that *Sparta* had the Name of Ἑκατόμπολις given to it: but I ſuppoſe it was in thoſe Times, when the meaneſt Borough was dignified with the Title of *City*.

[w] *Strabo* Geogr. L. 8.

[x] Dialogue the fourth, P. 136.

nic Bay and that of *Argos:* it was bounded by *Laconia* to the South, by *Arcadia* to the Weſt, and by *Achaia*, *Sicyon* and *Corinth* to the North. In the Days of *Agamemnon*, it was called the Kingdom of *Mycenae*, that City having been raiſed to a high Degree of Splendor by the Princes of the *Pelopian* Race; but, when they loſt the Sovereignty of *Peloponneſus*, then *Mycenae* was reduced, and the City of *ARGOS* gave its Name to this Part of the Country. *Diomedes*, you know, reigned over the *Argives*, at the Time the *Grecian* Princes engaged in the *Trojan* War; after he was retired into *Italy* [y], *Oreſtes* became King of *Argos* [z].

Clean. I ſee it bears the Name of *Argos Hippium*; whence this, *Palaemon?*

Pal. From the excellent Horſes, that were bred here: it was a Name of Diſtinction given to it; for there was alſo another *Argos*, called *Argos Amphilochium*, a City of *Acarnania.*

Eud. Was not there at *Argos* a famous Temple, ſacred to *Juno?*

Pal. There was; *Argos* was ſuppoſed to be under the particular Protection of this Goddeſs: her Prieſteſs was always a Matron of the firſt Quality; and ſo highly did they deem of her Office, that the *Argives* numbered their Years from her Prieſthood, as the *Athenians* from their Archons.

Eud. Some where near *Argos* the *Nemean* Games were celebrated.——

Pal. There is *Nemea* before you, a ſmall Village not far from *Cleone.* Theſe Games [a], *Cleanthes*, were inſtituted in Memory of *Hercules* having ſlain a Lion,

[y] See Dialogue the fourth, P. 133.
[z] *Pauſ.* in Corinthiacis.
[a] See a further Account of theſe in the excellent Archbiſhop *Potter's* Archae. Graec. B. 2

a Lion, that infeſted thoſe Parts. *Pauſanias*[b] tells us, that even in his Days the Inhabitants ſhewed a *Den*, which they called the *Lion's Den*, and pretended it was there that dreadful Monſter dwelt. Yonder alſo are the *Lernean* Fens, the Retreat of the famed *Hydra*, which *Hercules* deſtroyed.

Clean. Troezen is marked down there: is that the City where *Pittheus*, Grandfather to *Theſeus*, reigned?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*, that little Nook was the Extent of his Dominions. And from thence you may judge, how inconſiderable were many of the *Grecian* Principalities in thoſe early Ages.

Obſerve, there is the other *Epidaurus* on the Bay of *Saron:* that was the City, where *Eſculapius*, the pretended *God of Phyſic*, had his ſolemn Rites; his Temple was filled with Votaries from all Parts; and *Pauſanias*[c] tells us, there were in it no leſs than ſix Pillars, on which were inſcribed the Names of thoſe, who had been recovered by his wonderous Influence. You may remember, *Eudoxus*, when the *Romans* had conquered *Greece*, the God forſook *Epidaurus*, and *wiſely* removed to the Seat of Wealth and Empire: the Multitude was made to believe, that he was ſeen, in the Form of a Serpent, going aboard the Veſſel, which was to convey him to *Rome*[d].

Eud. Pray, *Palaemon*, did not the Government of *Argos* undergo many Alterations?

Pal. In earlier Days, you know, *Phoroneus* reigned there; he was the firſt Founder of it, and from him it was called *Phoronicnm:* in Proceſs of Time, it obtained the Name of *Argos* from one of the ſucceeding Kings. But, how far the Dominions

[b] In Corinthiacis.
[c] In Corinthiacis. Vide et *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 8.
[d] Vide *T. Liv.* Hiſt. L. 10, et Epitom. 11.

nions of theſe antient Princes extended, or what Power they were inveſted with, it is ſcarcely poſſible, nor indeed is it very material to determine. It may be ſufficient to obſerve, that in three or four Generations after the Return of the *Heraclidae*, it was divided into ſeveral Principalities, and ſo continued, until the Days of *Phidon* [e], who reunited them all into one Kingdom, and greatly oppreſſed this Part of *Greece*. When he was dead, each City aſſumed its own particular Government; and we find that *Argos*, *Mycenae*, *Troezen*, *Sicyon*, engaged in Alliances, and made Peace and War, independently of each other. This was the Cauſe of the total Deſtruction of *Mycenae*; for the *Myceneans* having aſſiſted the *Lacedemonians* at the Time of the *Perſian* War, the *Argives* took up Arms againſt them, and overthrew the City [f]. As for the Government of *Argos*, it ſuffered frequent Revolutions, ſometimes an Ariſtocracy, and ſometimes the Popular Party prevailing [g]——*Troezen* became a Commonwealth——*Sicyon* for ſome Time had a Prince of its own, but, at length, it received likewiſe the Form of a Republic.

Eud. Why, was not *Sicyon* a diſtinct Kingdom?

Pal. It was, in the earlier Days of *Greece*, a Kingdom of great Repute: the fabulous Antiquity, which they aſcribe to it, proves it flouriſhed among the firſt *Grecian* Cities, and certain it is, that it had the Honour of giving the Name of *Apia* to *Peloponneſus*, from *Apis*, a King that reigned here. But, whatever it had been, it appears to have declined greatly, before the *Trojan* Expedition. *Homer* [h] tells us, that its Inhabitants ſerved

ag

[e] See Dialogue the ſeventh, towards the End.
[f] *Diod. Sic.* L. 11. C. 15.
[g] *Diod. Sic.* L. 12. C. 8, et L. 15. C. 6.
[h] Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 572.

at the Siege of *Troy*, as Part of *Agamemnon*'s Forces: and it is beyond Queſtion, that, ſoon after, it was incorporated with the Kingdom of *Argos*. However, in ſucceeding Ages, it encreaſed again in Wealth and Splendor. *Cliſthenes*, who was Prince of *Sicyon* in the Days of *Solon*, was one of the richeſt Princes of *Greece*. *Strabo* [i] obſerves, that Artificers in every Kind of curious Work were to be found here: and ſeveral other Authors ſpeak of it in like Manner, as of a City abounding in all delicate and luxurious Arts [k].

Eud. Was not *CORINTH*, which I ſee to the North-eaſt of *Sicyon*, ſubject alſo to *Agamemnon*'s Power, at the Time of the *Trojan* War?

Pal. It is probable, the *Corinthians* were only tributary to him, as it appears from antient Hiſtorians, that they had Princes of their own: or perhaps, thoſe were mercenary Troops, which they furniſhed: for the Territories of *Corinth* were very inconſiderable in Extent, and of a coarſe and barren Soil; and the People had not any Wealth, but what they acquired by their Intercourſe with their Neighbours. You ſee, *Cleanthes*, they were ſituate along that Neck of Land, that divides the *Egean* from the *Ionian* Sea: the City itſelf was built on the Southern Extremity of the Iſthmus.

Eud. But had they not the Benefits of Navigation?

Pal. Navigation in thoſe Days, among the *Grecians* at leaſt, was in its Infancy; and the principal Advantage the *Corinthians* enjoyed was, that all the Trade between *Peloponneſus* and the reſt of *Greece* was

[i] Geogr. L. 8.

[k] *Sicyon fuit Patria Picturae*, ſays *Pliny* (L. 35. C. 11.) And in *Socrates*'s Time, even the Shoes of *Sicyon* were wrought with ſuch delicate Workmanſhip, that it was deemed Effeminacy to wear them.——Vide *Ciceron.* de Orat. L. 1. P. 98. Edit. *Glaſg.*

carried on through their Territories[l]. But when the *Grecian* Commerce began to extend itſelf from Sea to Sea, then indeed *Corinth* roſe to an high Degree of Splendor: And certainly, never was City, that cou'd boaſt a more happy Situation for it: there to the Weſt, the Port of *Lecheum* on the Bay of *Criſſa* received the Shipping from *Spain*, *Italy*, and the adjacent Parts: and here to the Eaſt, *Cenchreum* on the *Saronic* Gulph lay open to all the numerous Fleets from the *Grecian* Iſlands, from *Egypt*, and the Coaſts of *Aſia*: ſo that *Corinth*, as it were, united the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Worlds together. This extenſive Commerce ſoon rendered them, from a mean and inconſiderable People, one of the moſt flouriſhing of the *Grecian* States. They were the firſt, that improved the maritime Power of *Greece*, by building large Ships with three Banks of Oars, and that ventured to engage in Naval Combat[m]. Their Power became formidable, and their Alliance was courted by all around them. And as to thoſe ingenious Works, which Luxury delights in, it is well known, that *Corinth* cou'd vie with the moſt ſumptuous Cities of the Earth: Noble Edifices, maſterly Paintings, exquiſite Sculptures, and all the choiceſt Embelliſhments of Art, were found here in great Profuſeneſs: and even to their Invention do we owe the richeſt Order of Architecture, we now have. Their Colonies alſo eſtabliſhed themſelves in divers Parts, and grew up into great and powerful States: *Syracuſe*, one of the moſt famed Cities of the *Weſtern* World, was built by them; and the *Corcyreans* were of *Corinthian* Extraction, though they afterwards engaged in War againſt their Founders. In a Word, *Corinth* was the Glory of *Peloponneſus*: and

[l] Thucyd. L. 1.
[m] Thucyd. L. 1.

and you may remember, *Eudoxus*, that the *Romans* thought it a ſufficient Chaſtiſement to all the Nations of theſe Parts, to have laid this proud City in Ruins [n].

Clean. Mid-way the Iſthmus, I ſee a Place marked *Schoenus.*——

Pal. That, *Cleanthes*, was the Place, where the Iſthmus ran narroweſt. It was the Cuſtom to bring Ships over this Tract of the Iſthmus [o], from the *Saronic* into the *Criſſean* Gulph. Hiſtorians tell us, that ſeveral Princes endeavoured to cut through this Neck of Land; and they pretend to have obſerved, that as many as attempted it, died a violent Death [p].

Eud. Was not *Neptune* the tutelary Deity of the *Corinthians?*

Pal. He was; and from this, *Eudoxus*, you may obſerve, that, in thoſe Ages of Idolatry, Nations made Choice of their Gods, according to their Occupation, and the Natural Advantages they enjoyed. The *Corinthians* were a maritime trading People, and therefore their Guardian-God was *the Monarch of the hoary Deep.* His Temple was adorned in the moſt ſumptuous Manner [q]; and in Honour of him were the *Iſthmian* Games celebrated?

Clean. What were theſe Games?

Pal. They conſiſted of Exerciſes, which were nearly the ſame at all the Public Games of *Greece*; ſuch as, running, wreſtling, leaping, Chariot-racing, pitching the Diſc, throwing the Javelin. It is likely, thoſe at the Iſthmus had been inſtituted

[n] *Polyb.* in Excerpt. *Vellei Paterc.* L. 1. C. 13.
[o] Vide *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 8. *Plin.* L. 4. C. 4.
[p] *Plin.* ubi ſupra.
[q] Vide *Pauſan.* in Corinthiacis.

in Memory of the first Inventers of Navigation[r]; and, at the same Time, to form their young Men to Agility and Strength of Body; an excellent Institution for a State like *Corinth*. These Games were celebrated, at the End of four Years complete, with great Frequency and Magnificence. And it is remarkable that the Reward, the Victors received, was no more than a Garland of Pine Leaves[s]; such a noble Sensibility of Glory, *Cleanthes*, were the *Grecians* endowed with!

Eud. I observe there are Islands in the *Saronic* Gulph.

Pal. Yes, two especially of great Name, *AEgina* and *Salamis*; the first the Kingdom of *AEacus*, Father to *Peleus*, a Prince renowned for his Piety and

[r] *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Theseus*, takes Notice, that there were Games celebrated here at the first, in Honour of *Melicertes*; but that *Theseus* appointed these to be observed in Honour of *Neptune*, after his safe Return from *Crete*; with this Difference, that those dedicated to *Melicertes* were celebrated *privately, in the Night*, and consisted rather of *Mournful Ceremonies*; whereas the latter were Public, and solemnized with *Rejoicings*, and *great Splendor*. It is likely, that the Games in Honour of *Melicertes* were a Kind of *Funeral Anniversary*, such as were most of the Solemnities in the earlier Days of *Greece*; and that, in the Stead of these, *Theseus* appointed *Festive Meetings*, and *useful Exercise*. It is recorded by *Plutarch*, that, at the Request of *Theseus*, the *Athenians* were allowed as much Space to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sail of a Ship at full Extent cou'd cover, and *that* in the first and most honourable Place. It may be conjectured, that *Theseus*, in obtaining this Distinction, had in View the Advantage as well as the Honour of his Country, that the *Athenians* might mix with their Neighbours in friendly Converse; and also, that by beholding the Performances and Rewards of the Combatants, they might be excited to emulate them. —

Vide *Alexand. ab Alexandro* Genial. Dier. L. 5. C. 8.

[s] However, when the *Grecian* States became opulent, they took up the Custom of conferring Pecuniary Rewards on such of their Citizens, as returned Victors either from these or the *Olympic* Games. Vide *Plutarch* in Solone.

and Juſtice; the ſecond the Country of the brave *Telamon*, Father to *Teucer* and *Ajax*. I ſhall have Occaſion to make frequent Mention of both theſe Iſlands, when we come to the Affairs of *Attica*. Several other Iſlands alſo there are, off the Coaſts of *Laconia* and *Argolis*, ſome of which are numbered among the *Sporades*[t]: but I paſs them by purpoſely, as they offer not any Thing worth your Notice.

ACHAIA is the next Diviſion of *Peloponneſus*. You ſee, *Cleanthes*, it lieth to the South-weſt of *Corinth:* it is bounded on the North by the Bay of *Criſſa*, to the Eaſt by *Sicyon*, to the South by the Kingdoms of *Arcadia* and *Elis*, and to the Weſt by the *Ionian* Sea. This alſo appears to have been a Part of *Agamemnon*'s Empire; for *Homer*[u] marſhals the Inhabitants of *Egium*, of *Helice*[w], of *Gonoeſſa*, and ſome other neighbouring Cities, among the Forces of this Prince at the Siege of *Troy*.

Eud. Pray, *Palaemon*, was not *Achaia* of old a Name common to all *Greece?*

Pal.

[t] Σποράδες, ſo called from their being *ſcattered*; for they extended from the Coaſt of *Greece* to that of *Aſia*.

Vide *Cellar.* Not. Orb. Ant.

[u] Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 573, *&c.*

[w] This *Helice* was the Capital City of the *Aegialean Ionians*; and here was a Temple to *Neptune*, where his Worſhip was celebrated with ſuch Magnificence, that he was thence ſtyled *Heliconian Neptune*. When the *Ionians* retired into *Aſia*, they honoured him ſtill under the ſame Title, and, in Memory of their loſt Country, erected a Temple in the Territories of *Priene* to *Neptune* of *Helice*, in which the *Pan-Ionia*, or the Convention of the *Ionian* States, was held. *Pauſanias* (in Achaicis) and *Strabo* (Geogr. L. 8) tell us, that this City of *Helice* was deſtroyed by an Earthquake, and ſwallowed up in the Abyſs, the Sea breaking in with ſuch Violence, that not the leaſt Remains of either Inhabitants or Buildings were to be ſeen. This diſmal Cataſtrophe happened a ſhort Time before the Battle of *Leuctra*, and is the more extraordinary, as the City was near two Miles diſtant from the Sea.——*Heraclides* apud *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 8.

Pal. The *Greeks* in general have the Name of *Acheans*, Ἀχαιοὶ, given to them by Antient Writers [x], though it ſeems properly to have belonged to thoſe, who dwelt on the Eaſt-ſide of *Peloponneſus*——The Name is ſaid to come originally from *Acheus* [y], Son to *Xuthus*, and Great-Grandſon to *Deucalion*, who, paſſing on ſouthward, ſeated himſelf about the Parts of *Laconia*. For the Diſtrict, we have now before us, was not called at the firſt *Achaia*, but *Aegialea*, from *Aegialeus* the Founder of *Sicyon*, which Name remained to it in *Homer*'s Days [z]. It was alſo called *Ionia* for a conſiderable Time, and the People *Aegialean Ionians* [a], to diſtinguiſh them from the *Ionians* of *Attica*. But it did not receive the Appellation of *Achaia*, until the Reſtoration of the *Heraclidae*; for then the Inhabitants of *Argos* and *Lacedemon*, being put to flight by the *Dorians* and the Deſcendants of *Hercules*, made their Way into *Aegialea*, and, having driven out the antient Poſſeſſors, gave the Name of *Achaia* to the Country. It is ſaid, that *Tiſamenes*, Son to *Oreſtes*, reigned over them in this new Settlement: but, be that as it may, it appears, that the *Acheans* ſoon changed their Form of Government. *Pauſanias* ſays [b], that the Care of the Public Good was intruſted to ſeven Perſons: and probably this was the Foundation of thoſe famed *Achean* States, which made ſuch a glorious Stand for Liberty in the latter Days of *Greece* [c].

Eud.

[x] Vide *Homer.* paſſim; et *Thucyd.* L. 1.

[y] *Pauſan.* in Achaicis.

[z] Hence he ſays,

Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα.—— Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 575.

[a] Αἰγιαλεῖς Ἴωνες.—— *Pauſan.* in Achaicis.

[b] In Achaicis.

[c] When the *Grecians* were reduced under the Yoke of *Rome*, *Achaia* became again the common Name of *Greece*: for the *Romans*

Eud. I ſee *ARCADIA* lay to the South-eaſt of *Achaia.*——

Pal. It was ſituate in the heart of *Peloponneſus:* you may obſerve, it has *Elis* on the Weſt, and *Argolis* on the Eaſt; to the North of it are *Achaia* and *Sicyon*, and *Laconia* and *Meſſenia* to the South. Antient Authors[d] are of Opinion, that this is the Part of *Greece*, that was firſt inhabited; and indeed, the Beauty of the Situation and the Advantages of the Soil might well juſtify the Conjecture. It was removed from the Sea-ſhore, which in the earlier Ages was much expoſed to the Violence of New Adventurers: the whole Country was divided into pleaſant Vales, and fruitful Hills; the faireſt Paſturages were found here; and on every Side roſe the green Landſcape. Accordingly, this was the Abode, the Poets aſſigned to all the Rural Deities of old. Over the *Arcadian Maenalus*, *Diana* and her Train of Nymphs were wont to range: and here it was *Pan*, the Shepherd-God, and every Genius of the Foreſt and Dale choſe to dwell. The Occupation of the Inhabitants alſo ſeemed to agree with the Poet's Fiction: they were a Nation of Shepherds; their Manners had all the Innocence and Simplicity of Paſtoral Life; and nothing was to be heard around, but bleating Flocks and ruſtic Song. However, in Martial Spirit they were not inferior to any *Grecian* People: the frequent Incurſions, to which they became liable, as *Greece* filled with Inhabitants, on account of the Number of their Cattle, and the Richneſs of their Soil, obliged them to cultivate the Arts of War, as well as thoſe of Rural Induſtry,

Romans divided their *Grecian* Conqueſts into two Provinces, *Macedonia* and *Achaia:* in *Macedonia* were contained the *Macedonian* Kingdom, *Illyria*, and *Epire*; *Achaia* included all the reſt.

[d] *Strabo*, L. 8.

duſtry; and you ſhall find them make a conſiderable Figure in the Military Affairs of *Greece*. They alſo in Time got Poſſeſſion of a maritime Trade [e]; *Pompus*, one of their Kings, having opened a Way to *Cyllene*, a Port on the *Ionian* Sea, and concluded a Treaty of Commerce with thoſe of *AEgina*. But as to *Arcadia* itſelf, it was entirely an inland Country; and you may recollect, *Eudoxus*, what *Homer* ſays [f], that *Agamemnon* ſupplied them with Ships to ſail to *Troy*. *Agapenor* was their Leader in that Expedition; but as I told you Yeſterday [g], he never ſaw *Arcadia* more; and *Hippothous*, a Prince of an other Line, aſcended the *Arcadian* Throne. After him reigned a long Series of Kings; for it is remarkable, that the Regal Power maintained it ſelf in *Arcadia* longer, than in moſt Parts of *Greece*: and the Reaſon probably was, becauſe the People had limited its Extent, and the Prince cou'd undertake nothing momentous, without the Conſent of his Subjects. This preſerved them from thoſe violent Convulſions, by which other Monarchical Governments were rent aſunder. And Hiſtorians [h] tell us, that the *Arcadians* did not even ſcruple to bring their Kings to Juſtice, when they diſgraced the Regal Majeſty. There are recorded two ſingular Inſtances to this Purpoſe; the one of *Ariſtocrates*, whom his Subjects ſtoned to Death, for having offered Violence to a young Virgin, Prieſteſs to *Diana Hymnia*, at the very Altar of the Goddeſs; and the other of his Grandſon, named likewiſe *Ariſtocrates*, who having baſely betrayed the *Meſſenians*, with whom he

[e] *Pauſan.* in Arcadicis.
[f] Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 612.
[g] See Dialogue the fourth, P. 133.
[h] Vide *Pauſaniam* in Arcadicis.

he was in Alliance, to the *Spartan* Power, was, for his Breach of Faith, *deſervedly* put to Death by the virtuous *Arcadians* [i].

Eud. Pray, *Palaemon*, is not the River *Styx*, which the Poets have numbered among the Rivers of Hell, to be met with in *Arcadia?*

Pal. Yes, *Eudoxus*, there it is before you: but be not ſurpriſed at this; we are now on Poetic Ground, and ſcarce is there a Spot here, but has been made memorable by ſome antient Fiction. Yonder alſo is the Lake *Stymphalus*, where *Hercules* is ſaid to have deſtroyed the Monſters *Stymphalides*. And there is *Nonacris*, and *Erymanthus*, and *Pholoe*, every one of them the Theme of Bards of old. However, it is not without Reaſon, that the Poets have aſſigned the River *Styx* its Place in the Realms of *Pluto: Pauſanias* [k] tells us, that its Waters were ſo virulent a Poyſon, that no Creature taſted them, and lived: And a learned Modern [l], who had viſited thoſe Parts, informs us, that the whole River is of an hideous Hue, a thick livid Scum dwells on the Surface, and whene'er the Waters bubble, it is like the boiling up of Pitch, or Bitumen: No Fiſh is to be found in the deadly Stream; the Vapour, that riſes from it, kills every Tree and every Verdure, it reaches to; and even the Brute Creatures ſhun the infected Banks.——But let us leave this Place of Horrors.——There are other Names here, better worth your Notice.

Eud. What, *Tegea* do you mean?

Pal. Yes, and *Mantinea* alſo, both of them famed in Hiſtory. At *Tegea*, you may remember, the

[i] See a full Account of this in Dialogue the ſeventh.

[k] In Arcadicis.

[l] Relation du Voyage Literaire de M. l'Abbé Fourmont dans le Levant.—— Voyez Memoir. de l'Acad. Roy. des Inſcript. T. 4.

Arcadians obtained a ſignal Victory over the *Lacedemonians* and their King *Charilaus*, and the proud *Spartans* were bound with the very Chains, which they had brought to bind the *Tegeans* [m]. And at *Mantinea* was fought that memorable Battle between *Thebes* and *Sparta*, in which fell the excellent *Epaminondas*.——*Megalopolis*, that City, which you may ſee there to the North of *Mantinea*, was not built till the latter Ages of *Greece*. *Epaminondas* was its Founder [n].

ELIS is next to *Arcadia*; you may obſerve, it has *Arcadia* to the Eaſt, and the *Ionian* Sea to the Weſt, *Achaia* to the North, and to the South *Meſſenia* and the Bay of *Cyparisſus*.

Eud. Was it not in this Country the *Olympic* Games were celebrated?

Pal. It was: there runs the River *Alpheus*, and beyond it ſtood the City *Olympia*, whoſe Plains were the Scene of that great Solemnity. You know, this Feaſt had been inſtituted in Honour of *Jupiter*; he had a magnificent Temple here, and in it was his Statue, of Ivory, fifty cubits high, the Work of *Phidias*, accounted one of the Wonders of the Pagan World. It is ſaid [o], that the Sculptor took the Idea from thoſe divine Lines of *Homer*, in which you may remember, *Eudoxus*, *Jupiter* appears in ſuch awful Pomp. I will repeat them to you, *Cleanthes*; they will give you a livelier impreſſion of the Majeſty of this Figure, than any Terms, in which I can deſcribe it:

Ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·
Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο Ἄνακτος
Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον [p].

This

[m] *Herodot.* in Clio.
[n] See, with Relation to *Epaminondas*, Dialogue the thirteenth.
[o] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 8. *Macrobi.* L. 5. C. 13.
[p] Iliad. Rhapſ. 1. V. 528, &c.

This ſaid, his kingly Brow the Sire inclin'd,
The large black Curls fell, awful, from behind,
Thick ſhadowing the ſtern Forehead of the God;
Olympus *trembled at th' Almighty Nod* [q].

Strabo obſerves [r], that the God, though *ſeated* on his Throne, reached with his Head the vaulted Roof, ſo that, had he but raiſed himſelf up, the Temple could not have contained him.

The Games here were ſolemnized after four Years complete, and hence was invented the Calculation by Olympiads; and the Time of their Celebration was at the Full of *the Moon*, whoſe Change immediately preceded the Summer Solſtice. The Prieſts of the *Olympic* Temple had the Care to regulate the Form of the Year, and to obſerve every New Moon, eſpecially *that* of the Month, in which the Games were to be: They were alſo to regiſter the Names of all the Victors, and to record every material Circumſtance, that happened within each Olympiad [s]. I need not tell you, that it was eſteemed the higheſt Glory to be crowned at this Solemnity, and that the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the *Grecians*, and even Kings themſelves, thought it an Object worthy of their Ambition. *Hiero* of *Syracuſe*, one of the greateſt Princes of his Days, courted the Honour [t]. And even *Philip* of *Macedon*, though real Encreaſe of Empire ſeemed to be his chief Concern, numbered it among the moſt fortunate Events of his Life, that he obtained this boaſted Prize [u].

Clean. And was the Prize of no more Value, than that at the *Iſthmian* Games?

[q] Tranſlation by *Tickel.*
[r] Geogr. L. 8.
[s] See further in *Potter*'s Arch. Graec. V. 1. and in *Weſt*'s Diſſertation on the *Olympic* Games.
[t] Vide *Pindar.* Olymp. Ode 1.
[u] *Plutarch* in Alexandro.

Pal. Originally, nothing more, than a Crown compoſed of Olive Branches[w]. It was a Pagan Tradition, that *Hercules* had appointed it thus, to teach Men, that the great Reward they ſhould contend for is the *Praiſe of doing well.*

Eud. But are Authors agreed as to the Perſon, who inſtituted theſe *Olympic* Solemnities?

Pal. There is Reaſon to believe, as I obſerved to you [x] ſome Days ago, that *Hercules* of *Ida* was the firſt, that inſtituted them; but as they were frequently intermitted, and afterwards at a conſiderable diſtance of Time reſtored, and received various Improvements at different Periods, therefore is the Inſtitution of them aſcribed to ſeveral Perſons. It is however certain, they were not celebrated regularly, till the Days of *Iphitus*, King of *Elis*, about ſeven hundred and ſeventy ſix Years before *Chriſt*, who reſtored theſe Games by the Advice of the Oracle [y], as the ſure Means of averting the Anger of the Gods, (for *Peloponneſus* was then in an afflicted State) and of advancing the Proſperity of his Country [z]. The Oracle did not deceive him

[w] Pecuniary Rewards were firſt beſtowed on the Victors in the *Grecian* Games by *Eurylochus* the *Theſſalian*, after the Reduction of *Criſſa*, that is, about the forty-ſeventh or forty-eighth Olympiad: but the Exceſs of theſe was reſtrained by *Solon*, and the Sums ſpecified; (*Plut.* in Solone) and it may be queſtioned, whether even after that, they were always regularly beſtowed.

[x] See Dialogue the ſecond, P. 43.

[y] *Pauſan.* Eliac. L. 1.

[z] *Iphitus* was a wiſe Prince, and foreſaw, what an Advantage it would be to *Elis*, to have ſuch a Concourſe of People brought thither from all Parts of *Greece*; and therefore, that the Solemnity might be held in high Reverence, he obtained the Oracle, which the *Grecians* credulouſly received, eſpecially as their Minds were brought low by ſevere Calamities, a *Time*, when Superſtition has the ſtrongeſt Influence.

him. —— The *Olympic* Games made *Elis* flouriſh; and ſo highly were they accounted of throughout all *Greece*, that by the general Conſent of the *Grecian* States, it was reſolved, that the *Eleans* ſhould enjoy their Poſſeſſions without Moleſtation, or Fear of War, in Conſideration of the Celebration of theſe Solemnities[a].

Eud. I remember to have read, that thoſe of *Piſa* diſputed for a Time the Right of preſiding at theſe Games with thoſe of *Elis*.

Pal. They did for many Years; but at length the *Eleans* obtained a complete Victory over them, and razed their City[b].

Clean. Was the Kingdom of *Elis* alſo a Part of *Agamemnon*'s Dominions?

Pal. I do not find it was——*Homer*[c] tells us, that the *Eleans* ſailed to *Troy* under the Command of four Leaders, each of which commanded a Squadron of ten Ships: It may from this be conjectured, that they were at that Time cantoned into diſtinct Principalities; and this ſeems to be confirmed by this War between the *Piſeans*, and thoſe of *Elis*.

Next to *Elis*, lieth *Triphylia*; and at ſome Diſtance from the Sea, towards the confines of *Arcadia*, is *Pylus*, the Capital of this ſmall Kingdom. Here reigned the wiſe *Neſtor*, one of the few Princes, that returned from the fatal Siege of *Troy*: his Dominions extended on either Side of the River *Alpheus*.

Eud. I thought *Meſſenia* had been the Kingdom of *Neſtor*.——

Pal.

[a] Polyb. L. 4.
[b] *Pauſan.* Eliac. L. 1.
[c] Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 615.

Pal. It appears evidently from *Homer* [d] and *Strabo* [e], that *Meſſenia* was not ſubject to him. Probably indeed his Poſterity might take Advantage of the many Calamities, that diſtracted the Houſe of *Agamemnon* after the Return from *Troy*, and poſſeſs themſelves of Part of the *Meſſenian* Territories [f]: and therefore do we find the Family of *Neſtor* ſettled here, when the *Heraclidae* invaded *Peloponneſus*. But nevertheleſs, the *Pylus*, which *Homer* ſpeaks of, as *Neſtor*'s Royal Seat, is certainly this, which, you ſee, was bordering on *Arcadia*. It may be, that the Miſtake partly aroſe from there being three Cities of the Name, which Geographers now diſtinguiſh, according to the Places, in which they were ſituate——*Pylus Eliaca*, which belonged to the *Eleans*——*Pylus Triphyliaca*, the City of *Neſtor*——and *Pylus Meſſeniaca*, in the *Meſſenian* Kingdom [g].

Clean. Is there any Thing memorable recorded of the People of this Country?

Pal. In the Days of *Neſtor*, they appear to have been a brave martial People; before their Expedition to *Troy*, they had engaged in War againſt *Hercules*, though with ill Succeſs [h]: and *Homer* makes mention of a ſignal Victory obtained by them over their Neighbour, *Augeas* King of *Elis* [i]. A Taſte for Poetry ſeems alſo to have been early among them, and we find recorded the Name of *Thamyris*, a Poet who came from *Thrace* into theſe Parts, whoſe

[d] Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 582 et 591, &c. Rhapſ. 9. V. 149, &c. Rhapſ. 11. V. 670, &c.
[e] Geogr. L. 8.
[f] *Strabo* ubi ſupra.
[g] Vide *Cluver.* Geogr. et *Cellarii* Notit. Orb. Antiq. T. 1.
[h] See Dialogue the third, P. 109.
[i] Iliad. Rhapſ. 11. V. 700, &c.

whoſe exalted Genius, *Homer*[k] tells us, proved fatal to him. The Muſes, envious of the Excellence of his Strains, deprived him of Sight. Whatever is the Truth, concealed under this Fiction[l], you may judge, *Cleanthes*, from the Manner of relating the Misfortune of the unhappy *Thamyris*, how high was the Fame of this antient Bard.

To the South of *Triphylia* is the Kingdom of *MESSENIA.* You ſee, it is ſituate in the South-weſt Extremity of *Peloponneſus.* On the Eaſt of it are *Laconia*, and the *Meſſenian* Bay; its ſouthern Coaſt is waſhed by the *Mediterranean* Sea, and its Weſtern by the *Ionian*; and toward the North it extended as far as the City of *Cypariſſie.*——This Country, beſides the Advantages of a maritime Situation, enjoyed the Bleſſings of a ſoft Climate, and a fruitful Soil; ſo that, in its Days of Liberty, it might juſtly have been accounted one of the happieſt Spots in *Peloponneſus.* In the inland Parts was *Meſſena*, the Principal City, remarkable for the Strength of its Citadel, built on the Top of *Ithome*, a very high Mountain, which commanded the

[k] Στεῦτο γαρ ἐυχομενος νικησέμεν, εἴπερ ἂν αὐταὶ
Μοῦσαι ἀείδοιεν, κοῦραι Διὸς Αἰγιόχοιο·
Αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, ἀυτὰρ ἀοιδὴν
Θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο, καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριςύν.
Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 597.

——Vain of Mortals empty Praiſe, he ſtrove
To match the Seed of cloud compelling Jove.
Too daring Bard! whoſe unſucceſsful Pride
Th' immortal Muſes in their Art defy'd.
Th' avenging Muſes of the Light of Day
Depriv'd his Eyes, and ſnatch'd his Voice away;
No more his heav'nly Voice was heard to ſing;
His Hand no more awak'd the Silver String. Pope.

[l] *Pauſanias*, in his Antiquities of *Meſſenia*, is of Opinion, that ſome Diſtemper deprived *Thamyris* of his Sight. But the Ornaments of Fiction were more agreeable to the Poet's Purpoſe.

the ſouthern Tract of *Peloponneſus*, as *Acrocorinthus*, the Mountain, on which ſtood the Citadel of *Corinth*, commanded the northern. And, on this Account, it was the Obſervation of *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, that *Peloponneſus* might be compared to a Bull, and theſe Mountains to its two Horns, which if a Man could once hold firm, the whole Peninſula muſt ſubmit to him [m]. —— However, *Meſſenia* was originally the Name of the Country, for the City *Meſſena* was not built till later Ages.

Clean. And was this Country alſo ſubject to the Princes of the Houſe of *Pelops?*

Pal. It certainly was. *Eudoxus* can tell you, that *Agamemnon* in *Homer* [n] offers ſeven of the Cities of *Meſſenia*, with the faireſt of his Daughters, to *Achilles*, as a Price to obtain his Return to the *Grecian* Army: an undeniable Argument, that *Meſſenia* either belonged to him, or to *Menelaus* his Brother. Indeed, moſt Authors are of Opinion, that in thoſe Days it made Part of the Kingdom of *Sparta*.

Clean. So that all *Peloponneſus*, *Elis* and *Triphylia* excepted, owned the Sway of the *Pelopian* Family?

Pal. All the reſt of *Peloponneſus* was either ſubject or tributary to them; and even *Triphylia* and *Elis* could not but reſpect a Power, which they were ſo little able to cope with. —— *Oreſtes*, as you have ſeen, ſucceeded to the Thrones of *Mycenae* and *Sparta*; but probably, *Agamemnon*'s domeſtic Troubles, and the Uſurpation of *AEgiſthus*, had contributed to weaken the Empire of *Mycenae*; for the Kingdoms of *Arcadia*, of *Achaia*, and *Corinth*, appear at this Time to have thrown off the Yoke of Dependency [o]. *Oreſtes*, reigned many Years

[m] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 8.

[n] Iliad. Rhapſ. 9. V. 144, &c.

[o] *Pauſanias* however tells us, that *Oreſtes*, after ſome Time, extended his Power over ſeveral of the Diſtricts of *Arcadia*—— προσπεποιημένος μεν Αρκάδων τους πολλους.—— In Corinthiacis.

Years [p]; and after him, *Tiſamenes* his Son aſcended the Throne. In his Days happened the memorable Return of the *Heraclidae*, which gave an entire change to the Affairs of *Peloponneſus*, and put an end to the Glory of the Houſe of *Pelops*. This is an Epoch of ſuch note in the *Grecian* Hiſtory, that I muſt deſire you to dwell on it with ſome Attention.

You may remember, *Cleanthes*, that *Euryſtheus* King of *Mycenae*, and *Hercules*, were both the Deſcendants of *Pelops*, and that *Hercules* was Prince of *Tyrinthus*, a ſmall Sovereignty, not many Miles diſtant from *Mycenae*, and formerly a Part of the ſame Kingdom.

Clean. I do remember it.

Pal. You may recollect alſo, that *Euryſtheus* had conceived the moſt violent jealouſy againſt *Hercules*, both on account of his extraordinary Proweſs, and of the Pretenſions, which he might form to the Crown of *Mycenae* [q].

Clean. I remember it well.

Pal. After *Hercules*'s Death, *Euryſtheus*, who ſaw himſelf without Male Iſſue, and had married his only Daughter *Aerope* to *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops*, indulged his utmoſt Hatred againſt *Hyllus* Son to *Hercules*, and the whole *Herculean* Family; and perſecuted them with ſuch Violence, that they fled for refuge to the Altar of *Mercy* at *Athens*. *Euryſtheus*, not ſatisfied with their Expulſion out of *Peloponneſus*, required of thoſe of *Athens*, to ſurrender the Fugitives into his Power. But the generous *Athenians*, far from complying with his De-

A a mand,

[p] *Velleius Paterculus* (L. 1. C. 1.) ſays, he reigned 70 Years: The *Greek* Scholiaſt, on the *Oreſtes* of *Euripides*, ſays, he was only 70, when he died.

[q] See Dialogue the Third, P. 98, *&c.*

mand, resolved to espouse the Cause of these distressed Suppliants; they assisted them with Troops, and a Battle was fought, in which *Eurystheus* lost his Kingdom and his Life[r]. *Hyllus*, now victorious, possessed himself of the *Mycenean* Throne; but he did not long enjoy it; for a Pestilence breaking out, the Priests, who, we may suppose, were in the Interests of *Atreus*, and of the other Princes, whose Dominions *Hyllus* had Claim to, gave out, that the Gods were displeased with the Descendants of *Hercules*, for returning before the fated Time. This pretended Oracle, cost *Hyllus* his Kingdom; he and the *Heraclidae* were obliged to leave *Peloponnesus*. But enquiring soon after from the Oracle of *Delphos*, when they should return, and what were the Means, that should insure them Success, they were answered, *that they must wait the Third Fruits*; *and that they must enter* Peloponnesus *at that Place, where the Seas afforded a narrow Passage*[s]. *This* they understood to be the *Corinthian Isthmus*; and by *the Third Fruits* it was supposed the Oracle meant *the Third Year*. The Third Year[t] accordingly they endeavoured to penetrate thro' the Isthmus; but *Atreus*, who had now strengthened himself in his Kingdom, opposed them

[r] *Apollodor.* L. 2. C. 8. *Diod. Sic.* L. 4.

[s] The Oracle ran thus, as preserved from *Porphyry* by *Eusebius.*—

Νίκην σοὶ φαίνουσι Θεοὶ δι' ὀδοῖο στενύγρων.
Thro' urging Streights Attempt the sounding Sea:
The Gods invite, and Vict'ry leads the Way.
Frag. *Porphyr.* de def. Orac. apud *Eus.* de Praep. Evang. L. 5. C. 20.

[t] It is surprising the *Greek* Scholiast, on *Thucydides*, should suppose 20 Years to have elapsed between these two Invasions: This is utterly irreconcileable with the Chronology of those Times, as well as with the account we have of the Oracle.—Vide Schol. in *Thucyd.* L. 1.

them with a powerful Army: To prevent Bloodſhed, it was agreed, that the Pretenſions of the *Heraclidae* ſhould be decided by ſingle Combat; *Hyllus* offered himſelf on their Part, and *Echemus*, Prince of *Tegea*, was Champion for *Atreus*.[u] The Conditions were, that if *Hyllus* was victorious, he ſhould have the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Mycenae*; but, if he fell, that the *Heraclidae* ſhould depart out of *Peloponneſus*, and not return into it again for an hundred Years.* The Deciſion was not favourable to *Hyllus*: He was ſlain; and the *Heraclidae* retired, Part into *Attica*, Part into *Theſſaly*. When the hundred Years were expired, the Poſterity of *Hyllus* renewed the Pretenſions of their Family, and ſent to *Delphos*, to conſult the God. The Anſwer was, that the Misfortune of *Hyllus* was owing to a wrong Apprehenſion of the Oracle; for that by *the Third Fruits* was meant *the Third Generation*, not *the Third Year*; and that *the Narrow Paſſage*, which they were in-

[u] *Diod. Sic.* L. 4. *Herodot.* in Calliope.

* It is ſcarcely poſſible to determine preciſely, in what Years theſe Things were done; but from what has been already obſerved (P. 116. *N. n.*) it may be conjectured, that *Euryſtheus* was ſlain about twenty one Years, or ſomething more, before the Subverſion of *Troy*: For much ſooner than this, *Hercules* cannot have died. *Hyllus* reigned but a few Months: And *Atreus*, getting Poſſeſſion of the Throne, married his Son *Menelaus*, to the Daughter of the *Spartan* King. In the mean Time, *Hyllus*, who had applied to the Oracle, immediately after his leaving *Mycenae*, endeavoured the Third Year, according to the ſuppoſed Meaning of the Anſwer he had received, to recover the Kingdom; but he was ſlain. Accordingly, this muſt have happened about eighteen Years, or ſomewhat leſs, before the *Trojan* Epoch.——It muſt alſo be noticed, that the hundred Years, which are ſuppoſed to have elapſed between the Expulſion and the Return of the *Heraclidae*, are to be numbered, not from the Death of *Hyllus*, but from the Date of the Oracle, which ordered them to wait the Third Fruits. Now this Oracle was given about twenty Years before *Troy* was taken.

ſtructed to ſeek, was not *the* Corinthian *Iſthmus*, but *the Bay of* Criſſa, which lay to the Weſt of *Corinth*. Encouraged by theſe new Directions, which the Prieſts had *artfully* concerted, to ſave the Credit of the *Delphic* Shrine, they began to prepare for the invading of *Peloponneſus*, and equipped a conſiderable Fleet, at a Place on the *AEtolian* Coaſt, which from this received the Name of *Naupactus*[w]. The *Herculean* Princes, at the Head of this Expedition, were *Temenus*, *Creſphontes*, and *Ariſtodemus*, who were the Third Generation from *Hyllus*[x]. But in the midſt of theſe Preparations, the Anger of the Gods ſhewed itſelf againſt them, and the Army was viſited with a ſevere Peſtilence. The Prieſts aſcribed theſe Diſaſters to a Murder, which had been committed in the Army, and adviſed them to placate the Gods by expiatory Sacrifices, and by baniſhing the guilty Perſon from among them; adding withal, that it was in vain to hope Succeſs, except they could procure a Three-eyed General. The Prophecy was ſomewhat diſcouraging; but the Contrivance of the Leaders ſurmounted the Difficulty. A Man was met, riding on a Mule, and his Beaſt and he had but three Eyes between them. They gladly made uſe of this Circumſtance, to perſwade the ſuperſtitious Soldiery, that this was the Perſon the Gods required. His Name was *Oxylus*, and he had ſome diſtant Claim to the Throne of *Elis*[y], which they promiſed to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of, if he would conſent to be their General. Soon after, they invaded *Peloponneſus*, at the Place which the Oracle

[w] Ναύπακτος, or the Docks, from Ναῦς, a Ship, and πήγνυμι to join together.

[x] Excluſive of *Hyllus*——*Herodot.* in *Erato.*

[y] He was deſcended from *AEtolus*, Son to *Endymion*, who reigned in *Elis.*——See Dial. 2. P. 56.

Oracle had directed them to, and landed without Oppoſition, all the Enemies Forces being drawn off by a Feint of theirs, to defend the Paſs of the Iſthmus. This firſt Succeſs was followed by many others; and not only the Kingdom of *Mycenae*, but alſo thoſe of *Lacedemon* and *Meſſenia*, were reduced under Subjection to them. The *Neſtorian* Family loſt their Dominions, and took Refuge in the *Athenian* Territories: and *Tiſamenes*, with moſt of his People, retired to the North-Weſt of *Peloponneſus*; and hence was the Name of *Achaia* given to this new Settlement, the Inhabitants of *Mycenae*, and *Lacedemon* bearing, as I have already obſerved, the Name of *Acheans*, from *Acheus*, one of their firſt Princes[a].

Clean. But were the Deſcendants of *Hercules* ſo numerous, as to be able to bear down the united Power of all thoſe Nations?

Pal. It may be ſuppoſed, that their Army was made up, not only of *Hercules*'s Deſcendants, but alſo of all the antient Friends of their Houſe, of thoſe Families, which had engaged at the firſt in the Quarrel againſt *Euryſtheus*, and who, probably from the Time of *Hyllus*'s Death, had ſhared the Fortunes of the *Heraclidae*. Beſides, the *Dorians*, a brave People from about Mount *Oeta*, were joined with them, and were greatly inſtrumental in bringing about this Revolution. Theſe were they, by whom was afterwards peopled the greateſt part of the conquered Kingdoms; and hence did the *Doric* Dialect become the prevailing Language of the *Peloponneſian* Nations; the *Aeolic* had been ſpoken there until this Period, but it was now confined to the ſmall Country of *Achaia*.

Eud.

[a] See above, P. 166.

Eud. And pray, *Palaemon*, how did the *Heraclidae* diſpoſe of their Conqueſts?

Pal. The conquered Kingdoms were divided into three Parts: *Temenus* obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*; *Creſphontes*, that of *Meſſenia*; and *Ariſtodemus*, that of *Lacedemon*; but *Ariſtodemus* dying ſhortly after, his two Sons, *Euriſthenes* and *Patrocles*, or *Procles*, as he is generally called, reigned jointly in his Stead [a].

Eud. So that from this, *Sparta* was governed by two Kings?

Pal. By two Kings, who ſhared equally the Regal Power: and yet you ſhall ſee *Sparta*, under this *unpromiſing kind of Government*, flouriſh for a wonderous length of Ages, and riſe to an high degree of Glory and Empire.

Clean. But was *Oxylus* remembered?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*: I ſee you are apprehenſive, that thoſe Princes would have forgotten him in the Days of their Proſperity; but he was not forſaken: he recovered the Throne of *Elis*, and the famed *Iphitus*, the Reſtorer of the Olympic Games, was deſcended from him.

Eud. Theſe Succeſſes of the *Heraclidae* muſt have occaſioned great Revolutions, throughout all *Peloponneſus*.——

Pal. So great, that the *Heraclidae* thought fit to raiſe a Temple to *Jupiter Tropaius* [b], or *Jupiter* the Overturner

[a] Several antient Authors, ſuch as *Plato*, (De Legib. L. 3.) *Pauſanias* (in *Laconicis*) and others, ſay, that *Ariſtodemus* was dead, before the *Heraclidae* entered *Peloponneſus*, and that the firſt Kings of the Race of *Hercules*, that aſcended the *Spartan* Throne, were *Euryſtheus* and *Procles*. But *Herodotus*, (in *Erato*) whom I have followed, tells us, that the *Spartans* affirmed the contrary, and aſcribed the Reduction of the Kingdom of *Lacedemon* to *Ariſtodemus*.

[b] ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ τὸ Ἱερὸν——*Pauſ.* in Laconicis.

Overturner of States. The *Arcadians* were the only People there, who kept Poſſeſſion of their antient Borders: The *Heraclidae* and *Dorians* ſpread themſelves thro' all the other Parts of *Peloponneſus*, *Achaia* excepted, into which, as I told you, the old Inhabitants of *Laconia* and *Argolis* forced their Way.

Clean. What became then of the firſt Proprietors of *Achaia*, in this general Calamity?

Pal. They retreated into *Attica*; you know, they were part of the antient *Ionians*, and they even retained the Name until this Time. On this account they were conſidered by the *Athenians*, as a Kindred-People, and were courteouſly received by *Melanthus*, who was at this Time on the Throne of *Athens*.

Eud. From this it appears, that the *Heraclidae* muſt have acquired prodigious Power: they had the Kingdoms of *Argos*, of *Lacedemon*, of *Meſſenia*, and *Triphylia*, in real Poſſeſſion; and *Elis*, I ſuppoſe, was as much theirs, as if governed by a Prince of their Blood.

Pal. And beſides, they ſoon after, acquired *Corinth* alſo: *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidae*, attacked the *Corinthians*, and, notwithſtanding an obſtinate Reſiſtance from them, got entire Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom. His Poſterity reigned here for many Generations, until the Days of *Teleſtes*: after him an Ariſtocracy was eſtabliſhed under the *Bacchiadae*, two hundred in Number, of which one was each Year choſen Chief Magiſtrate, with the Title of *Prytanis*[c]. This Form of Government was at length abrogated by *Cypſelus*, Father to *Periander*, who, having expelled the *Bacchiadae*, uſurped

[c] *Pauſan.* in *Corinthiacis.*

uſurped the ſupreme Power and oppreſſed his Country [d].

But it is Time to paſs over to the other Side of the *Iſthmus*—See, what a number of States open here upon us; *Attica*, *Thebes*, *Phocis*, and along the Weſtern Coaſt, *Aetolia*, *Acarnania*, and the Kingdom of *Epire*; there before you, *Doris*, and the Cities of the *Locri*; and yonder Northward, *Macedonia*, and the rich Vales of *Theſſaly*.

We ſhall begin by *ATTICA*. Take notice, *Cleanthes*, how ſmall the Extent of it.—From North-weſt to South-eaſt, not much more than ſixty Miles; and from North to South, only about fifty-ſix; and even this ſcanty Portion of Territory, a rough and rugged Soil. Obſerve its Situation; you ſee it is bounded to the Weſt, by *Boeotia*; to the North, by the *Euripus* or *Euboean* Streights; to the Eaſt, by the *Egean* Sea; and to the South, by the Gulph of *Saron*. And yet was this People foremoſt among all the Nations of the Earth, diſtinguiſhed both in Arts and Arms, and by the Glory of their Exploits, and the Excellence of their Improvements, juſtly to be accounted the Boaſt of the Pagan World.

Eud. Great *Athens*! Who would think, that this little State ſhould have checked the greateſt Power of the Earth? How inſtructive are the Annals of this Glorious People!

Pal. We ſhall have abundant Occaſion of obſerving what they were: let us now dwell on the Hiſtory of their earlier Days. You know, *Cleanthes*, *Meneſtheus* King of *Athens* died in his Return from *Troy*; and *Demophoon*, Son to *Theſeus*, was reſtored to [e] the Throne of his Fathers. After him, reigned

[d] Vide *Herodot.* in *Terpſichore.*

[e] See Dial. 4th. P. 134, and 135.

reigned his Son *Oxyntes*, and after *Oxyntes*, *Aphydas*. Theſe Reigns afford little worth reciting to you, excepting the Eſtabliſhment of a Court for the particular Cognizance of Murder, called the Court of the *Ephetae* [f], the Inſtitution of which is generally aſcribed to *Demophoon*. After *Aphydas*, *Thymoetes*, natural Son to *Oxyntes*, uſurped the Throne, to which he made his way by the Murder of *Aphydas*. However, this baſe Man did not long enjoy the Fruits of his Villainy. *Xanthus*, King of *Boeotia*, had a Conteſt with the *Athenians* about one of their Frontier-Towns, and offered to decide the Matter with *Thymoetes* by ſingle Combat: but the Uſurper, who had not Virtue enough to be truly Brave, declined it. It happened that *Melanthus*, a noble *Meſſenian*, who had fled from before the *Heraclidae*, was then at *Athens*; and, having offered to accept the Challenge, he killed *Xanthus* [g]. The *Athenians* depoſed their daſtardly King, and beſtowed the Sovereignty on the Stranger [h].

Clean. It appears then, that the Return of the *Heraclidae* was in the Days of *Thymoetes*?

[f] Concerning the Nature of this Court, ſee *Potter*'s Archaeol. Graec. B. 1.

[g] It is the Opinion of many antient Writers, that the Feſtival of *Apaturia*, which was ſolemnized at *Athens*, with great Pomp, and a general Intermiſſion of all Buſineſs, was inſtituted in Memory of this very Revolution. According to them, it was called *Apaturia*, ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΑ, from Ἀπάτη, *Fraud*, *Stratagem*; becauſe by *Stratagem* *Melanthus* obtained the Victory. They were to engage in ſingle Combat; but *Melanthus* crying out to *Xanthus*, and aſking him, why, in Violation of the Articles, he had brought a ſecond, *Xanthus* looked behind him, and was ſlain. —— See further *Potter*'s Archael. Graec. B. 2.

[h] *Pauſan.* in Atticis et Corinthiacis.

Pal. It was, and to the good Fortune of *Melanthus*, who is ſuppoſed to have been originally of the royal Houſe of *Neſtor*, may, in great Meaſure, be aſcribed the kind Reception, which the *Neſtoridae* and *Meſſenians* met with, in the Country of *Attica*.

Melanthus was ſucceeded by his Son *Codrus*, with whom ended the Title and Succeſſion of Kings at *Athens*. The Occaſion is extremely remarkable. The *Heraclidae* and *Dorians*, who had now ſtrengthened themſelves in *Peloponneſus*, were preparing to extend their Power into *Attica*, and had already taken *Megara*, a City tributary to the *Athenians*. The Oracle had promiſed them Succeſs, provided they did not kill the *Athenian* King. Whoever was the Inſpirer of this Oracle, *Codrus* took a noble Advantage of it; he introduced himſelf in diſguiſe into the Enemy's Camp, and provoked a Fray, in which he loſt his Life. The Superſtition of the Times made this deciſive; and the *Dorians*, finding they had ſlain the King, retired from the *Attic* Territories [i]. Moved with Admiration at *Codrus*'s Action, the *Athenians* reſolved, that no Perſon ſhould bear the Regal Title after him, and changed the Name of King into that of *Archon*, which Office was for Life at firſt, but afterwards was limited to the Space of ten Years, and at laſt to one only.——So ſingular was the Fate of the *Athenian* People! Other States changed their Form of Government, on account of the Crimes and Tyranny of their Princes. Whereas the *Athenians* altered theirs, out of a grateful Veneration to the Memory of this great King.

Eud.

[i] *Pauſan.* in *Atticis*. *Juſtin.* L. 2. C. 6. and 7. *Vel. Paterc.* L. 1. C. 2.

Eud. But do you not think, their Love of Liberty might have had ſome Share in bringing about this Alteration?

Pal. Probably it might. The *Athenians* had earlier notions of Liberty, than any other of the *Grecians.* You may remember, the Privileges of the People were conſiderably enlarged in the Days of *Theſeus*; [k] from that time the Kings appear to have had a very contracted Power, and were indeed little more than Generals for Life. The ſame Spirit continued at *Athens* in its greateſt Vigor for ſeveral Generations. And had it only animated them to the Aſſertion and Defence of Freedom, it had been their Security and Happineſs. But, unfortunately, it degenerated at length into a Spirit of Diſcord and Contention; each Individual of the People endeavoured to make a ſhew of his own Importance, and to become a Chief Ruler; and the beſt and ableſt Servants of the State were ſacrificed to Popular Jealouſy. This is an Evil, too frequent in *Democracies*; and we ſhall ſee many Inſtances of it in the courſe of the *Athenian* Hiſtory.——However, we forget the Map. Obſerve, *Cleanthes*, how crouded this little Tract appears to be: every Place here demands our Notice.——There, towards the *Corinthian* Iſthmus is *Megara*, the Place, which, I juſt now told you, fell into the Power of the *Dores*: it had long been a Part of the *Athenian* Dominions; [l] but from this time an irreconcileable Hatred ſubſiſted between the *Megareans* and theſe of *Attica.* Their Territories, as you ſee, were extremely confined: they were hem-

[k] See Dial. 3. P. 97.

[l] In antient Days it was a diſtinct State, and was governed by its own Princes, until it was ſubdued by *Theſius*——Vide *Plut.* in Theſeo.

med in by the *Corinthians*, the *Boeotians*, and *Athenians*; and poſſeſſed only a ſmall Portion of the Sea-Coaſt, where the Port of *Niſea* was. Their Situation alſo expoſed them to frequent Wars; for whenever the Neighbouring States attacked each other, the *Megareans* were obliged to take Part in the Quarrel: and indeed, whenever the *Athenians* were concerned, their natural Jealouſy of *Athens* generally led them to engage againſt her.——Here on the *Saronic* Gulph, *Athens* ſtands[m]; that City, that was deſtined to raiſe the Glory of *Greece* to its higheſt Degree of Splendor. This is the *Pirean* Port, which was joined to the City by Walls, though diſtant from it upwards of five Miles[n]: three Harbours had Nature formed in this capacious Port; [o] and as the Naval Power of the *Athenians* encreaſed, Art added every thing, that might ſtrengthen and adorn it: ſo that for the Greatneſs of its Works; the Magnificence of its Buildings; the Multitude of Seamen and Artificers, that were here conſtantly employed; the Variety of Wares, that were brought in; and the Frequency of Merchants, that reſorted hither from all Parts of the World; it might juſtly be eſteemed not leſs worthy of Admiration, than even *Athens*——Before the Improvement of the *Pireum*, *Phalerum* was the only Harbour, the *Athenians* were poſſeſſed of, *a Station* narrow and inconvenient[p].——Somewhat farther up the Bay of *Saron*, you may ſee *Eleuſis*, whence the *Eleuſinian* Rites had their Name: here, it was Fabled, *Ceres* landed;

[m] See Dial. 9.
[n] Or forty *Stades*.——Thucyd. L. 2. *Strabo*, Geogr. L. 9.
[o] *Pauſan.* in Atticis.
[p] *Pauſan* ubi ſupra.

landed ; [q] and to this Place did the ſacred Proceſſion march from *Athens*, when the Myſtical Feaſts were celebrated.——*Acharnae*, which is there in the Inland Parts, was one of the *Attic* Δημοι, or *Hamlets* ; for in this manner, as I obſerved to to you already, [r] was *Attica* inhabited in early Days, 'till *Theſeus* incorporated all the diſperſed Villagers into one City: and hence were the *Athenian* Families, in all Public Acts, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the *Hamlet*, to which they originally belonged [s]. *Hymettus*, and *Pentelicus*, here before you, are two Mountains, both celebrated for their Marble Quarries : you may remember, antient Writers make mention alſo of the Honey of *Hymettus*, and of the Fragrance of the *Aromatic* Herbs this Mountain abounded in [t].——Turn your Eyes towards the Northern Coaſt: there is *Marathon*, that Famed Place, where the Virtue of the *Athenian* People triumphed over the *Perſian* Powers.—And nearer to the Sea, is the Village of *Rhamnus*, where ſtood a remarkable Statue of *Nemeſis*, or the Goddeſs of *Vengeance* ; it was the Work of *Phidias*, and was dedicated by the *Athenians* in Memory of their Deliverance at *Marathon*. It is ſaid, that the Block of Marble, out of which it was made, was brought hither by the *Perſians*, to be erected as a Monument of their expected Victory [u].—Yonder to the Eaſt are *Phyle* and *Decelea*, two Forts of ſmall account in themſelves, but rendered conſiderable by the Exploits they were witneſſes of.

[q] The Remembrance of the antient Fiction was preſerved in the very name, given to the Place ; for Ἔλευσις ſignifieth the *Arrival*.

[r] See Dial. 2 P. 35. & Dial. 3. P. 97.

[s] Vide *Demoſthen.* paſſim.

[t] *Pauſan.* in Atticis. *Horat.* Serm. L. 2. Sat. 2.

[u] *Pauſan.* in Atticis.

of [x].—At *Laurium*, not far from *Decelea*, were the Silver Mines of *Attica*.—And within ſome few Miles of *Laureum* was the Promontory of *Sunium*, which is eſteemed by Geographers the extreme Eaſtern Point of *Greece*.

Clean. I ſee a ſmall Iſland, off of *Sunium*, marked *Helena*.

Pal. That was the Place, to which *Paris* bare the ill-fated *Helen*, when he ſailed from the *Spartan* Coaſt. [y] Thoſe other Iſlands, which you ſee at ſome diſtance in the *Egean* Sea, are the *Cyclades*, [z] ſo called, from their lying in a Circle, or rather in a Semi-Circle, around *Delos* [a].

Eud. How many of the *Cyclades* do Geographers number?

Pal. The Name at firſt was given to twelve only of thoſe Iſlands: but, in ſucceeding Times, ſome others were compriſed under the ſame Title [b]. The moſt remarkable of theſe were, *Andros*, *Ceos*, *Cythnus*, *Siphnus*, *Tenos*, *Paros*, *Naxos*, *Syros*, *Melos*, and *Delos*: all theſe were fertile pleaſant Iſlands, of rich Soil, and well-attempered Climate—*Ceos* particularly boaſted its fair Paſtures and excellent Fruits; ſo that, as the Poets ſing, *Ariſteus*, the great Improver of Rural Arts, paſſed over from *Boeotia*, and fixed his Abode here [c]. This was alſo the

[x] *Decelea*, in the *Peloponneſian* War; *Phyle*, in the Enterprize carried on by the brave *Thraſybulus* againſt the thirty Tyrants.

[y] He firſt touched at the Iſland *Cranae*, and thence ſailed to *Helena*.——*Strabo* (Geogr. L. 9.) confounds the two Iſlands together: but *Pauſanias*, (in *Laconicis*) diſtinguiſhes them.

[z] Κύκλαδες; from κύκλος a *Circle*.

[a] For the Cicular poſition aſcribed to the *Cyclades* is to be underſtood in a lax Senſe: they did not lie properly around *Delos*, but the greater number of them were to the South of it.

[b] *Strabo*. Geogr. L. 10.

[c] *Virg*. Georg. 1. V. 14.

the Country of the two *Simonides*, the elder of which was the Inventer of Funeral Verſe; and hence is a Mournful Lay called *Coea Naenia*, a *Cean Dirge*[d]. *Pliny*[e] tells us, that this Iſland was at length dreadfully torn by an Earthquake, and a great part of it buried in the Deep.——*Paros* was famed for its Marble, which, we are told, was of exquiſite whiteneſs, and ſuſceptible of the fineſt poliſh.—*Tenos* was happy in the Number of its fine Springs; whence it was alſo called *Hydruſſa*, Ὑδρεῦσα, the Iſland of Waters[f].—*Naxos* was celebrated on account of its delicious Wines; and therefore was it feigned to be dear to *Bacchus*, and ſuppoſed to be honoured with his immediate Preſence.—But the moſt renowned of all the *Cyclades* was *Delos*, ſaid to be the Birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, becauſe, I ſuppoſe, this was the Place, in which the *Egyptian* Sages firſt eſtabliſhed the Worſhip of thoſe Deities: their Rites were ſolemnized here with much Religion and Magnificence by all the Nations around, and the whole Iſland was eſteemed ſacred to them. On this account was it revered even by hoſtile *Barbarians*, as the Dwelling of the Gods[g]: and the common Treaſure of *Greece* was for many Years laid up in *Delos*, as in a Depoſitory holy and not to be violated. After the Deſtruction of *Corinth* by the *Romans*, the Situation of this Iſland drew to it a great part of the *Corinthian* Trade; and it became as eminent for its Commerce, as it had been for its Superſtitions[h].——The other *Cyclades* are ſcarcely worth notice. *Rhene* was remarkable for little more, than its being the Burial Place of the *Delians*;

[d] *Horat.* Carminum L. 2. Od. 1.
[e] *Plin.* L. 4. C. 12.
[f] *Plin.* ubi ſupra.
[g] *Herodot.* in Erato.
[h] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 10. *Cicero* pro Lege Manilia.

Delians; for it was eſteemed a Profanation to bury in *Delos*[i].—And as for *Seriphus*, *Prepeſinthus*, *Olearus*, *Cimolus*, *Gyarus*, they were ſmall barren Iſlands; and the Inhabitants of them make a very inconſiderable Figure in Hiſtory. Accordingly, you may remember, *Eudoxus*, what *Themiſtocles*'s Anſwer was to a Man of *Seriphus*,[k] who told him, that the Honours, which the *Spartans* had paid him after the Victory at *Salamis*, were meant not to him, but to his Country: True, replied *Themiſtocles*, for certainly I ſhould not have been honoured thus, had I been a *Seriphian*; but neither wou'd you, tho' you had been of *Athens*[l].—And, as you well know, *Gyarus* was ſo rough and inhoſpitable, that the *Romans* frequently ſent their Criminals[m] to ſpend the Remainder of their Days[n] in this Place of Wretchedneſs[o].—There are many more Iſlands both to the Eaſt and to the South of theſe; but they either belong to *Aſia*, or are to be numbered among the *Sporades*, of which I have already made mention.

Eud. Did any of theſe Iſlands preſerve themſelves independent?

Pal.

[i] *Herodot.* in Clio. *Thucyd.* L. 3. *Strabo*, ubi ſupra.

[k] *Cicero.* de Senectute. *Plut.* in Themiſtocle.

[l] *Herodotus* relates the ſame Story, with this difference, he ſays the Man was of *Belbina*, a ſmall Iſland in the *Saronic Gulph.* Vide *Herodot.* in Urania.

[m] Vide *Tacit.* Annal. L. 3. C. 68. et *Juvenal.* Sat. 1. V. 73.

[n] It appears both from *Tacitus* and *Juvenal*, that *Seriphus* alſo was a place deſtined for Criminals; and *Tacitus* calls it *Saxum Seriphium.*——— *Tacit.* Annal. L. 4. *Juvenal.* Sat. 10. V. 170.

[o] We are told by *Strabo*, that, when he was upon the Iſland, he ſaw not any Inhabitants, except ſome few Fiſhermen.

Strabo. Geogr. L. 10.

Pal. Few of them, for any conſiderable time, excepting *Melos*, which, according to *Thucydides*[p], enjoyed its Liberties for ſeven hundred years before the *Peloponneſian* War. Moſt of the others fell under Subjection to the State, that was poſſeſſed of the greateſt Maritime Power. They were firſt Peopled, as 'tis ſuppoſed, by Adventurers from *Egypt*, from *Caria*, and *Phoenicia:* and afterwards, *Minos*, having acquired a Numerous Fleet, ſubdued many of them. *Agamemnon* was the next *Grecian* Prince, that was formidable at Sea; and, accordingly, he alſo reigned over the Iſles. But the Royal Houſe of *Mycenae* being weakened by its diſtractions; and, ſome years after, the *Heraclidae* entering *Peloponneſus*; the Dominion of the Iſles paſſed to the *Aſiatic* Nations, or to the *Grecians*, that ſettled in *Aſia Minor:* and ſo it was, when the *Perſians* invaded *Greece*; moſt of the Iſlands confederating with thoſe of *Aſia*. The Victory at *Salamis* brought on an other Revolution: the *Athenians* claimed the Empire of the Sea, and the Iſlands were forced to ſubmit to the Arms of that brave People.

Eud. And indeed the *Athenians* ſeem, from their very Situation, to have enjoyed many opportunities of improving their Naval Strength.

Pal. They did, *Eudoxus:* you may obſerve, *Attica* was ſurrounded by the Sea on every ſide, except to the Weſt, and North-weſt, where it was bounded by the *Boeotian* and *Megarean* Territories. And, agreeably to this, *Strabo*[q] takes notice, that the name of this Country was originally *Actica*, from *Acte*, Ἀκτὴ, the Sea-ſhore.

[p] L. 5.
[q] Geogr. L. 9. See alſo Dial. 2. P. 33. N. 5.

North-weſt of *Attica* is *BOEOTIA.* It extended, as you ſee, from the *Attic* Borders to *Phocis*; and was bounded to the North by the *Euripus*, and to the South by the Gulph of *Corinth.*

Eud. Is not that the City of the *Plateans*, that is there on the Banks of the *Aſopus?*

Pal. It is: you remember, *Eudoxus*, the undaunted bravery of that illuſtrious People, and their inviolate Faith to *Athens.* They, *Cleanthes*, with thoſe of *Theſpiae*, a City, ſomewhat more to the Weſt, ſtood alone in oppoſition to all the reſt of *Boeotia*, and, at utmoſt Hazard, refuſed to betray the Liberties of their Country, when the *Perſians* invaded *Greece.* From that time, the ſtricteſt Amity ſubſiſted between them and the Inhabitants of *Attica.* And ſo dear did the *Plateans* hold this Friendſhip, that afterwards, when *Greece* was harraſſed by Domeſtic War, and a powerful Confederacy was formed againſt the *Athenians*, theſe generous Allies choſe rather to meet their own Ruin, than to renounce their Connexion with the *Athenian* People[r].

Yonder, North of *Plateae*, on the River *Iſmenus*, is *Thebes.*

Clean. What? the Capital of the *Boeotians?*

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*, that City of which Poetic Story records ſuch wonderous things; whoſe Inhabitants ſprung from a Serpent's Teeth, and whoſe Walls roſe up, as *Amphion* touched his Lyre. Here it was *Semele* had her Birth: and here reigned *Laius* and his ill fated Progeny[s]. But after the Days of Fiction were paſſed, the *Theban* Name ſeems to have ſunk into Obſcurity, until the time of *Epaminondas*, whoſe Virtues and ſignal Exploits

[r] See the following part of this Work.
[s] See Dial. 3. P. 80. *&c.*

ploits advanced his Country to high Honour, and gave her a place among the moſt illuſtrious of the States of *Greece.*

Eud. Did not the *Boeotians* labour under the imputation of Dulneſs?

Pal. Why, *Boeotia* had the Misfortune to be the Jeſt of the Wits of old. Its Air happened to be thick and groſs, owing, probably, to the *Moraſſes*, which the low parts abounded in: and this, together with the unlucky Circumſtance of their being ſituated near *Athens*, the firſt City in the World for Genius and Arts, expoſed the poor *Boeotians* to much Raillery. However, in after-ages this Reproach was in ſome meaſure taken off; for *Boeotia* had the Honour of producing one of the greateſt Poets *Greece* ever ſaw, the famed *Pindar*; and two, Generals and Stateſmen, as much diſtinguiſhed by the Superiority of their Abilities, as by the Integrity of their Manners, *Pelopidas*, and the *Epaminondas* I juſt now mentioned to you: not to ſay any thing of that excellent Hiſtorian, *Plutarch*, as he more properly belongs to the times of the *Roman* Empire.

Eud. The *Trophonian* Cave, was not that in *Boeotia?*

Pal. Yes, at *Lebadia*, there before you, near the *Lake Copais*. *Trophonius* was a *Boeotian*, eminent for his Skill in Architecture, and who had been employed in building the Temple at *Delphi*. He was deſtroyed by an Earthquake, as appears from *Pauſanias*[t], the Earth opening and ſwallowing him up. The manner of his Death moved the Superſtitious *Boeotians* to number him among their Gods; and an Oracle was eſtabliſhed under the Inſpection of this new Divinity.

[t] In *Boeoticis.*

Eud. I think I have read ſomething very extraordinary of the Nature of this Oracle.——

Pal. The Method of conſulting it was extremely ſingular. The Inquirer was obliged to ſhove himſelf, Feet foremoſt, into the Entrance of the Cavern, and was afterwards drawn forcibly into the inner Parts of it, by ſomewhat, like to the violence of a rapid River: here he remained, perhaps eight and forty Hours, perhaps longer, 'till in the End he was in the ſame manner forced out again. Whatever happened during this time, it is ſaid, that they, who came out of the Cave had their Countenances ſtrangely diſtracted with Horror and Amazement, and appeared entirely forgetful both of themſelves, and of thoſe around them: but upon their being delivered into the Hands of the Prieſts, they were, *by their Aſſiſtance*, enabled to recollect what they had heard, and to give diſtinct Accounts of the Oracle. *Pauſanias* tells us, that the Prieſts placed them on the Throne of *Mnemoſyne*, or the Goddeſs of Memory.——It happened in the Days of *Demetrius*, that a Soldier of his Guard went down to obſerve, how the Illuſion was carried on, or, according to *Pauſanias*, to bear away ſome of the rich Offerings, that adorned *Trophonius*'s Shrine; but, his Deſign being diſcovered, ſuch effectual Care was taken of him, that he was never heard of more[u].

Clean. I am ſure, if all the Oracles of *Greece* were like this, they ſhould never have been inquired of by me.

Eud. Pray, *Palaemon*, was there not an other Oracle in *Boeotia*, that of *Amphiaraus*?

Pal. There was, not far from *Oropus*, a City in the Confines of *Attica* and *Boeotia*. You know *Cleanthes*,

[u] *Pauſan.* ubi ſupra.——See alſo *Potter*'s Arch. Graec. B. 2.

Cleanthes, *Amphiaraus* was one of the ſeven Chieftains, that marched againſt *Thebes*, in the firſt *Theban* War. His Fate bears a near Reſemblance to that of *Trophonius*; for the Earth, as it is ſaid, having opened and cloſed upon him, he alſo became a God, and had his Oracle. It is generally believed, that he was loſt in ſome of the Rivers of *Boeotia*, and that Flattery to *Alcmeon* his Son gave riſe to the Fiction. However, this Oracle was delivered in Dreams; for *Amphiaraus*, when living, was famed for his Skill in interpreting them. They, who were deſirous to Conſult him, were to offer him up a Ram in Sacrifice, and then to ſleep on the Skin of the Victim; whatever Dreams they had, they were to account them ſent by *Amphiaraus*[w].

Eud. But ſuppoſe, the Dreams were quite foreign to the purpoſe—or put the caſe, they ſhou'd not dream.

Pal. If they had not any Dreams, undoubtedly, it was occaſioned by ſome improper Obſervance of the Rites preſcribed. And if they dreamed at all, it was no difficult matter for a ſuperſtitious Bigot, to mould his Dream to the purpoſe he had in view, and to imagine it ſignificative and pertinent.

Eud. A convenient Oracle, truly!——Does it appear from Hiſtory, under what kind of Government the *Boeotians* lived?

Pal. You have ſeen already[x], that *Therſander*, Son to *Polynices*, reigned at *Thebes*, at the time of the *Trojan* Expedition; and we are told, that he was ſlain in *Myſia*, before he reached *Troy*. From *Homer*[y] it may be conjectured, that, beſides *Thebes*, there

[w] *Pauſan.* in *Atticis.* *Herodot*, in *Urania.*
[x] Dial. 4. P. 133.
[y] *Iliad. Rhapſ.* 2. V. 494, &c.

there were other Sovereignties in this part of *Greece*; for he marſhals the *Boeotians* under five Princes. But, be this as it may, it is certain, that *Tiſamenes*, Son to *Therſander*, reigned in *Thebes*, after the *Trojan* War: he was ſucceeded by *Damaſichthon*, Son to *Peneleus*, a noble *Theban*, and one of the Leaders at the Siege of *Troy*: after *Damaſichthon*, reigned *Xanthus*, who was killed, as I mentioned to you, in *Attica*, and was the laſt, who enjoyed the Regal Dignity. When he was dead, a Republic was eſtabliſhed among the *Thebans*; and in this Form did their Government continue for many Generations. The Perſons to whom the Supreme Authority, or executive Power was intruſted, were ſeven in Number, and choſen annually: they were called the *Boeotarchoi*, Βοιωτάρχοι, or *Captains* of the *Boeotian* People[z].

Clean. I ſee the Iſland of *EUBOEA* was adjoining to *Boeotia*: was it ſubject to the *Boeotian* Power?

Pal. No, it does not appear that it was; tho', we are told, it was antiently joined to it [a] by an Iſthmus, and afterwards by a Bridge: for the *Euripus* was extremely narrow in ſome Parts, eſpecially between *Aulis* and *Chalcis*. *Aulis* you may obſerve on the *Boeotian* ſide; it was here the *Grecian* Chiefs aſſembled in Confederacy againſt *Troy* [b]: and *Chalcis* was the principal City of the *Euboeans*. Indeed, in proceſs of time numbers of *Athenians* eſtabliſhed themſelves along the South-weſt Coaſt, and got Poſſeſſion of ſome conſiderable Cities [b]. Such was *Oreos*, originally called *Hiſtiaea*. Such alſo

[z] Vide *Pauſan.* in *Boeoticis.*
[a] *Plin.* L. 4. C. 12.
[b] See Dial. 4. P. 129.
[c] Vide *Strab.* Geogr. L. 10.

alſo was *Eretria*, which was deſtroyed by the *Perſians*, but re-built afterwards with great Splendor.

Eud. The *Euripus*, if I remember aright, was remarkable for the Frequency and Irregularity of its Tides.——

Pal. You are not miſtaken, *Eudoxus*. It is ſaid, that it ebbs and flows ſeven times [d] in one Day, and even, at certain periods of the Moon, much oftener [e]. The Cauſe of theſe extraordinary Agitations has been diligently ſought after both by Antients and Moderns: but there ſeem not to be as yet any Accounts, that can ſufficiently explain the ſtrange *Fluctuation*.

Clean. By the Appearance *Euboea* makes here, it muſt have been an Iſland of great Figure.——Can you judge, *Palaemon*, what was its Circumference?

Pal. It is in Circuit about 365 Miles. But it was not only its Extent, that rendered it conſiderable; it was rather the Bravery of its Inhabitants, and their early Skill in Navagation. There is no People, that is more famed for Colonies; and we find Cities founded by them in *Macedonia*, in *Theſſaly*, in *Sicily*, in *Corcyra*, in *Italy*, and in many other Parts.

Clean. Was it not over this Iſland *Nauplius*, Father to *Palamedes*, reigned?

Pal. He reigned, I believe, only over a part of it: for *Elephenor* is mentioned by *Homer* [f], in his Review of the *Grecian* Forces, as the King and Leader of the *Euboeans*. It may be ſuppoſed, that the entire Command devolved to him, after *Palamedes*'s Death. The Point of *Caphareus*, which you ſee there, to the Eaſt, is the Place, where the *Grecian*

[d] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 9. *Pompon.* Mel. L. 2.
[e] Livi. L. 28.
[f] Iliad *Rhapſ.* 2. V. 540.

Grecian Ships were wrecked in their Return from *Troy*. In the infant Days of Navigation, the doubling of this Cape was eſteemed extremely dangerous, by reaſon of its many Rocks and Quick-ſands; and *Nauplius*, as you know, that he might revenge himſelf on the *Greeks* for the Death of his Son, lighted up Fires, as Tokens of a ſafe Harbour, to draw the *Greeks* to the fatal Coaſt[g].—— At the other end of the Iſland is the City and Promontory of *Artemiſium*, a Place well deſerving your Notice: it was there the *Greeks* obtained their firſt Victory over the Fleets of *Xerxes*.

Eud. In the later Ages of *Greece*, what kind of Government was that of *Euboea?*

Pal. Soon after the *Trojan* War, the *Euboeans* formed themſelves into ſeveral ſmall Republics, and each City was governed by its own Laws, the Adminiſtration being in the Hands of the *Nobles*[h]. But this Form of Government was frequently diſturbed by Domeſtic Troubles, as well as by the other *Grecian* States: for their Fate generally depended on that of *Greece*; and as the Ballance of Power on the Continent changed Hands, ſo their Government underwent ſome new Alteration.

Weſt-ward of *Boeotia* is *PHOCIS*. This was a Country, for Extent ſcarcely to be noticed, yet diſtinguiſhed in Hiſtory on account of the Martial Spirit of its Inhabitants. From North to South it reaches only 35 Miles, and not more than 30 from Eaſt to Weſt, and, in ſome Parts, not above 20. Who cou'd think, that ſuch a State ſhou'd be able to maintain Wars, not only againſt the Nations of *Theſſaly*, which they did oftentimes ſucceſsfully, but even againſt the united Powers of *Greece?*

Clean

[g] See Dial. 4. P. 135.
[h] Vide *Ariſt.* Polit. L. 5.

Clean. Favour us, *Palaemon*, with ſome Particulars concerning this remarkable People.

Pal. Obſerve, *Cleanthes*, the Situation of *Phocis:* you ſee it is bounded to the North by the Territories of the *Locri.* Antiently it extended much farther—to the *Euboean* Sea—and, according to ſome Authors, even to the Streights of *Thermopylae*, near the *Theſſalian* Borders. This Neighbourhood gave occaſion to very early Jealouſies between theſe two brave Nations, and brought on a deep-rooted Hatred. The Strength of the *Theſſalians* conſiſted in their Horſe; and *Phocis*, on the Confines of *Theſſaly*, was very mountainous, and of rugged Acceſs. Theſe different Advantages made the Fortune of War incline, now to the one ſide, and now to the other. When the Engagement happened in the plain Country, the *Phocians* were worſted: but when the *Phocians* cou'd draw thoſe of *Theſſaly* into Parts rough and of unſure Footing, their Horſe became uſeleſs, and the *Phocians* obtained the Victory. However, at length one of their Commanders with 300 Men meeting with a Body of *Theſſalian* Horſe, he and his whole Party were trampled to Death, or cut to pieces. This was a grievous loſs to a People, whoſe Forces were extremely few in Number; accordingly, it threw them into the greateſt Conſternation, and moved them to a Reſolve, dreadful, ſo as not even thought of without ſhuddering. Before they marched to Battle, they ſecured in a convenient place the Statues of their Gods, their Wives, and Children; and near it reared a large Pile of Wood: this they committed to the care of thirty of the boldeſt of their Men, with orders, that, if they loſt the Day, they ſhou'd Murder the Women and the Children, ſet Fire to the Pile, and at once conſume all the Remains of the *Phocian* People. After theſe Orders given,

they went againſt the Enemy, determined never to return, except victorious. Such deſperate Fury was not to be withſtood; the *Theſſalians* fled, and *Phocis* was preſerved[i].——You ſhall ſee, after ſome time, the *Phocians* engaged in an other War, which they maintained with an Intrepidity, little inferior to this.

Eud. Was not their Government popular?

Pal. Homer[k] tells us, that they were under the Command of two Princes at the Siege of *Troy*: but it is likely, they ſoon became a Free State, as there is not any Account in Hiſtory of the Kings, that reigned over them. And indeed, this unconquered Spirit of theirs ſpeaks a People, accuſtomed to Liberty: at leaſt, if they had Kings over them, their Power muſt have been greatly limited.

Clean. I ſee the Mountain of *Parnaſſus*—is not that the Seat, where *Apollo* and the Muſes were feigned to have eſtabliſhed their Reſidence?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*; you may alſo take Notice of *Helicon*, an other Mountain of *Phocis*; and at the Foot of *Parnaſſus* was the celebrated *Caſtalian* Spring; all theſe were Sacred to the Deities of Poetry. It may naturally be conjectured, that they owed their Fame to the happy Fiction of ſome Antient Bard. *Phocis*, probably, was remarkable for the Poetical turn of its Inhabitants: *the Land of Freedom has always been the Nurſery of Arts*; and a People, fond of Independency, as the *Phocians* were, might well have ſhining Geniuſes among them.

Eud. There before you is an other Place of great Note, the City of *Delphi*.

Pal. Obſerve it, *Cleanthes*; it lieth on the Side of *Parnaſſus*. In this City, you know, was held the

[i] *Pauſan.* in *Phocicis*.
[k] Iliad. *Rhap.* 2. v. 517.

the Convention of the Amphictionic States [l], and what is yet far more worthy your Attention, here was the Temple of the *Pythian* God [m], (for under this Title was *Apollo* worſhipped at *Delphi*) whoſe Oracles were the Boaſt of the Pagan World. To this Shrine credulous Votaries reſorted from all Parts. Princes themſelves ſent hither to inquire, of the Event of Battles, and the Fate of Nations. And ſuch a Number of rich and curious Offerings had the Piety of thoſe Ages hoarded together in this Temple, that its Treaſures were ſuppoſed to exceed thoſe of the wealthieſt Monarch of the Earth.

Eud. Was it not alſo an Oracle of great Antiquity?

Pal. It was eſtabliſhed, ſay Pagan Authors, before *Cadmus* entered *Greece*, and, according to *Pauſanias*, even before *Deucalion*'s Flood. In thoſe Days, the Earth gave out the Oracle; ſhe was ſucceeded by *Themis*, the Goddeſs of Juſtice; and *Themis* by *Apollo*. *Pauſanias* informs us, that the Oracle was founded by the *Hyperboreans*; indeed 'tis likely it owes its Foundation to the *Egyptians*, as they certainly were the Firſt, who introduced Oracular Ceremonies and Religious Rites into *Greece* [n].

[l] See Dial. 2. P. 44, and 45.

[m] *Apollo* was called *Pythius*, Ἄναξ Πύθιος, as appears from *Homer* (Hymn. in *Apollin.* V. 371.) from the Word πύθεσθαι, to putrify, becauſe he left the Carcaſe of the Monſter *Python*, whom he ſlew, to rot on the face of the Earth. *Pytho*, Πύθω, was alſo antiently the Name of *Delphi*, and ſo 'tis generally called by the Poets.—However, *Strabo* (Geogr. L. 9.) derives the Name of Πύθιος, from πύθεσθαι to conſult.

[n] Vide, *Pauſan.* in Boeotic. et Phocicis. See alſo Dial. 2. P. 48, N. *i.*

Clean. It was a Woman, if I recollect rightly, who delivered the Oracles.———

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*, and in earlier Ages it was the Cuſtom to conſecrate young Virgins to this Office. But the Beauty of one of theſe Propheteſſes having tempted a certain *Grecian* to offer Violence to her; it was decreed, that for the Future the Oracles ſhould be intruſted only to Women, who were paſſed Fifty [o]. Hiſtorians tell us ſtrange Things of the Frantic Appearance, and diſtracted Features of the *Pythian* Dame, at the Time the God, as they called it, poſſeſſed her. Her Hair ſtood on End, her Eyes rolled, her Breaſt heaved with tumultuous affrighting Agitations, her Voice became furious, ſhe howled, and writhed her convulſed Body, ſo that ſcarcely could the aſſiſting Prieſts hold her on the ſacred Tripod; the Tripod was the Seat on which ſhe was placed, during her ſuppoſed Communication with the Daemon. Whilſt ſhe was thus, there were Miniſters appointed to collect the broken Accents, that burſt from her, and to mould them into Verſe [p].

Eud. But how is it poſſible, this deceitful Oracle ſhould have preſerved its Credit for ſuch a length of Ages?

Pal. Many Circumſtances contributed to render the Eſtabliſhment venerable.——The Ignorance of the Times; the real or affected Enthuſiaſm of the Propheteſs; the Subtlety of the Prieſts, who either cloathed their Anſwers in an artful Obſcurity, or, from a thorough Knowledge of the Situation and Views of the Inquirer, were enabled to form plauſible and illuſive Conjectures; and beſides, the Majeſty

[o] *Diod. Sic.* L. 16. *Plut.* de Defectu Oraculorum.

[p] Vide *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 9. *Plut.* ubi ſupra. *Lucan.* L. 5. et *Origenem* contra Celſum.

Majeſty and ſacred Horror, which are ſaid to have dwelt around this Temple [q]. It roſe amid the Rocks and Precipices of *Parnaſſus*; two narrow Paths led to it; every other Way had Nature made inacceſſible: the Spot, where the Temple ſtood, was adorned with Groves, blooming, and ever green; the Beauty of which was heightened, by the rugged and barren Aſpect of the neighbouring Parts: and from the Temple to the Foot of the Mount, the Rocks lowered regularly, ſo as, at ſome Diſtance, to bear the Appearance of Deſign, and to exhibit the Figure of a great and awful Amphitheatre.——— The Caverns and Foldings of the Mountain occaſioned alſo an Effect, productive of much Terror. Every Voice, and eſpecially every Sound of Horn or Trumpet, was reecchoed with wonderful Strength, and repeated an infinite Number of Times, ſo that a Multitude of inviſible Beings might be thought to inhabit the Place, and the whole *Parnaſſus* ſeemed to ſhake and roar around [r].—— However, after a length of Time, the Oracle began to loſe much of its Influence. As the People became more knowing, the Prieſts were deemed leſs ſhrewd [s], and thoſe Circumſtances, which had excited the Admiration and Reverence of an ignorant Age, were

[q] Prorſus ut incertum ſit, utrum munimentum loci, an Majeſtas Dei plus hic admirationis habeat. Vide *Juſt.* L. 24.
Voyez auſſi les Voyages de Spon. T. 2.

[r] Quamobrem et Hominum clamor, et ſi quando accedit tubarum ſonus, perſonantibus et reſpondentibus inter ſe rupibus, multiplex audiri, ampliorque quam editur, reſonare ſolet. Quae res majorem Majeſtatis terrorem ignaris rei, et admirationem ſtupentibus plerumque affert. *Juſtin.* ubi ſupra. Vide et *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 9.

[s] CAUTUM illud et AMBIGUUM defecit ORACULUM, cum et politiores homines, et minus creduli, eſſe coeperunt. Octav. *Min. Fel.*

were found leſs affecting. Then, certain Frauds were diſcovered; and Experience proved, that Oracles could be purchaſed for a Price. till, in the End, the *Delphic* Shrine fell entirely into Diſeſteem and was treated with Contempt by the Pagans themſelves [t].

Eud. Had the *Pythian* Games any Connexion with the Oracle?

Pal. A cloſe Connexion; and were evidently eſtabliſhed to ſupport the ſame Supperſtition: for they were ſacred to the *Pythian* God, and ſeem to have been eſpecially deſigned to celebrate his fabulous Victory over the Monſter *Python.* The *Amphictiones* alſo, to whoſe Care the Temple of *Delphi* had been committed, were they who had appointed theſe Games, and under whoſe Inſpection they were ſolemnized.

Eud. Towards the Sea ſtands *Criſſa*, on the Way from *Delphi*— is it not from this City the *Criſſean* Gulph had its Name?

Pal. It is; *Criſſa* was the Sea Port of the People of *Delphi*: in the earlier Ages it was a diſtinct State; but the *Criſſeans* having impiouſly levied Tribute on thoſe, who came to conſult the Oracle, War was denounced againſt them, their City was taken and their Country dedicated to the God.— You ſhall hear more of this War, *Cleanthes*, in the Sequel of our Converſations [u].

On either Side of *Phocis*, the *LOCRIANS* dwelt; to the Weſt the *Locri Ozolae*, to the Eaſt the *Locri Epicnemidii* and *Opuntii.*

Eud.

[t] Vide *Ciceron.* de Divin. L. 2. et *Vandale* de Oraculis. Voyez auſſi *Fontenelle* ſur les Oracles.

[u] See Dial. 8.

Eud. It was over theſe *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus* reigned?

Pal. It appears from *Homer* [w], that he only reigned over the *Epicnemidian* and *Opuntian Locrians*. You ſee they were ſituate between *Phocis* and the *Euboean* Gulph, with *Boeotia* to the South-eaſt, and *Theſſaly* to the North-weſt. The *Epicnemidii* poſſeſſed the Parts near the *Maliac* Bay; the *Opuntii* dwelt higher up, on the *Euripus*. As for the *Locri Ozolae*, they were placed on the other Side of *Phocis*, in a very ſmall Territory, between *Phocis* and *Aetolia*; and in Time were incorporated with the *Aetolian* People.

Clean. But how came all theſe to be called *Locrians?*

Pal. Becauſe they were originally one People, the Eaſtern and Weſtern *Locrians* having, in early Days, had a Communication, one with the other, by thoſe Mountains, which divide *Theſſaly* from the reſt of *Greece*. And it is likely, that the *Ozoleans* and *Opuntians* were Colonies of the *Locri Epicnemidii*, as theſe were the only *Locrians*, who had a right to ſend Deputies to the *Amphictionic* Council [x]. The *Opuntians* [y] were ſo called from the City *Opus* on the *Euboean* Gulph; and the *Epicnemidians* from the Mountain *Cnemis*. The *Ozoleans* ſought the Etymology of their Name in antient Fable; it was derived, ſaid they, from a Greek Word that ſignifies to ſtink [z], becauſe this whole Country was infected by the putrid Smell of the Carcaſe of the Monſter *Python*, for it was here *Apollo* ſlew him.

Eud.

[w] Iliad. Rhapſ. 2. V. 527.
[x] See Dial. 2. P. 44. N. 5.
[y] Vide *Strabo*. Geogr. L. 9.
[z] Ab ὀζω, foeteo, to ſend forth a fetid Smell.

Eud. So that the Streights of *Thermopylae* belonged to *Locris Epicnemidia*

Pal. They did. Take notice, *Cleanthes*, of that famed Paſs. We ſhall ſee it the Scene of one of the greateſt Actions, that ever People durſt perform. It lieth, as you may obſerve, between Mount *Oeta*, and the *Maliac* Bay, and was named *Thermopylae* [a], or the *Gates of the Hot Baths*, from the Narrowneſs of the Paſſage, and the Hot Springs, that were in the Neighbourhood of it.

Eud. Had not *Locris Ozolaea* any Place worthy of Notice?

Pal. One only, on the *Criſſean* Gulph, the City *Naupactus*, where, as I told you already, the *Heraclidae* made their Preparations for invading *Peloponneſus*.

Next to *Locris Ozolaea* is *AETOLIA*: to the Weſt it is joined by *Acarnania*; the Gulph of *Criſſa* bounds it to the South; and *Doris* to the North. It ran about fifty Miles from North to South, but had not above twenty Miles from Eaſt to Weſt, and in ſome Places ſcarcely ten. This Country, *Cleanthes*, is the ſame, that was called *Calydonia*, from *Calydon*, one of its antient Kings: you may remember, it was the Birth-place of *Meleager*, and the principal Scene of his Adventures [b].

Clean. The River *Achelous* is marked down here [c]; I ſuppoſe, this is the River, with which, according to Fabulous Writers, *Hercules* engaged.

Pal.

[a] Θερμόπυλαι, from Θερμὸς, hot, and Πύλαι, Gates.

[b] Vide *Ovid.* Metamorph. L. 8. See alſo Dial. 3. P. 102.

[c] *Achelous* antiently was the Boundary between *Aetolia* and *Acarnania*.

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*; and the River-God, ſay the Poets, transformed himſelf into a Bull, but *Hercules* tore off his Horn, and obtained the Victory: this Horn was afterwards changed into the *Horn of Plenty* [d]. The Truth is, this River laid waſte the Country by its frequent Inundations; but *Hercules* reduced it within its proper Channel, and reſtored Fertility to the *Aetolian* Plains. However, from this Poetical Account you may obſerve, in what Honour the greateſt Princes of old held the Culture and Improvement of a Country; and how highly ſuch Public Benefits were eſteemed, even in thoſe leſs refined Ages—they were numbered among the moſt ſignal Exploits, which their Heroes had performed.

Eud. Did not *Diomedes*'s Anceſtors reign here?

Pal. Oeneus, Father to *Meleager* and *Tydeus*, and Grand-father to *Diomedes*, was King of *Aetolia*; but, before the Siege of *Troy*, the Scepter had paſſed into an other Line [e]. Some Generations after, *Aetolia* became a Free State, and *Thermum* their chief City received the Name of *Pan-aetolium* [f], becauſe the Deputies of all *Aetolia* were wont to aſſemble here. The *Aetolians* were a People, remarkable for a Brutal Courage, and the frequent Depredations they committed in the neighbouring Parts [g]. Beſides this, there is little worth relating of them. For their Name is ſeldom to be met with, in any of the nobler Tranſactions of the *Grecian* People, until the Times of the *Achean* League; as they affected to live in the ſtrong Holds, which their craggy and inacceſſible

[d] *Apollod.* L. 2. C. 7. *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 10.
[e] Vide *Homer.* Iliad. Rhaps. 2. V. 638, *&c.*
[f] *Polyb.* L. 5. C. 8.
[g] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Pauſ.* in Meſſeniacis.

Mountains afforded them, except when they were invited down by the hopes of Plunder.

North of *Aetolia*, lieth the Country of the *DORES?*

Clean. What? theſe were they, who entered *Peloponneſus* with the *Heraclidae*?

Pal. The ſame; a brave martial People. They are remarkable in Hiſtory for their Muſic, their Dialect, and their Plan of Architecture; in all which there was a Manlineſs of Strength, which ſeems to have been peculiar to them, and continued to be their diſtinguiſhing Character, even long after they had been ſettled in *Peloponneſus*.

Eud. Their Country appears to have been confined within narrow Limits.———

Pal. It was of very ſmall extent, from North to South only forty Miles, and about twenty from Eaſt to Weſt, and, according to *Strabo*[h], had only four Cities, *Erineus*, *Boium*, *Pindus*, and *Cytinium*; on which account alſo it is known by the Title of *Dorica Tetrapolis*.

See, here on the *Ionian* Sea is *ACARNANIA* ſituated; this was its Boundary on the Weſt and South, to the North it bordered on *Epire*, of which alſo in latter Days it became a Province.

Eud. Is not that Promontory, the celebrated *Leucate?*

Pal. It is. Antiently it was joined to the Continent by a narrow Neck of Land, but the *Corinthians* cut through the Iſthmus[i]; ſo that at preſent it is numbered among the Iſlands of *Greece*. This Promontory has a Name in Hiſtory, for many Reaſons. From this Place it was hopeleſs Lovers leaped

[h] Geogr. L. 9.
[i] Vide *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 10.

leaped down into the Sea, to cure themſelves of their fatal Paſſion. You have read, *Cleanthes*, Mr. *Addiſon*'s elegant Account of that hazardous Experiment [k].——Here alſo it was the Cuſtom, annually to precipitate a Criminal from the Top of the Promontory, by way of Atonement to the Gods, particularly to *Apollo*. If he eſcaped with Life, he was nevertheleſs deemed accurſed, and baniſhed the Territories of *Acarnania* [l].—— The Promontory was of an amazing height, and on the Top of it was *Apollo*'s Temple, which was to be ſeen from far; the Coaſt beneath was extremely rocky and *infamous* for Shipwrecks, and hence is this Temple called by *Virgil*, *Formidatus Nautis Apollo* [m], the Seaman's Terror.———Beyond this, northward, at the Entrance of the *Ambracian* Bay, is the City of *Actium*, memorable for that important Sea-fight, that gave the Empire of the World to *Auguſtus*.

Eud. But is not *Actium* ſaid to have been a Promontory of *Epirus*?

Pal. Antiently this Part of *Greece* was divided into ſeveral ſmall Diſtricts, each of which had its peculiar Name, ſuch as *Acarnania*, and, more northward, *Amphilochia*, *Theſprotia*, *Moloſſis*, *Epirus*, *Chaonia*; but in Time, theſe Names were loſt; and the whole Coaſt, from *Leucate* to *Illyricum*, was called *Epirus* [n].

Clean. Epirus? what the Kingdom of *Pyrrhus*, Son to *Achilles*?

[k] See Spectator N° 227, and 233.
[l] Vide *Strabon.* ubi ſupra.
[m] *Aeneid.* L. 3. V. 275.
[n] Vide *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 7.—The Name of *Epirus*, Ἤπειρος, ſignifieth properly the Continent.

Pal. He reigned over a Part of this Coaſt, after his return from *Troy*. When he was dead, his Kingdom fell to *Helenus*, one of the Sons of *Priam*, whom he had brought Captive into *Greece*.—Obſerve, *Cleanthes*; this is the Weſtern Extremity of the *Grecian* Continent. Hence the many Fables, the Poets have related concerning it. For the Countries, that lay far Weſt, were in the Language of the ancient *Greeks* called the *Infernal Regions* [o], and the Adventures, which their Princes had there, were ſaid to be in the *Realms of Darkneſs*. Take notice alſo, that *Cocytus* and *Acheron*, two of the Poetical Rivers of Heil, are real Rivers in the *Theſprotian* Territories.

Clean. There is *Argos Amphilochicum*—that is, I ſuppoſe, the other *Argos*, you mentioned to us [p]?

Pal. It is: 'twas built, ſay Hiſtorians, by *Alcmaeon*, Son to *Amphiaraus* and called *Amphilochicum*, in honour to his Brother *Amphilochus* [q]. Above the *Ambracian* Gulph, is the City *Ambracia*. And on the other Side the Gulph, on that Point of Land, that runs into the Sea, is *Nicopolis*, or *the City of Victory*: it was built and had its Name given to it by *Auguſtus*, in Memory of his Victory over *Antony*, and was adorned with ſuch valuable Privileges, as ſoon rendered it one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities of the *Epirotes* [r].

Farther North, the *Acroceraunian* Mountains riſe before us; they are noted, *Cleanthes*, for the Tempeſts, that ever dwell on their high raiſed Summit, and the ſwelling Sea, and dangerous Shelves, that guard them beneath. Their very Name is full of

[o] See Dial. 2. P. 27. and Dial. 3. P. 104.

[p] See above, P. 158.—There was alſo *Argos Pelaſgicum* in *Theſſaly*, but this was not a City, but a certain Diviſion of the Country—*Strabo*. Geogr. L. 9.

[q] *Strabo* Geogr. L. 7.

[r] *Strabo* ubi ſupra. *Sueton.* in Auguſto.

of Terror—*Acroceraunia*, or *the Mountains of Thunder* [s].

Eud. The Oracle of *Jupiter* of *Dodona* was alſo ſomewhere in theſe Parts?

Pal. You may ſee the Place; there is *Dodona* in the Borders of *Moloſſis* [t]. *Herodotus* would have us believe, it was the moſt antient Oracle of all *Greece*, and gives us two different Accounts of it, which are both extremely remarkable.——The one he had from the Prieſts of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* in *Egypt*. They told him, that ſome *Phoenicians* had carried away *two Prieſteſſes* from that Place, one of which they ſold into *Lybia*, the other into *Greece*; that each of theſe erected an Oracle, and inſtituted the Worſhip of *Jupiter* in thoſe two Countries, that of the *Dodonean Jupiter* in *Greece*, and that of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Lybia*.——The other Account was from the Prieſteſſes at *Dodona*, who told him, that *two black Pigeons* took their flight from *Thebes* in *Egypt*, and ſettled, the one in *Lybia*, the other at *Dodona*, each of which, ſpeaking with an human Voice, ordered that an Oracle ſhould be inſtituted to *Jupiter* [u].——I only mention this, to ſhew you, how fond the *Greeks* were of veiling plain Facts under myſterious Tales. Perhaps among the *Egyptians* a *black Dove* was the Hieroglyphic of a *Prieſteſs*. This was foundation enough for a Fable, and the Legend was credulouſly received by the ſucceeding Generations.——But there is not occaſion to ſay more of this Part of *Greece*. Their Hiſtory, at leaſt in the Ages, of which we are to treat, offers ſcarcely any

[s] Ἀκροκεραύνια, from Ἄκρος, the Top of a Mountain, and Κεραύνος, Thunder.

[t] Vide *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 10.

[u] *Herodot.* in Euterpe.

any thing worthy of Notice.———Let us only take a curſory View of the Iſlands, that lie off the *Epirian* Coaſt.

Eud. The principal of them appears to be *Corcyra.*——

Pal. It is an Iſland of conſiderable Extent, and its Inhabitants were eſteemed among the ableſt Mariners of *Greece.* *Thucydides* [w] tells us, they were for ſome Time Maſters of the Sea; and *Herodotus* [x], that they had more Ships, than any other *Grecian* People, the *Athenians* excepted. They are ſaid to have been a Colony of *Corinthians*; but they ſoon grew up into a flouriſhing powerful State, and at length became able to diſpute for Superiority with *Corinth* herſelf.

More to the South is a Cluſter of Iſlands, called the *Echinades*, within a ſhort way of the Coaſt of *Acarnania.* And beyond them are, *Cephalenia*, antiently called *Samus*, *Ithaca*, and *Zacynthus*, whoſe chief Glory is their having been the Kingdom of the Wiſe *Ulyſſes.* The other Iſlands you ſee there, off the Coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, among which are thoſe named the *Strophades* [y], have little, beſides ſtrange fabulous Tales, to entertain you with.

We may now return to the Continent.——The Northern Limits of *Greece* are *Theſſaly*, *Macedonia*, and, we may add, *Illyricum.*— You are ſurpriſed, *Eudoxus*,

[w] L. 7.

[x] In *Polymnia.*

[y] Στροφάδες, from Στρόφη, *a turning back*, becauſe, as the Writers of Fable pretend, *Zetes* and *Calais*, Sons to *Boreas*, purſued the *Harpyes* (certain Monſters, which they met with in the *Argonautic* Expedition) unto theſe Iſlands, and then returned.—On this antient Story *Virgil* has founded his Fiction (*Aeneid.* V. 209. *&c.*) that *Aeneas* was attacked by the *Harpyes* in theſe Iſlands.—Voyez *Banier* Explic. Hiſtor. des Fables, Ent. 24.

Eudoxus, to hear me mention *Illyricum* as a Province of *Greece*; but this Country was divided into two Portions [z], the *Grecian*, and the *Barbarous*; the former was ſo called from the many *Grecian* Colonies, that ſettled here along the *Adriatic* Gulph, and extended from the Territories of *Liſſus* to the River *Celydnus*. It contained, as you may obſerve, ſeveral Cities of Note, *Dyrrachium*, *Apollonia*, *Aulon*, *Amantia*, moſt of which encreaſed greatly in Wealth and Splendor, when the *Romans* were become the Arbiters of the Fate of *Greece*. In thoſe Days, *Apollonia* was in high Eſteem for Arts and Letters, and here it was *Auguſtus* had his Education; he was purſuing his Studies in this Place, at the very Time *Julius Caeſar* was ſlain [a].—— *Dyrrachium* likewiſe, or *Epidamnus* [b], for ſo was its original Name, flouriſhed remarkably under the Empire of *Rome*, and became the richeſt Mart, and moſt frequented Sea-port of all *Greece*, as *Brunduſium* lay convenient to it, the greateſt Number of thoſe, who paſſed over from *Italy* into *Greece*, or from *Greece* into *Italy*, making their Way by *Dyrrachium* [c]. This City, as well as *Apollonia* [d], was founded by thoſe of *Corcyra*, and is accounted the laſt City of *Illyricum* the *Grecian*.

Eaſtward of *Epire* and *Illyricum* is *THESSALY* [e]. See, it is ſituate along the *Aegean* Sea, and the

[z] Vide *Cellarii* Not. Orb. Antiq. T. 1.

[a] *Vell. Paterc.* L. 2. *Sueton.* in Auguſto.

[b] Vid. *Pauſan* Eliac. L. 2. *Strabon.* L. 7. et *Dion.* Hiſtor. L. 41. et *Plin.* L. 3. C. 23.

[c] Vide *Ciceron.* Epiſt. L. 14. Epiſt. 1. et 3.

[d] According to *Strabo* (Geogr. L. 7.) *Apollonia* was built by the *Corcyreans* and *Corinthians* jointly.

[e] *Velleius Paterculus* tells us, that this Country did not receive the

the *Thermaic* Gulph, otherwiſe called the Gulph of *Theſſalonica*.—— Antiently this was the utmoſt Frontier of *Greece*; for *Macedonia* and the Countries adjacent received the Name of *Grecian* only in later Days.

Eud. Theſſaly then muſt have been much expoſed to foreign Invaſions?

Pal. Undoubtedly, it was expoſed to the firſt Inſults of whatever Adventurers entered *Greece* by Land. And for this Reaſon were the *Theſſalians*, from early Ages, inured to War: they were particularly eminent for their Skill in Horſemanſhip; and you know, *Cleanthes*, the Fiction of the *Centaurs* had its Riſe from this. Many Generations after, the *Theſſalian* Horſe maintained the ſame Character; and Hiſtorians tell us, that they greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in *Alexander*'s Armies, and were in an extraordinary Manner rewarded by him [f].

Clean. 'Twas among them alſo the *Argonautic* Expedition took its Riſe.—

Pal. You ſee, *Cleanthes*, the City *Pagaſae*, within the *Pagaſean* Gulph; that is the Place, where the Ship Argo was built; and near it is the City *Aphetae* [g], whence ſailed the *Argonauts*: ſo that *Theſſaly* had the honour of ſending out the firſt Fleet, that was ever equipped on the *Grecian* Coaſt.—And indeed, even before this, from the firſt Dawn of Improvement in *Greece*, *Theſſaly* began

the Name of *Theſſaly*, till after the Return of the *Heraclidae*. It was ſo called from one *Theſſalus* a Native of *Theſprotia*, who invaded thoſe Parts, and ſettled there.——Vide *Vell. Paterc.* L. 1. C. 3.

[f] *Plut.* de Fortu. *Alexand.*

[g] And hence the Name, Aphetae, Ἀφέται, from ἀφίημι, to ſend forth, ὡς ἀφετήριόν τι τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν.—*Strab.* Geogr. L. 9. Vide etiam *Herodot.* in *Polymnia*.

began to flouriſh, and in it reigned many Princes of great Name in the Hiſtory of the firſt *Grecian* Times. Here was ſeated old *Deucalion*, to whom moſt of the Royal Houſes of *Greece* owed their Origin [h]; and here was the antient *Hellas*, the Kingdom of *Hellen*, *Deucalion*'s Son. Here likewiſe was the City of *Iolchos*, where *Pelias* was King [i]; obſerve it, *Cleanthes*, it lieth to the South of *Pagaſae*. In the Time alſo of the *Trojan* War, *Theſſaly* made a conſiderable Figure; and *Homer* [k] numbers up ſeveral illuſtrious Princes, from theſe Parts. In *Pthia* was the Kingdom of the *Myrmidons*, the Inheritance of the bold *Achilles*. Yonder in *Meliboea*, *Philoctetes* reigned. The Realm of *Tricca* in upper *Theſſaly* belonged to *Machaon* and *Podalirius*, the two Sons of *Eſculapius*, famed not leſs for their Knowledge of Simples, than for their bravery in Battle. And *Antron*, together with the neighbouring Coaſt on the *Maliac* Gulph, was ſubject to the gallant *Proteſilaus*, the firſt, that durſt leap forth from the *Grecian* Ships, and engage the *Trojan* Armies [l].

Eud. So that *Theſſaly* was divided into ſeveral Sovereignties.—

Pal. From *Homer* it appears, that at the Time of the *Trojan* Expedition it formed nine diſtinct States. It was afterwards diſtinguiſhed into four Departments, or Cantons, *Theſſaliotis*, *Eſtiaeotis*, *Pelaſgiotis*, and *Pthiotis*. *Theſſaliotis* and *Eſtiaeotis* were the upper, and *Pelaſgiotis* and *Pthiotis* the lower *Theſſaly*.

Eud. Is not this Country celebrated by antient Writers on account of its pleaſing Situation and fertile Soil?

[h] See Dial. 2. P. 56.
[i] See Dial. 3. P. 107.
[k] Vide *Iliad. Rhapſ.* 2. V. 681, *&c.*
[l] Vide *Iliad. Rhapſ.* 2. V. 702.

Pal. It is remarkable for its twenty four Hills, among which were a number of fair Dales, interſperſed with many delightful Rivers. But the chief Glory of *Theſſaly* was *Tempe* [m], one of the fineſt Vales in the World, famed for its romantic Appearance, and the Richneſs and Beauty of its Paſturages. It lay beneath the Mountains of *Oſſa*, *Pelion*, and *Olympus* [n], whoſe craggy Tops ſeemed to reach the Heavens; below, through verdant Meads, ran the River *Peneus*, and emptied itſelf into the Sea, between *Olympus* and *Oſſa*. Fame ſays, that antiently the whole Vale was one Lake, *Olympus* and *Oſſa* being joined together, ſo that the River had not any way of diſcharging its Waters: but *Neptune*, feign the Poets, ſtruck his Trident againſt the Mountains, and ſeparated them [o].

Eud. Was it not here alſo the *Pharſalian* Plain was ſituated?

Pal. Here it is, in the Lower *Theſſaly*, that fatal Plain, where *Caeſar* triumphed over the Liberties of *Rome*. Long ere this happened, had the *Romans* impoſed the Yoke on *Greece*: and now *Greece* ſaw the Day, when *Rome* herſelf loſt her Freedom, and felt the Scourge of Tyrants. Such, *Cleanthes*, is the Fate of the Kingdoms of the Earth. Liberty and Empire are obtained, and loſt

[m] *Plin.* L. 4. C 8. Vide et *Levi.* L. 44.

[n] The Country in which *Olympus* ſtood, as it may already have been obſerved, changed its name, according to the change of fortune of the Inhabitants; hence was *Olympus* antiently accounted a Mountain of *Thrace*, afterwards it belonged to *Theſſaly*, and at length was reputed a part of *Macedonia*——See Dial. 2. P. 25.

[o] Vide *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 9.

loſt again, as Nations riſe to Virtue, or ſink into Diſſoluteneſs. When once *Greece* was enervated thro' Luxury and Vice, ſhe fell an eaſy Prey to the Power of *Rome*; and when *Rome*, venal and corrupted, was no longer able to preſerve her Liberties, *Caeſar* ſtepped in, and inſlaved her, as ſhe had inſlaved the World before. You ſhall have abundant Opportunity of verifying to yourſelf this important Maxim in the Hiſtory of the ſeveral States of *Greece*.— You have ſeen how low were their Beginnings, without either Supply of Treaſure, or Extent of Territory. — You ſhall behold them exalted to a State of great Proſperity, and the Terror of mighty Princes.—And yet, when their former Worth is diminiſhed, ſoon ſhall all that Glory be at an End, and they ſhall again become an *inſignificant weak People*.

But caſt your Eyes to the North of *Theſſaly*— there is the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, in whoſe Fortunes may clearly be ſeen, what is the Strength of Virtue and uncorrupted Manners. The *Macedonians* were a People, inconſiderable in Number; pent up within narrow Limits; preſſed, harraſſed by every State around them; and, for many Generations, maintaining at utmoſt Hazard their precarious Liberties. Nevertheleſs under all theſe Diſtreſſes, they preſerved Minds unbroken; from being engaged in continual Wars, they became expert in Arms; and Penury at home, and Danger Abroad, rendered them temperate, hardy, adventurous. Hence, by degrees they roſe ſuperior to all the Difficulties, that invironed them; they repelled their Enemies; they enlarged their Borders; they forced thoſe very Nations, who had been their moſt formidable Aſſailants, to acknowledge Subjection to them; they extended their Em-

pire into *Illyricum*, into *Thrace*, into *Theſſaly*; and at length ſaw themſelves, what their moſt wanton Hopes could never have promiſed, Maſters of *Greece*, and Lords of the World.

Eud. And did you not juſt now tell us, that anciently *Macedonia* was not eſteemed a Part of *Greece*?

Pal. True, *Eudoxus*—Time was, when a *Grecian* would have thought it a Reproach to have been ranked with thoſe of *Macedon*. Even a *Macedonian* Prince, *Alexander*, Son to that *Amyntas*, who was King of *Macedon*, in the Days of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, was challenged as a Barbarian, when he offered himſelf in the Liſts, at the *Olympic* Games. Indeed, he proved his Right, and obtained Admiſſion: for the *Macedonian* Kings were deſcended from no leſs a Perſon, than *Hercules* himſelf [p].

Clean. What?—*Hercules* the Founder of the Houſe of *Macedon*!

Pal. The *Macedonian* Princes, *Cleanthes*, were of the Line of *Temenus*, to whom, you know, the Kingdom of *Argos* was allotted after the Return of the *Heraclidae*. The firſt of this Family, that reigned in *Macedon*, was *Caranus* [q], Brother to *Phidon*, who, with a Number of his Countrymen, fled out of *Argolis*, on Account of *Phidon*'s arbitrary Attempts, and oppreſſive Government. From *Peloponneſus* he made his Way Northward, encouraged by an Oracle, ſay Hiſtorians, which had promiſed him a ſecure and flouriſhing Eſtabliſhment, on Condition, that he followed the Direction of the *Goats*. It happened on a certain Day, when he was now on the Borders of *AEmathia* (for ſo was *Macedon*, or at leaſt a Part of it called originally) as he and the Companions of his Fortune were

[p] *Herodot.* in Terpſichore.

[q] *Juſt.* L. 7. *Vell. Paterc.* L. 1. C. 6.

were journeying on, uncertain in what manner the Oracle was to be fulfilled, on a ſudden the Sky was overcaſt, and an heavy Storm of Hail and Rain coming on, they obſerved an Herd of Goats fleeing from before the Tempeſt. *Caranus* immediately judged, that theſe were his *fated Guides*; and following them cloſely, ſoon found himſelf at the Gates of *Edeſſa*, the Royal Seat of the *AEmathian* Kings. The Darkneſs of the Weather, and the Violence of the Storm favoured him; and entering in unperceived, he got Poſſeſſion, firſt of the City, and in a ſhort Time *, of the whole Kingdom [r]. This Adventure occaſioned the changing the Name of *Edeſſa* to that of *Aegae*, or the City of the Goats [s].——Nevertheleſs, for many Ages after this, *Aegae* continued to be the Capital of

* *Velleius Paterculus* (L. 1. C. 6.) has greatly miſrepreſented the Times of *Caranus*; for he tells us, that he lived about ſixty Years before the Foundation of *Rome*, that is, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, near forty Years before the firſt Olympiad, and within leſs than ten Years after the Return of the *Heraclidae*. And yet he allows that *Caranus* was the ſixteenth Generation from *Hercules*. Now it appears from *Herodotus* (In *Urania*) that *Alexander* Prince of *Macedon*, who lived at the Time of the Battle of *Thermopylae*, was the ſeventh in deſcent from the firſt *Argive* Prince, that reigned in *Macedon*; and the Battle of *Thermopylae* was fought the Year before Chriſt, 480, or towards the Cloſe of the 74 and the Opening of the 75 Olympiad; ſo that here are ſeven Generations, that take up more than 270 Years, and the other 16 take up only about 130. But it has already been obſerved, how greatly the antient Chronology is defective. The Truth is, *Caranus* lived about the 45th or 46th Olympiad, as may be ſeen in Dial. 7. towards the End.

[r] *Herodotus* gives a very different and much more romantic Account of this Matter. He alſo calls the firſt *Argive* Prince, that reigned in *Macedonia*, *Perdiccas*.——

Vide *Herodot.* in *Urania.*

[s] Αἰγαὶ, from the Word Αἴγες, Goats.

of the Kingdom, until the Reign of *Philip* the *Great*, who eſtabliſhed his Reſidence at *Pella*, the Place of his Birth, a City, which you may ſee near to the *Thermaic* Gulph. And even then, *Aegae* retained much of its former Splendor; here were the Tombs of the Kings of *Macedon*; and here extraordinary Solemnities were uſually celebrated [t]: it was on an Occaſion of this Kind, *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, he, whom I juſt now mentioned to you, was ſlain in this City, at the ſolemnizing the Nuptials of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus* [u].

Eud. You obſerved to us, that the *Macedonians* were at firſt confined within very narrow Bounds: I ſuppoſe, the Kingdom of *Caranus* and his immediate Succeſſors did not extend much farther than the Borders of *AEmathia*.

Pal. Undoubtedly, *Eudoxus*, their Kingdom, was of very ſmall Extent: tho' the obſcure Accounts, we have of the earlier State of *Macedon*, will not permit us to form preciſe Notions concerning it. Indeed, in thoſe Days the *Macedonians* were ſcarely conſiderable enough to hold a Place in Hiſtory.—However, as I told you, their Virtues rendered them at length a proſperous mighty People; and low and indigent as their firſt Condition was, yet, at the Time of *Philip*'s Death, all that Tract of Country, to the Weſt of *Macedon*, as far as the *Adriatic* — to the North unto Mount *Haemus* and the *Scardian* Hills--North-Eaſtward, even to the River *Neſtus*—and Eaſtward to the *Aegean* Sea—was already ſubjected to the *Macedonian* Power.—But— of the *Macedonian* Fortunes, at an other Opportunity—At preſent, we ſhall

[t] *Diod. Sic.* L. 16. C. 93. and L. 19. C. 52.
[u] *Corn. Nep.* De Regibus.

ſhall only take a ſhort Survey of the more remarkable Places of this Country.

Obſerve, the *Thermaic* Gulph waſhed Part of the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Macedonia:* it had its Name from *Thermae*, a City at the Extremity of the Gulph, which was afterwards rebuilt by *Caſſander* and *Theſſalonice*, *Philip*'s Daughter, and in Honour to her named *Theſſalonica.* It appears, from *Strabo* [w], that this was one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities of all *Macedonia*, owing, probably, to the Advantages of its Situation. And even to this Day, as Travellers inform us [x], it makes a great Figure under the Name of *Salonichi* [y].—We are told by *Herodotus* [z], that when *Xerxes*, on his Way into *Greece*, encamped in theſe Parts, his Camp reached from *Thermae* to *Mygdonia*, and thence Southward to the Confluence of the Rivers *Ludias* and *Haliacmon*: And that the River *Chidorus*, which runs through *Pelagonia*, and empties itſelf into the *Thermaic* Gulph, had its Waters exhauſted by the *Perſian* Army. Such prodigious Multitudes had *that Vain Prince* gathered together.——Take notice, the Department, in which *Thermae* or *Theſſalonica* ſtood, was named *Amphaxitis.* Southward of this, lay the Region of *Chalcidice*, ſo called, as may be conjectured, from a Colony of *Euboeans* from *Chalcis*, who ſettled here. In this Diviſion was *Athos*, a Mountain much celebrated, both by Reaſon of its amazing Bulk, and towering Height [a], and alſo an account of the

* vaunting

[w] Geogr. L.

[x] Voyez Voyages de Lucas T. 1. L. 1.

[y] The Gulph alſo, which, after *Thermae* changed its Name, was called the Gulph of *Theſſalonica*, is now called the Gulph of *Salonichi*.

[z] In *Polymnia*.

[a] Vide *Melam.* De Situ Orbis. L. 2. C. 2. et *Veren.* Geogr. T. 1.

vaunting Attempt made by *Xerxes*. He conceived the Thought [b] of cutting through the Iſthmus, which joins Mount *Athos* to the Continent, and of opening a Canal large enough to receive his Fleets. At immenſe Expence and Labour was this Work carried on, *a Work* deſigned to be the Wonder of ſucceeding Ages: and yet not even the leaſt Trace of it now appears [c], the Earth having long ſince filled up the artificial Channel [d].

Southward is the Peninſula of *Pallene*.—

Clean. It ſeems alſo to bear the Name of *Phlegra*—whence this, *Palaemon?*

Pal. Becauſe here, ſay the Poets, the Giants were deſtroyed by *Jupiter*'s Thunder [e]: the Name is derived from the Greek Word φλέγω, to burn.—You ſee this Coaſt is broken by many Creeks and ſmall Gulphs, which afforded Seamen a Number of ſafe Retreats. Hence the ſeveral Settlements, which the trading Nations of *Greece* made in theſe Parts. Yonder is *Potidaea*, firſt founded by a Colony from *Corinth*, but afterwards poſſeſſed by the *Athenians* [f]. There alſo are *Mende* and *Scione*, whoſe Names often occur in the *Athenian* Annals [g]. And beyond theſe, near the Gulph of *Torone*, is the City of the *Olynthians*, a People, whoſe frequent Revolutions of

[b] *Herodot.* in *Polymnia.*

[c] *Belon.* ſingul. rer. obſerv. p. 78.

[d] The Mountain *Athos* is now called *Moute Santo*, on Account of the many Religious Houſes, and Cells of Anchorites, which are to be found here. An accurate Deſcription of it may be ſeen in the Book of Travels, already referred to, above, N. x.

[e] *Stephan.* De Urbibus. in Παλλήνη.

[f] *Thucyd.* L. 2.

[g] Vide *Demoſthen.* adverſus Lacritum, et paſſim.

of Fortune, and brave Defence of their Liberties, are memorable [h].—There are ſome few Iſlands near the Entrance of the *Thermaic* Gulph: but they do not deſerve our Notice.

Turn your Eyes Northward, and you meet *Stagira*, the Place where *Ariſtotle* had his Birth. And further North, on the River *Strymon*, is the renowned *Athenian* Colony, *Amphipolis*. Antiently it was called Ενν͂εαι ὁδοὶ, [i] or the Nine Ways; but from the Time the *Athenians* were ſeated here, it received the Name of *Amphipolis*, becauſe the Waters of the *Strymon* circled around it [k]. *Eion*, which you may obſerve at one of the Mouths of the River, was the *Mart-Town*, and Naval Place of the *Amphipolitans* [l].

Eud. Did not all that Tract, between the *Strymon* and the *Neſtus*, belong antiently to the *Thracians?*

Pal. It belonged to a Tribe of them called the *Edoni*. The Inhabitants of *Thaſus*, an Iſland, which you ſee lying off this Coaſt, formed early Settlements here, on account of the rich Gold-Mines this Diſtrict abounded in [m]. Afterwards, the *Athenians* expelled them [n], and drew much wealth from theſe Parts. And at length *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas* poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Country between the two Rivers, and made the *Neſtus* the Boundary

[h] *Demoſthen.* de falſâ legatione *Diod. Sic.* L. 16.

[i] *Herodot.* in Polymnia. *Thucyd.* L. 4.

[k] *Thucyd.* ubi ſupra.

[l] *Thucyd.* L. 1.

[m] We may judge of the Wealth, theſe Mines ſupplied them with, from what *Herodotus* (in *Polymnia*) tells us; that, when *Xerxes* paſſed through this Country, a *Thaſian* expended four hundred Talents in one Supper, a Sum equal to ſeventy ſeven thouſand five hundred Pounds.——See *Arbuthnot*'s tables.

[n] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Plut.* in Cimone.

dary of his Kingdom. The City of *Philippi*, which is there before you, he built, and called after his own Name: it was a Place of conſiderable Strength, and deſigned principally to curb the *Thracian* Nations [o].

Clean. Philippi—'twas there, I believe, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* fell.

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*, on that Plain Vengeance overtook thoſe Murderers of *Caeſar* [p].—In the Days of the Goſpel, ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom of *Macedon*, from *Philippi* as far as *Beroea* a City of *Aemathia*, were rendered illuſtrious by the Labours of St. *Paul*, the great Apoſtle of the *Gentiles* [q]; and at *Philippi* and *Theſſalonica* were flouriſhing Churches eſtabliſhed by his Preaching. It appears, how high the Regard that excellent Miniſter of Chriſtianity bore to them, by the three Epiſtles, which he wrote, one to thoſe of *Philippi*, and two to thoſe of *Theſſalonica*.

But let us leave the Maps: I have made ſufficient Trial of your Attention. Remember only, *Cleanthes*, that you muſt often have recourſe to your Geographical Tables; they will give you a clear diſtinct Notion of the ſeveral Tranſactions recorded in Hiſtory, many of which ſhall otherwiſe appear to you extremely obſcure and intricate.

[o] *Plin.* L. 4.
[p] *Appi.* Civil. L. 4.
[q] See Acts of the Apoſt. C. 16 and 17.

DIA-

DIALOGUE THE SIXTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

WE have now taken a Review of the ſeveral Nations of *Greece.* You have ſeen, *Cleanthes*, their Situation, what were the natural Advantages they enjoyed, and how inconſiderable were their Beginnings. Prepare yourſelf now to behold them riſing to an height of Glory, ſcarcely to be conceived within the reach of ſuch a People.——However, you are to keep your Eye on the States of *Sparta* and *Athens.* Their Hiſtory, eſpecially in the Times we are to treat of, is the Hiſtory of *Greece* in general: and whether in the Atchievements of War, or the Arts of Peace, it was uſually either the one or the other of theſe, that led the Way to Glory.

After the Death of *Codrus*, *Athens*, you know, was no longer under Kings: the ſupreme Power was nevertheleſs preſerved to *Codrus*'s Poſterity, and his Son *Medon* reigned with the Title of *Archon.* This brought about a great Migration * from *Greece* into *Aſia*; for *Nileus* and *Androcles* the other Sons of *Codrus*, unwilling to ſubmit to their Brother *Medon* [a], reſolved to ſeek a foreign Settlement. *Attica* was at this Time extremely full of People, many of the Exiles from *Peloponne-*

* About 794 Years before Chriſt.

[a] *Pauſanias* tells us, that *Nileus* diſputed *Medon*'s Right to the Sovereignty, becauſe he was lame; but that the Oracle decided in *Medon*'s Favour.——Vide in *Achaicis.*

ſus having made this their Place of Refuge. *Nileus* took Advantage of the Conjuncture; and having got together a great number of theſe Adventurers, paſſed over to the *Aſiatic* Coaſt, Part of which received from them the Name of *Ionia*. This Eſtabliſhment ſoon became conſiderable, ſo that on the Continent they built ten Cities [b], and two in the Iſlands of *Chios* and *Samos*; and to ſtrengthen themſelves the more Effectually, they formed a Confederacy, and appointed that Deputies from all theſe Cities ſhould convene at certain Times, and deliberate about the Common Good; on which Account, the Temple, where this Convention was held, was called *Pan-Ionium* [c]. They alſo ſubdued ſeveral Iſlands both in the *Aegean* and *Icarian* Seas; ſuch as *Thaluſſa*, *Elaphitis*, *Myonneſos*, *Diarrheuſa* [d], *Paros*, *Andros*, *Delos* [e], and ſome others of leſs Figure. Nevertheleſs, from what *Herodotus* tells us, it appears, they did not long preſerve their Liberties entire. The ſoft *Aſiatic* Climate ſubdued them; and they yielded themſelves up, firſt to *Croeſus*, and after him, to the other Princes of *Aſia* [f]. There were alſo particular Tyrants in moſt of the *Grecian* Cities [g]. And hence it was, that the *Athenians* renounced the Name of *Ionian*, which they had in the Days of *Theſeus*: for

[b] *Herodotus* (in Clio) has preſerved to us the Names of nine of theſe Cities—*Miletus*, *Myus*, *Priene*, *Epheſus*, *Colophon*, *Lebedus*, *Teos*, *Clazomenae*, and *Phocaea*. The Tenth, *Erythra*, is mentioned by *Velleius Paterculus*. The Inhabitants of *Phocaea*, are famous in Hiſtory for their Skill in Naval Affairs: it was by them *Marſeilles* was founded.

[c] See Dial. 5th. P. 169. N. *w*.

[d] Theſe in the *Icarian* Sea.

[e] Theſe in the *Aegean*.

[f] Vide *Herodot.* in Clio.

[g] Vide *Herodot.* in Melpomene.

for we are informed by *Herodotus* [h], that in his Time the *Athenians* eſteemed it a Reproach to be ſo called.

Eud. Was there not alſo a Part of the *Aſiatic* Coaſt, inhabited by the *Aeoles?*

Pal. There was, *Eudoxus*, to the North of *Ionia*. This was a Colony from *Achaia*, ſent forth, according to ſome [i], many Years after the *Ionic* Migration, and, according to others [k], ſomewhat earlier. The Name of *Aeoles* they had, probably, from the *Aeolic* Dialect, which they made uſe of. For that, you know, was the Language proper to the *Achean* People[l]. Howbeit, they built Eleven Cities on the Continent of *Aſia* [m]; and eſtabliſhed themſelves alſo in *Lesbos*, one of the largeſt and moſt fertile Iſlands of the *Aegean* Sea.

Clean. So that the *Aſiatic* Coaſt was poſſeſſed by *Grecian* Colonies?

Pal. There was alſo an other Migration from *Greece* to *Aſia*, poſterior to the *Ionic* by ſome Years. You remember, when the *Heraclidae* and *Dorians* invaded the Territories of *Attica*, their firſt Attempt was on *Megara*; and after their Retreat on the Death of *Codrus*, a Party of *Dorians* maintained themſelves in the *Megarean* Diſtrict. But ſo ſtraitened were they in Territory, and ſo harraſſed by thoſe of *Attica*, that at length a Number of them

[h] In Clio.

[i] *Pauſ.* in Lacon. *Vell. Pat.* L. 1.

[k] See *Newton*'s Chronology.

[l] *Acheus*, the Father of the *Achean* People, was Son to *Xuthus*, who was Brother to *Aeolus*, from whom both the *Aeolian* People and the *Aeolic* Dialect were called——See Dial. 2. P. 60. N. *y*.

[m] The Names of them are theſe——*Cyme*, *Lariſſa*, *Neontichus*, *Tenus*, *Cilla*, *Notion*, *AEgiroeſſa*, *Pitane*, *Aegaea*, *Myrina*, and *Smyrna*, which laſt was taken from them by thoſe of *Colophon*.—— *Herodot.* in *Clio.*

them determined to ſeek an happier Settlement, and paſſed over to the *Aſiatic* Coaſt [n]. There they got Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Rhodes*, and of two Cities on the Continent, *Cnidus*, and the illuſtrious City of *Halicarnaſſus*, famed for the *Mauſoleum* or noble Monument raiſed by *Artemiſia* to the Memory of *Mauſolus* her Huſband, but much more for having been the Birth-place of *Herodotus* and *Dionyſius* the Hiſtorians, and of the two Poets *Heraclitus* and *Callimachus*.

Clean. But, *Palaemon*, juſt now you mentioned the *Athenian Archons*—did you not ſay Yeſterday, that this Inſtitution underwent ſome remarkable Alterations?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*. In leſs than 150 Years after that Inſtitution, they reduced the Continuance of each Archonſhip to the Length of ten Years only. And ſcarcely had theſe Decennial *Archons* been in Power ſeventy Years *, when again the People

[n] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 14.

* According to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, the Perpetual *Archons* reigned but 147 Years; and to the ſeven Decennial *Archons* he allows only 40 Years, as he conjectures, that ſome of them may have died before the Expiration of their full Term: ſo that by this Computation, the Perpetual *Archons* began 794 Years before Chriſt; the Decennial *Archons* 647, or the 2d Year of the 33d Olympiad; and the Annual *Archons* 607 Years before Chriſt, or the 2d Year of the 43d Olympiad.——According to the *Euſebian* Canon, which is founded on the antient Chronology of *Eratoſtenes* (Vide *Dodwellum* de Cyclis) the Perpetual *Archons*, fourteen of which are there ſaid to have reigned in *Athens*, have 316 Years allowed to them; and *Medon* is ſuppoſed to have obtained the Sovereign Power, 144 Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, this Interval of 144 Years being taken up only by 5 Kings, one of which, *Aphydas*, reigned but one Year. So that, according to this Canon, *Troy* was taken 1184 Years before Chriſt.——*Medon* the firſt Perpetual *Archon* began to reign 1070 Years before Chriſt.——*Alcmaeon* the firſt Decennial

People ſought a Change, eſteeming their Rights in danger, if they had not every Year an Opportunity of chooſing new Magiſtrates.

Eud. Was not *Alcmaeon* the laſt, that enjoyed the Archonſhip for Life?

Pal. So Hiſtorians tell us: and the firſt of the Decennial *Archons* was *Charops*, and the laſt *Eryxias*. There were but ſeven *Archons* of this Order; and then were the Annual *Archons* eſtabliſhed, the firſt of whom was *Creon* °.

Eud. I ſuppoſe then, during theſe Domeſtic Struggles for the Eſtabliſhment of Liberty, *Athens* could not have a very conſiderable Share in the Affairs of other States.—

Pal. You may be aſſured, theſe Improvements of Liberty were not obtained without much Conteſt. Power is not eaſily parted with: and therefore may we well ſuppoſe, that every Step, which the People gained, coſt them dear. So that, in this Time of Struggle, the whole *Energy* of the *Athenian* Strength muſt have been confined within *Athens* itſelf: it had too much Employment there, to extend its Influence to foreign Concerns. But nevertheleſs, if during this Period *Athens* does not appear great, ſhe however was acquiring the means of Greatneſs. It was this Liberty, which they were now riſing to the Enjoyment of, which rendered their Country afterwards ſo dear to them, and animated them chearfully to hazard even Life itſelf,

cennial *Archon* entered on his Magiſtracy, 754 before Chriſt, or the 2d Year of the 6th Olympiad——and *Creon*, the firſt Annual *Archon*, 684 Years before Chriſt, or the firſt Year of the 24th Olympiad.——But there need not be any Obſervations made on theſe extravagant Dates: enough has been ſaid of them already. —— See Dial. 2. P. 60 N. y. Dial. 4. P. 142 and 151.

° *Vellei. Paterc.* L. 1.

itſelf, in the Defence of a Conſtitution, bleſſed with ſuch noble Privileges.

But we muſt now ſee, what was the Condition of *Sparta* and the other *Peloponeſian* States. You know, how the Deſcendants of *Hercules* parcelled out the Kingdoms of *Peloponneſus* [p]. *Temenus* was King of *Argos*; *Creſphontes* of *Meſſenia*; and, after the Death of *Ariſtodemus*, his two Sons, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, were ſeated jointly on the *Spartan* Throne.—Would you think it, *Cleanthes*?—that three Kingdoms, founded in the ſame Country, at one Time, by one People, ſhould have Fortunes entirely different? ——— Yet ſo it is—the Glory of *Sparta*, tho' the leaſt advantaged by Nature, far out-ſhone that of *Meſſenia* and *Argos*; and the Time came, when not only all the Nations of *Peloponneſus* owned the *Spartan* Power, but even over all *Greece*, and into *Aſia* itſelf, did *Sparta* extend her Dominion. How this State roſe to ſo high a Pitch of Glory, it is well worth our conſidering.—

I have already taken Notice to you, that the Government, there eſtabliſhed, was extremely *hazardous*. Two Princes, equal in Authority, might eaſily prefer their own private Ambition to the Public Good, and *diſtract* the State, inſtead of *governing* it. This Evil was felt in the very Beginning. *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, notwithſtanding the near Relation of Brothers, that ſubſiſted between them, betrayed in many Inſtances a Jealouſy of each other, and brake out into frequent Conteſts [q].—*Euryſthenes* was ſucceeded by his Son *Agis*, and

[p] Theſe new Settlements took Place about 820 Years before Chriſt——See Dial 5. P. 178, &c.

[q] *Herodot.* in Erato.

and *Procles* by his Son *Soüs* [r], who ſeem to have been more happily united. The Truth was, the common danger left them no Time for domeſtic Diſputes, and they were both called upon to provide for their own Security. You may recollect, I ſhewed you Yeſterday, where the City of the *Helotae* ſtood: againſt this People were the *Spartan* Kings obliged to engage in War. *Agis* had treated the Inhabitants of the *Lacedemonian* State with too much Severity: he departed from the wiſe Policy of the firſt Kings, who had ſought to confirm themſelves in their new Kingdom by Gentleneſs and mild Government, and had therefore granted to the Inhabitants of *Laconia* the ſame Privileges as the *Spartans* enjoyed. He pretended, that theſe Indulgences had rendered them the more ſeditious and ungovernable; and not content with abridging them of their Rights, he alſo impoſed Contributions on all the *Lacedemonian* Cities. The People of *Helos* could not ſee their Liberties wreſted from them, and ſubmit tamely. They roſe in Arms.—But the Fortune of the *Spartan* Kings prevailed againſt them: *Helos* was taken; and the inhuman Conquerors condemned the unhappy *Helotae*, and all their Poſterity [s], to eternal Bondage [t]. It is ſcarce to be conceived, how dreadful was the Servitude,

[r] *Pauſan.* in Laconicis. *Plutarch.* in Lycurgo.

[s] *Strabo.* Geogr. L. 8. *Plut.* in Lycurgo.

[t] It is ſurpriſing, that Monſ. *Rollin*, to whoſe Humane Heart and juſt Notion of Things his Writings abundantly witneſs, ſhould endeavour to palliate the Barbarity of *Sparta* in this Inſtance. His Words are theſe——*Agis fils d'* Euryſthene, *nouvellement etabli ſur le trone, ſentit toutes les conſequences de cette premiere Revolte, et ſe mit auſſi tôt en campagne avec Soüs ſon Collegue. La Ville fut aſſiegée, et, apres une aſſez longue reſi-*

Servitude, which the Pride and Cruelty of the *Spartans* made them bear: they treated them with the utmoſt Contumely; they even murdered them without the leaſt Provocation; and ſported themſelves in their Perfidy to theſe wretched Men.—— You may judge of their Demeanor towards them by this ſingle Inſtance. In a diſtreſsful War, the *Spartans* had been obliged to arm their Slaves, and had promiſed them their Liberty, if they fought bravely. The too faithful *Helotae* acquitted themſelves with great Valour; and by their Means the *Spartans* obtained the Victory. Accordingly, they were declared Free; the Honour of *Sparta* was engaged for this: but an other Method was found to render this Liberty of ſmall Avail—they were way-laid; and thoſe brave Men, who had expoſed their Lives to ſave *Sparta*, were, to the Number of two thouſand, baſely deſtroyed [u].

Clean. Oh *Palaemon*, what, a dreadful Policy was this!— thoſe unhappy injured *Helotae!*

Eud. However, is not this *Soüs* ſaid to have been a brave Prince?

Pal. Yes, if you mean by Bravery the laying waſte the Territories of his Neighbours, you may indeed call him *a Brave Prince*: for it appears, that

ſtance, forcée de ſe rendre a Diſcretion. Il crût devoir faire un exemple, qui intimidat tous les Voiſins par la ſeverité du Chatiment, mais qui cependant n' alienat pas les eſprits par une cruauté inhumaine. Il ne verſa point de ſang. Il laiſſa la Vie a tous les Habitans de la Ville, mais il leur ota la Liberté, et les reduiſit tous a la dure condition d' Eſclaves.—— As if it could be deemed Mercy to make Men purchaſe Life at the Expence of *that*, without which Life itſelf is nothing but Bitterneſs and Anguiſh of Soul. May it not be conjectured, that this good Man would have avowed other Principles, had it been his Fate to have written in a Land of Liberty?——*Rollin*, Hiſt. Anc. T. 3.

[u] *Thucydides*. L. 4.

that he made *Arcadia* feel the Ravages of War, and added a good Part of it to his own Dominions. It is *Plutarch* [w] records this, who alſo tells us of his Manner of obſerving a Treaty, which is well worth remembering. He had attacked the *Clitorians* a People of *Arcadia*; and they had hemmed him up in a Place, where he and his whole Army muſt have periſhed thro' Drought. The King in this Difficulty offered to make Peace on any Conditions; and the honeſt *Clitorians* required only, that he ſhould reſtore to them the Territories, of which he had deprived them by Force of Arms: he conſented, with this Stipulation, that he and all his Men ſhould drink of a Spring, not far diſtant from his Camp. After the cuſtomary Oaths, *Soüs* being ſet at Liberty called his Men together, and offered his Kingdom to him, that would forbear drinking. Their Thirſt was ſo exceſſive, that none would accept the Offer. At laſt, when his Men had all drank, the King himſelf came to the Spring, and ſprinkling ſome of the Water on his Face, without ſwallowing any, marched off; refuſing to give up his Conqueſts, becauſe He and all his Men had not drank, according to the Articles. The *Lacedemonian* Army was now refreſhed; and the *Arcadians* had nothing left them, but to bewail their eaſy Faith.——After him reigned *Eurypon* or *Eurytion* his Son, from whom that Race retained the Name of *Eurypontidae* or *Eurytionidae*. *Agis* alſo was ſucceeded by his Son *Echeſtratus* [x].

Eud. Pray, was it not a Mark of high Diſtinction to this *Eurytion*, to have his Poſterity named from him?

[w] In Lycurgo.
[x] *Pauſan.* in Laconicis.

Pal. It certainly was: and Hiſtorians have recorded the Reaſons, that thus endeared *Eurytion*'s Memory to his People. He ſoftened the Harſhneſs of the *Spartan* Government, which the Severity and Haughtineſs of the preceding Kings had rendered extremely grievous, and ruled his Subjects with a gentler Hand [y]. Nevertheleſs, *Eurytion*'s humane Conduct was not imitated by the Princes, that came after. They again endeavoured to ſtrain high the Royal Prerogative; ſo that, thro' their ill-judged Policy, *Sparta* was threatened with immediate Ruin. For, the People, unable to brook the arbitrary Sway of thoſe Tyrannical Governours, were frequently driven to an avowed Oppoſition: And, as it often happens in civil Commotions, when the *Spartan* Kings found themſelves unable to ſtem the impetuous Torrent, then were they obliged to purchaſe Peace even at the Expence of their own Power, and brought the Regal Authority into Weakneſs and Contempt.—The Princes, that reigned during theſe Diſtractions, were *Prytanis*, the Son of *Eurytion*, and *Labotas* [z], or *Leobotes*, as *Herodotus* [a] calls him, Son to *Echeſtratus*. Theſe two were ſucceeded in the Kingdom, *Labotas* by *Doryſſus* [b], and *Prytanis* by *Eunomus* [c]. The Reigns of theſe Kings were remarkable for little more, than the confuſed State of *Sparta*, the Effects of which proved fatal to *Eunomus*.

[y] Δοκεῖ γαρ πρῶτος Ἐυρυτίων τὸ ἄγαν μοναρχικὸν ἀνεῖναι της βασιλειὰς, δημαγωγῶν, καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολλοῖς.—*Plut.* in Lycurgo.

[z] *Pauſan* in Laconicis.

[a] In Clio —*Leobotes* is according to the *Doric* Dialect.

[b] This Prince is named *Doryagus* by *Herodotus*.—In Polymnia.

[c] *Pauſan.* in Laconicis.

mus. He was murdered in one of these Domestic Tumults, stabbed with a Cook's Knife, says *Plutarch* [d], as he was endeavouring to persuade the contending Parties to Peace. *Eunomus* left a Son, called *Polydectes*, who ascended the Throne after him; and also a younger Son by a second Wife, whose Name was *Lycurgus*. *Polydectes* did not long survive his Father; and now the *Spartans* turned their Eyes on *Lycurgus*, whose many private Virtues seemed to promise the greatest Blessings to his Country. And certainly he was a Prince of the most unblemished Probity, and an uncommon Excellence of Mind. His first Step after the Death of his Brother *Polydectes* makes Proof of this. *Polydectes* had left a Wife, who was found to be pregnant. As soon as *Lycurgus* knew it, he declared that the Crown of *Sparta* belonged to her Issue, provided it were Male, and refused to administer the Government under any other Title, than that of ΠΡΟΔΙΚΟΣ, or *PROTECTOR*. The Widow Queen, an ambitious Woman, and who judged of the Dispositions of *Lycurgus* by her own, made him an Overture, that she would destroy the Child, she was pregnant with, and secure the Crown to him, if he would engage to marry her. *Lycurgus* receeived the proposal with Horror; but wisely concealing his Resentment, he ordered the Messenger to thank her in his Name, and to desire that she would not make use of any violent Means, as they might impair her Health; but that he would take care to remove the Child, as soon as born. However, when her time of *Travail* was come, he sent some of the Principal of his Lords, to observe all that passed, with Orders, that if it

[d] In Lycurgo.

it were a Girl, they ſhould give it into the Hands of the Women; but, if a Boy, they ſhould bring it to him, where-e'er he was. It ſo happened, that ſhe was delivered of a Son, who, according to the Directions, was brought immediately to *Lycurgus*: he was, at that very Time, at Supper with ſome of the Chief Men of *Sparta*; and taking the Child into his Arms, *Behold*, ſays he, *my Lords of* Sparta, *here is a King born unto us*; and placing the Infant in the Chair of State, he named him *Charilaus*, or *the Joy of the People* [e], as indeed his Reign had its Beginning amid' Loud Acclamations, and the greateſt Tranſports of Joy, all People being wonderouſly delighted with this remarkable Inſtance of the Noble Mind and Juſtice of *Lycurgus* [f].

Clean. How was the Queen-Mother affected with this generous Action?

Pal. She ſaw it in a different Light. She was fallen from her ambitious Hopes, and had beſides intirely deſtroyed all her Credit with *Lycurgus*, by laying her Soul too much open to him. Her only Reſource therefore was to raiſe Suſpicions of the Views he might entertain: Perſons were employed to ſpread about many Complaints, which the Queen pretended to have againſt him, for not treating her ſuitably to her Quality; and withal, artfully to inſinuate, that the King's Life was far from being ſafe with *Lycurgus*, who would certainly make uſe of the firſt favourable Opportunity to ſtep into the Throne.——To ſilence the Murmurs of this wicked Faction, and to prevent the reproachful Surmiſes he might have been expoſed to, ſhould *Charilaus* have chanced to die, *Lycurgus* determined

[e] Χαριλάος, from Χάιρω to rejoice, and Λάος the People.
[f] Vide *Plutarch.* ubi ſupra.

determined to leave *Sparta*, and not to return, till the King had a Son to ſecure the Succeſſion. Nevertheleſs, ſtill was his neareſt Concern for his beloved Country, and how to remove the Evils it laboured under. For this Purpoſe, he reſolved to viſit the wiſeſt Nations, and to obſerve their Laws and Polities, that he might be the better enabled to reform the *Spartan* State, and to render it Great and Proſperous. His firſt Voyage was to *Crete*, renowned for the Laws of *Minos*. Here he met with one *Thales* or *Thaletas*, a Perſon of ſuperior Accompliſhments, and particularly eminent for his Poetical Genius. Poets in thoſe Days were uſeful Men; they employed their Talents for the Concerns of Virtue, and endeavoured to advance the Improvement of Mankind, by delivering ſage moral Precepts in the ſoft Harmony of Verſe. Of this Order was *Thales*. *Lycurgus* eſteemed it, that the beſt Service, he could do his Country, would be to prevail on this excellent Perſon to paſs over to *Sparta*; as the Sweetneſs of his Meaſures might ſmooth the Roughneſs of the *Lacedemonian* People, and his wiſe Precepts form their civilized Minds to the Love of Decency and Worthy Deeds. The *Cretan* complied with *Lycurgus*'s Requeſt; and *Lycurgus*'s Expectations were not fruſtrate. *Plutarch* tells us, that the Power of *Thales*'s Muſic, and the pathetic Exhortations to Unanimity and Obedience, which he was wont to accord on his Lyre, had ſo great an Influence on their Minds, that inſenſibly they were ſoftened, and diſpoſed to a chearful Concurrence for the public Welfare. In a Word, the Poet prepared the Way for the Lawgiver, and made *Sparta* capable of receiving the Ordinances of *Lycurgus*.

Eud.

Eud. I remember to have read, that the *Spartans* were extremely earneſt for the Return of *Lycurgus*—I ſuppoſe it was owing to the Influence of this *Thales.*—

Pal. No doubt, but it might, in Part.—But beſides, Misfortunes alſo had contributed to make them wiſe, and to ſhew them how much they had loſt in *Lycurgus.* For it is obſerved by *Plutarch*[g], that the Abilities of thoſe, who were then on the *Spartan* Throne, were far from being equal to the high Office intruſted to them, and that they managed Public Affairs with great Inſufficiency and Weakneſs. Theſe Diſtreſſes of Government, together with *Thales*'s excellent Leſſons, made them wiſh earneſtly for his Return, and ſollicit it by frequent Embaſſies. But he was immoveable from his Purpoſe, *not to reviſit* Sparta, *till a Son was born to* Charilaus. After a conſiderable Stay in *Crete*, he therefore paſſed over into *Aſia*, where he collected together *Homer*'s Works, that were ſcattered thro' the *Grecian* Cities. This was the only valuable Acquiſition he made on the *Aſiatic* Coaſt. For, as I took notice to you, the Manners of thoſe *Grecians* were become extremely luxurious and diſſolute.——[h] His next Progreſs was into *Egypt.* What Improvements he obtained in that Land of Science, Hiſtorians mention not, one only excepted; he brought away with him the Scheme of their Military Eſtabliſhments[h], which he afterwards introduced into the *Spartan* State[i].—When he had thus ſpent many Years in inrich-ing

[g] Loc. Citato.

[h] Among the *Egyptians*, the Military Men were a diſtinct Order, and were not allowed to exerciſe any Profeſſion, but that of Arms. See Dial. 2. P. 39 N. *i.*

[i] *Plutarch.* ubi ſupra.

ing his Mind with the Knowledge of the Cuſtoms and Civil Oeconomy of different Nations, out of all theſe he planned a form of Government for the *Lacedemonian* People: and the Situation of *Charilaus*'s Family having put an End to his Scruples, he began now to ſhape his Courſe towards *Lacedemon*. In his Way home, he paid his Offerings at the Shrine of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and conſulted the Oracle about the Succeſs of his Undertaking; at which Time, ſay the Pagans, the Propheteſs ſaluted him with theſe remarkable Words, *Favourite of Heaven, and rather God than Man*; and aſſured him, that the Commonwealth, that obſerved his Laws, ſhould become the moſt famous in the World [k]. At his Arrival at *Sparta*, he was nevertheleſs cautious in communicating the Scheme of Polity, which he had projected; but firſt explained it to his Friends, ſome of the moſt conſiderable Men of *Sparta*, to the Number of twenty eight [l]; and having gained them over to his Views, appointed a Day for their appearing in Arms, in the Market-place, to ſupport his Deſign, and to ſtrike an Awe into the Unruly and Factious. The two Kings, *Charilaus*, and *Archelaus* [m] Grandſon to *Doryſſus*, were not appriſed of the Purpoſes of this Meeting, and therefore at the Beginning feared a Conſpiracy; but being ſoon after undeceived, they promiſed to concur with *Lycurgus*.

[k] *Herodot.* in Clio.

[l] *Sphoerus* apud *Plutarch.* de Lycurgo.

[m] Between *Doryſſus* and *Archelaus* there reigned *Ageſilaus* the firſt, Father to *Archelaus* and Son to *Doryſſus*. —Some place the Legiſlature of *Lycurgus* in the Reign of *Ageſilaus*; but it is rather to be conjectured, that *Ageſilaus* was dead, before his Return to *Sparta*.—Vide *Meurſii* Lacon. Antiq. L. 2. C. 5.

Eud. It is ſtrange, that *Lycurgus* did not communicate his Scheme to the Kings, at the firſt, and to *Charilaus* eſpecially.——

Pal. Conſider, that the Alteration, he was to begin with, was the abridging the Power of the *Spartan* Kings; which, tho' abſolutely neceſſary to their own Preſervation, not leſs than to the Public Proſperity, Princes accuſtomed to Command without Controul would, probably, have been averſe from.——But Matters were now ripe for Execution, and their refuſing could have availed but little.

Clean. Did *Lycurgus* then limit the Regal Power?—His Reputation muſt have been great indeed, to have borne him thro' Alterations of ſo high a Nature.

Pal. You will have much greater Reaſon to be ſurpriſed, when you have ſeen the whole Syſtem of his Inſtitutions.—But firſt it may be of Uſe to examine, what was the Condition of the *Spartan* People, when *Lycurgus* propoſed this new Model of Government.

Sparta may be conſidered in a threefold Light—either with reſpect to the Nature of its Domeſtic Polity, and the Privileges of the People—or with Relation to the neighbouring Kingdoms, their Strength, and the Intereſts they purſued—and laſtly, with regard to the Manners of the *Spartans* themſelves. Attend to every one of theſe, and you will be the better inabled to judge of the Views of this excellent Lawgiver, and of the Propriety of his Ordinances.

As

As to *the Regal Power*, it had been arbitrary and exorbitant, until the Days of *Lycurgus*, and had ſeldom known any bounds, but what the forcible Oppoſition of an oppreſſed People had formed againſt it. And, as I have already obſerved to you, this very Oppoſition to the Kings contributed rather to encourage Licentiouſneſs and Rebellion, than to introduce a due Proportion of Liberty: the Regal Majeſty was diſgraced by it; and the People learned to deſpiſe an Authority, over which they had triumphed. The firſt Attention of *Lycurgus* therefore was, to eſtabliſh a juſt Temperature of Government, and to conſtitute ſome Power, that ſhould preſerve an equal Ballance between the Prerogative of the Kings, and the Claims of the People. For this End he appointed a Senate, to conſiſt of twenty eight Perſons of the Nobles of *Sparta*; and Hiſtorians tell us, that they, with whom *Lycurgus* had concerted Meaſures at the Beginning, were the firſt Senators. Theſe Senators were to ſit in Council with the Kings, and to have an Authority equal to theirs in all important Matters. It belonged to them to convene the People, to receive their Demands, and to propoſe to them whatever Laws were eſteemed conducive: the People had the Right of ratifying, or rejecting; and the Senate was impowered to diſſolve the Aſſembly. None under the Age of ſixty Years was capable of being choſen into this ſenatorial Body: and whenever ſuch a Choice was to be made, the Right of Election was in the People [n]. — Thus, you ſee, *Sparta* became a mixed Government; and the

[n] *Plato* de Legibus L. 3. *Ariſt.* Polit. L. 5. & 7. *Plut.* de Lycurgo.

Vide quoque de *Spartae* Regibus apud Erato in *Herodot.*

Strength of the Whole was conſulted, by making the ſeveral Parts agree and conſpire together.

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, methinks I have read, that the People had not Power to propound, but that they were only to reject, or aſſent to, what the Senate propoſed to them.——

Pal. This was the Caſe after ſome Time. But, I think, there is Reaſon to believe, that *Lycurgus* meant to inveſt the People with much more valuable Privileges. And this appears particularly from the *Rhetra*, or pretended Oracle, which *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* Kings of *Sparta*, who lived in the ſecond Generation from *Charilaus*, impoſed on the *Spartan* People. *Plutarch* has preſerved to us an Account of this Political Fraud, and the very Form of Words, which, he tells us, were delivered by the *Delphic* God.——IF THE PEOPLE SHALL MAKE AN IMPROPER DEMAND, THE SENATORS AND RULERS OF SPARTA SHALL HAVE THE POWER OF REJECTING IT [o]. It is evident the Rights of the People muſt have been of conſiderable Extent, ſince there was Occaſion to employ this ſacred Forgery for the reſtraining of them.

The next Point in Conſideration was *the Policy, which* Sparta *was to obſerve towards the ſeveral States of* Greece; *and the Dangers ſhe had to fear from them. Sparta* was ſurrounded by many powerful Neighbours, the *Meſſenians*, the *Arcadians*, the *Argives*, Nations, whoſe Situation afforded them Advantages, of which the barren Soil of *Sparta* was deprived; ſome of whom already beheld with jealous Eyes this Rival City, and would probably ſpare

[o] Αἰ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ Δᾶμος ἔροιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας, καὶ ἀρχαγέτας, ἀποστατῆρας εἶμεν.——*Plut.* ubi ſupra. ——We may be ſure, whatever the Senate did not approve of, never failed of being marked with the unluckly Word σκολιὰν.

ſpare no Pains to oppreſs it. The loſs of Independency *Lycurgus* wiſely looked upon, as one of the moſt dreadful Evils, that could befal his Country, and therefore he planned a Scheme, that ſhould give her Strength and full Security againſt all Hoſtile Invaſions——not by fortifying her Frontiers, and erecting Places of Defence——but by Means much leſs fallible, by rendering the People vigorous and brave, by inuring them from their earlieſt Years to all the Hardſhips of War, by teaching them to dare the moſt trying Dangers, and to eſteem it the height of human Glory *to die in the Defence of their Country.* For this Purpoſe, he turned their whole Genius to the Buſineſs of Arms, and appointed not one Ordinance, but what tended to endow them with Force of Body, and Intrepidity of Soul.——As ſoon as Children were born, they were to be ſubmitted to the Inſpection of the Elders of the Tribe, and none to be educated, but thoſe of a ſtrong healthy Complexion: all others were caſt into a deep Cavern, at the Foot of the Mountain *Taygetus.*——When they were ſeven Years old, they were removed from under the Care of the Mother, and brought up as the Children of the State, by Strangers free from all the Weakneſſes of Parental Tenderneſs.——The Manner of their Education had all imaginable Roughneſs and Severity of Diſcipline. They were to be taught to bear the Extremities of Heat and Cold; and to run barefoot over ſharp and rugged Places. They were to be accuſtomed to walk unconcerned thro' the Gloom of the obſcureſt Night, and to become ſuperior to all the ſuperſtitious Fears, that are apt to invade Infant Minds. Their Beds were to be hard and unpleaſant, their Garments plain, their Food coarſe and ſcanty. They were to ſleep

in

in Public Galleries, and to eat together in common Halls; and both Rich and Poor, the Child of the meaneſt, and of the nobleſt Birth, fared alike. Each Band of Boys was under the Government of a young Man, of the Age of twenty, who was to obſerve their Actions, and to puniſh or reward them according to their Diligence and Readineſs to obey: they were to be ſent by him on adventurous Attempts, to form Ambuſcades, and to lie in wait for *Plunder*; this Kind of *Stealth* the Laws allowed of: but if diſcovered, they were corrected, not for *Diſhoneſty*, but becauſe that they had been *wanting in Art and Contrivance*. They were obliged alſo to hard Exerciſe; and their very Recreations were a Kind of Military Labour—ſuch as, hunting on Foot, wreſtling, throwing the Diſc, bending the Bow, whirling the Sling, or darting the Javelin; and when covered with Sweat, it was uſual for them to plunge into the River *Eurotas*.———Then as for Pain, they were to bear it with the utmoſt Firmneſs. There was an Altar at *Sparta*, ſacred to *Diana Orthia* [p], where it was the Cuſtom to inflict Stripes on the *Spartan* Youths, in order to form them to Conſtancy and Induring. It is amazing to what a degree a Senſe of Honour wrought on thoſe Lads, even in their tendereſt Years. Hiſtorians aſſure us, that ſome of them have expired under this bloody Diſcipline, without ſo much as uttering a Groan. Nay, ſo powerful was this Contempt of Pain, that, as we are told by *Plutarch* [q], a Lad of *Sparta*, who had ſtolen a Fox, and concealed it under his Garment, choſe, rather than to be diſcovered, to ſmother his Anguiſh,

[p] See Dial. 3. P. 103. N. *d*.
[q] In Lycurgo.

guiſh, whilſt the Fox was tearing into his Bowels—and ſo fell down dead.

Clean. Strange indeed, and hardly to be conceived! What a People muſt this have been, *Palaemon!*——How fearleſs in Perils! —How dreadful in Arms!

Pal. Hear farther—They were not to be inſtructed in any of the Liberal Arts, thoſe, which among other Nations are prized as the Means of poliſhing and improving the Mind; *Lycurgus* was apprehenſive, they might humanize too much his *Spartans*, and render them Weak and Effeminate. The only Improvements they received were from the Converſation of the aged Men, who entertained them with the Recital of the Warlike Atchievements of their Anceſtors, or taught them Martial Songs, in Honour of ſome of the *Spartan* Heroes, or in Praiſe of Manly Courage, to inſpire them with a Deſire of following the ſame Path to Glory. Or perhaps ſometimes they propoſed to them *Queſtions* full of Senſe and Meaning—ſuch as; *Who was the beſt Man in* Sparta?——*Whether ſuch an Action was to be accounted Virtuous?* ——And to thoſe they were to return Anſwers ſhort and pertinent, by which Means they acquired the Art of expreſſing themſelves with uncommon Brevity and Smartneſs of Speech, inſomuch, that a *Laconic Anſwer* became *Proverbial.*——As to the reſt of their Deportment, they were to pay an entire Obedience to the Commands of their Superiors, they were to behave in their Preſence with great Reverence, to riſe before them, to obſerve them in a compoſed Manner, and never to break Silence, but when ſpoken to. Among themſelves they were permitted to indulge in Raillery, and to try each other with poignant Jeſts; which they were alſo in their

Turns

Turns obliged to bear: for to be moved to ill Temper by ſuch Things, was thought extremely unworthy of a *Lacedemonian.*

When they roſe to Man's Eſtate, the ſame Strain of Polity was continued. Tillage, Architecture, and Mechanical Crafts were aſſigned to the *Helotae*; the Men of *Sparta* were not to have any Employment but the Buſineſs of War, to render themſelves expert in Military Science, and to make Proof of their Activity and Strength.——— They were to be Strangers to all the *ſoftening Languiſhments of Love*; and their Courtſhips were to be plain and artleſs, rather with a View to advance the Proſperity of the State by a numerous healthy Offspring, than for the Sake of gratifying a voluptuous Paſſion. And to effect this the more ſurely, their Maidens, as well as their young Men, were to be practiſed in Athletic Exerciſe, to throw the Quoit, and pitch the Bar: they were taught not to conſult Dreſs and luxurious Ornaments, but to be hardy, ſtrong, reſolute; ſo that inſtead of *Softneſs of Feature, and Delicacy of Frame, ROBUSTNESS OF BODY* and *SPIRIT UNDAUNTED* were the Accompliſhments of the *Spartan* Women.—— *Lycurgus* took alſo eſpecial Care to render Death familiar to them, and to diveſt it of its uſual Horrors. Contrary to the *Grecian* Manner, he ordered the Dead to be interred within the City, and forbad all Tears and Lamentations over them.

Clean. One would think, that *Lycurgus* meant to harden his *Spartans* againſt every one of the Feelings of human Nature.—

Pal. He meant to make them a martial bold People, and therefore did he endeavour to baniſh out of the State of *Sparta* every Paſſion, that might

might unbend the Courage, and melt the Soul into a Flow of Tenderneſs. Accordingly, the *Spartans* became remarkable for a Strength of Mind, not to be broken by any adverſe Occurrence. They marched on, to certain Death, ſerene and compoſed. They could bear to be bereaved of their Children, without one Sigh. Parents even eſteemed it an Happineſs, when their Sons fell in Battle. Nay Mothers themſelves received this kind of Tidings with Exultation and Joy: and Hiſtory has preſerved to us the memorable Reply of the Mother of a *Spartan* General, who, when News was brought, that her Son was no more, aſked only, *whether he had died bravely.*

But I have not yet mentioned to you the *Military Laws*, which *Lycurgus* inſtituted; they are deſerving of your Notice. The Men of *Sparta* were not to be admitted to go to War, until the Age of Thirty. Their Cities were to be open and unwalled. When they encamped, their Centinels were to be without Arms. And in Battle, *Spartans* never were to turn their Backs before the Enemy, whatever the Diſproportion of Numbers. They, that did, were accounted infamous, and became incapable of ever ſerving their Country.---And what yet ſpeaks moſt of all the deep Wiſdom of *Lycurgus*: They were not to make Conqueſts, nor to wage War for any conſiderable Length of Time againſt the ſame Enemy.

Eud. Pray, why this Injunction?

Pal. Plutarch [r] tells us, Becauſe by thoſe Means they might render their Enemies too well exerciſed in the Arts of War.

[r] In Lycurgo.

Clean. I think I could aſſign an other Reaſon.

Pal. Come, *Cleanthes*, let us ſee, what kind of a Politician you are likely to make?

Clean. I believe, *Lycurgus* might rather be apprehenſive, leſt the Time ſhould come, when *Sparta* might have no more Enemies to contend with. Had the *Spartans* once ſubdued every Power around them, they would probably have wrought their own undoing, they would have forgotten the Means, that raiſed them to Empire, and have ſunk into Effeminacy and the Love of Pleaſure. *Lycurgus* foreſaw this, and therefore appointed them *uninterrupted Activity and Vigilance* for their Portion.

Pal. Well, *Cleanthes.*——And to this you may add alſo an other Reaſon, which *Lycurgus* might have in View. *Sparta*, by ſubduing her Neighbours and enlarging her Territories, muſt in the End have weakened and ſubverted her own Strength. Whereas, whilſt ſhe abſtained from Conqueſts, whilſt ſhe laboured only to defend her own Borders, or to prevent the other *Peloponneſian* States from oppreſſing each other, her Forces were kept whole and undivided, ſhe became the Arbiter of all the Nations near her, and muſt have obtained a much ſurer and far more glorious Empire, than any, that Extent of Dominion could have beſtowed on her.

The next great Concern, which demanded the Attention of *Lycurgus*, was *the Manners of the* Spartan *People.* This excellent Lawgiver was fully ſenſible, how little the Wiſdom of his Inſtitutions would avail, if not ſupported by the Virtue and Integrity of the *Spartans* themſelves. And from the ruinous low Condition of ſome of the Nations, among whom he had been, as well as from the Diſtractions,

tractions, under which his own Country had lately laboured, he well knew, what were the Sources of thoſe Evils, which generally lay Kingdoms waſte. Theſe are *Avarice* and *Luxury*. *Avarice*, the Parent of Rapine, Cruelty, and Injuſtice; and *Luxury*, that leads the Way to Effeminacy and Weakneſs. If *the firſt* took Place, the *Spartan* State muſt be torn by civil Diſſentions; *the Rich* would become tyrannical and oppreſſive; *the Poor* diſcontented and ſeditious.——And if *Luxury* inſinuated itſelf, it was impoſſible the Diſcipline he had eſtabliſhed ſhould be long obſerved. Men, ſoftened by Pleaſures, could not but eſteem ſuch ſevere Ordinances, grievous and intolerable.—— And yet theſe were Vices, that had frequently triumphed over the Laws of the wiſeſt and moſt cautious Nations.——*Lycurgus* therefore ſtruck out a new Scheme, a Scheme wonderous and hardly credible, if antient Hiſtory did not fully warrant the Belief of it. He firſt perſuaded the landed Men to conſent to a new Diviſion of Lands; thoſe of *Laconia* he divided into thirty thouſand equal Shares, and the Demeſnes of *Sparta* into nine thouſand. Each of theſe was ſuch as to produce yearly ſeventy Buſhels of Grain for the Maſter of a Family, and the Support of his Children and Domeſtics, and twelve for his Wife, which Portion became her Dowry; together with a ſuitable Quantity of Grapes and Olives. To each Child, as ſoon as he was examined, and approved of by the Elders of the Tribe, one of theſe Shares was to be aſſigned.——But, notwithſtanding this well-concerted Eſtabliſhment, the Seeds of Luxury and Pride were ſtill lurking in *Sparta*. There were Gold and Silver, Rich Furniture, and coſtly Ornaments, which were the Property of private

Perſons. *Lycurgus* therefore determined to alter entirely the very Nature and Value of this kind of Goods. He forbad the uſe of Gold and Silver, and inſtead of theſe, he introduced Iron Money, an heavy, cumberſome, Coin; ſo that to lay up or remove a large Quantity of this kind of Wealth was a Matter of infinite Trouble. At the ſame Time, he baniſhed all curious coſtly Arts, that have their End only in adminiſtering to Luxury. Their Garments were to be coarſe, faſhioned not for Delicacy and Shew, but for Warmth and Strength. The Cielings of their Houſes were to be wrought by no Tool, but the Ax; and their Gates and Doors ſmoothed only by the Saw. And laſtly, to cut off all Occaſion to luxurious and pampered Living, he ordered Public Tables, at which all were obliged to eat; and if any, of the higheſt Quality, abſented themſelves, or even ſeemed to eat with a nice and nauſeating Stomach, they were fined by the Magiſtrate, or, at leaſt, treated with all the Severity of Ridicule. The Fare, which was ſerved at theſe common Meals, was remarkably ſimple, and, as they tell us, extremely unſavoury, except to a *Spartan*, whoſe Appetite was ſharpened by Exerciſe and ſcanty Diet. And to ſecure the Oeconomy of theſe Public Tables, as alſo to render the Attendance of them reſpectable, he directed that the *Polemarchi*, thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Bravery in War, ſhould inſpect over the ſeveral Meſſes. — Thus *Riotouſneſs*, *Vanity*, and *Effeminate Pleaſures* diſappeared entirely. Every thing in *Sparta* was made to breathe the Spirit of Frugality and Temperance. Their very *Sacrifices* were to be without Pomp or Expence; they were to be *ſimple*, but *frequent*: " For, ſaid *Lycurgus*,"

" He

" He, that offers cheap Sacrifices, will have it in " his Power to approach the oftener to the " Gods :" And, " It is not the Price of our Offer- " ings, that renders us acceptable to the Gods, but " the Piety and Purity of Heart of him, that " offers them."— The Statues alſo, which adorned their Temples, were all in a Military Dreſs. Even the *Goddeſs of Love*, whoſe Softneſs of Figure in the other Temples of *Greece* ſpake but too plainly the luſtful Paſſion, which ſhe was ſuppoſed to inſpire, appeared at *Sparta* cloathed in Armour, and with a Countenance ſevere and firm.— No Inſcriptions were permitted on their monumental Stones, except in honour of thoſe, who had fallen in Battle, or of thoſe Women, who had been engaged in the Service of the Gods.——In ſhort, he enjoined it to them to confine themſelves to their own Native Shores, not to viſit foreign Countries, nor to ſtudy Maritime Affairs; for he feared that the Example of other Nations might corrupt the *Spartan* Virtue, or that, if they became powerful at Sea, they ſhould be tempted to make diſtant Conqueſts—which not only, as I obſerved to you, muſt have divided their Strength—but alſo might have given an Opportunity to thoſe, who were ſent thither to govern, of becoming Tyrannical and Licentious.——Theſe were excellent Ordinances in the Scheme of *Lycurgus*: for you may ſee he did not mean to make the *Spartans* a wealthy People, with wide Dominion, and great Extent of Empire; he meant only to render them *Virtuous*, and *Free*, and by rendering them *Virtuous* and *Free*, he thought he made them *Happy*.

Clean.

De *Lacedemoniis* Vide *Plutarch* in Lycurgo. et de Inſtit. *Lacedem.* *Platonem.* de Legib. et de Repub. *Xenophont.* de Repub. *Lacedem.* *Ariſt.*

Clean. But by what Arts did he prevail on the rich Men to ſubmit to theſe Alterations?

Pal. You may be aſſured, there were many Perſons of exalted Worth in the State of *Sparta*, who ſeconded *Lycurgus* in advancing the Reformation of their Country. We have already ſeen, that he, admitted twenty eight into his Counſels from the very Beginning. And theſe, Hiſtorians tell us, were the Principal of the *Spartan* Nobles, Men of Weight and Influence. Beſides, he had Recourſe to Artifice; he pretended that *Apollo* at *Delphi* had given him theſe Laws, and commanded him to enjoin them to the *Spartan* People.———But, with all this, he met with a ſevere Oppoſition, eſpecially in his Attempt to deſtroy the Value and Uſe of Riches. The Opulent and Powerful could not bear a Project, that deprived them of all Merit and Pre-eminence, but what aroſe from ſuperior Virtue. And therefore in one of the Public Aſſemblies they raiſed ſuch a Commotion againſt him, that *Lycurgus* was obliged to conſult his Safety, and betake himſelf to Flight. There happened an Accident on this Occaſion, than which nothing could place in a ſtronger Light the exalted Worth and Generoſity of Soul of this great *Spartan.* As he was haſtening away from the Tumult, a young Man, named *Alcander*, more eager in Purſuit, came up at length with him; and, as *Lycurgus* looked back to ſee who the Purſuer was, ſtruck him in the Eye, and wounded him dangerouſly. *Lycurgus* with his uſual Calmneſs turned about; and ſhewed his Countrymen his Reverend Face covered with a Gore of Blood. Aſhamed and confounded at their own Ingratitude, they offered him any

Ariſt. de Polit. *Meurſ.* Miſc. Lacon. et *Ubb. Emmium.* de Repub. Laconica.

any Reparation, and delivered *Alcander* into his Power, that he might puniſh him, as he judged proper. *Lycurgus* ordered the young Man to attend him home, and to obſerve his Pleaſure: and without making uſe of the leaſt Harſhneſs towards him, he ſo wrought on him—by his own excellent Example— by the extraordinary Sobriety — the Love of Labour—and the wonderous Command over himſelf, which he ſhewed in all Things, that, from a diſſolute violent Youth, he became a ſincere and zealous Admirer of *Lycurgus*, and one of the moſt Virtuous Citizens of *Sparta* [t].

Clean. Oh *Eudoxus*, what a Glorious Revenge was here!

Eud. Indeed, *Cleanthes*, I think *Lycurgus* was a Man truly great and excellent. But nevertheleſs I doubt much, whether his Scheme of Polity deſerves entirely our Approbation. It is plain, that it was good in many Inſtances, ſince by obſerving it *Sparta* flouriſhed for ſuch a length of Ages. But however, *Palaemon*, may not ſome of his Inſtitutions be cenſured without Injuſtice?

Pal. Come, *Eudoxus*; let us ſee in what Parts you think them blameable. You have heard the moſt remarkable of his Laws: I ſhall now be glad to know, what Objections you have to offer.

Eud. I have, in the firſt Place, a Difficulty about the *Spartans* becoming *merely* a *Military* Nation.——Was not Liberty to be purchaſed, but at the Expence of the Liberal Sciences, and of all the gentler Ornaments of the Mind? Is it not poſſible, that a People ſhould be *brave*, *virtuous*, *happy*; and be alſo a *Literate*, *Polite*, *Accompliſhed* People?—

[t] *Plutarch* in Lycurgo.—On Account of this Accident, it was enacted into a Law, that no Weapon whatſoever ſhould be brought into their Public Aſſemblies.

ple?——*Lycurgus* took eſpecial Care, that the *Spartans* ſhould be trained up in all the Diſcipline of War, that they ſhould be of *robuſt Body*, and of *Soul intrepid*. But did he not at the ſame Time make them *rough*, *fierce*, and *cruel*?—Were not this very People the *worſt* and *haughtieſt of Maſters*, and the *moſt inſulting* and *mercileſs Conquerors*?[u] — There is a kind of *Inhumanity* runs thro' the whole of *Lycurgus*'s Inſtitutions. The ordering to Death thoſe Infants, which happened to come into the World with a weak and delicate Frame, is not even to be thought of without Horror. I cannot conceive how a Legiſlator could enjoin, or a People ſubmit to, a Law of ſo extraordinary a Nature.—— That other Cuſtom alſo, of beſprinkling annually the Altar of *Diana* with the Blood of their Children, and ſuffering ſome of them to expire under the Severity of the Strokes, what an Idea does it afford of the *Spartan* Manners? compare that *Altar of Blood* with *That of Mercy*, which the generous *Athenians* erected, and ſay, *Palaemon*, to which would you give the Preference?—Then how ſtrange it was for Mothers to exult in the Death of their Sons, becauſe they had fallen in Battle? Whence came it to be a Crime at *Sparta*, to have natural Affection? May we not love our Country, and yet drop a Tear over the Aſhes of the Brave and Good, who die in her Defence? Other Legiſlators have thought this noble Concern adorned a Man, and *made the Heart better*. And *Homer* himſelf[w], who underſtood ſo well the Propriety of Nature, repreſents his braveſt Hero weeping

[u] Vide *Platon.* in Lachet. et Legib. L. 1. *Ariſt.* Polit. L. 2. et 7. *Polyb.* L. 6.

[w] Vide Iliad. Rhaps. 24. V. 511, &c.

weeping at the Remembrance of his dear *Patroclus.*——Beſides, *Lycurgus* appears to me to have built on a wrong Foundation. Was it not to be ſuppoſed, that a Nation always in Arms, and whoſe ſole Trade was War, muſt at length render themſelves ſuperior to all the Nations around them? And in that Caſe, what Proviſion did he make to prevent their ſinking into Sloth and Inactivity? The uſe of Arms, and the Roughneſs and Hardſhips of a Military Life, were to be the only Buſineſs of the *Spartan* People; and if they ever ſhould become completely victorious, from that Day *Sparta* might date her Ruin.——*Cleanthes* juſt now obſerved, that *Lycurgus* ſaw this, and endeavoured to guard againſt it. He enjoined it to them, *that they ſhould neither make Conqueſts, nor wage War long againſt the ſame Enemy.* But, *Victory is Licentious.* And a Nation, who have once triumphed over the hazards of a dangerous War, and ſee Conqueſts opening before them, will not eaſily reſtrain their Ambition, and chooſe rather to ſpare than to ſubdue their Enemies.——Let me alſo ſay, that *Lycurgus* ſeems very little to have conſulted the Virtue and Decency of the *Spartan* Women: their Maidens were allowed to wear looſe Garments, to enter into the Athletic Liſts, and to wreſtle with Men: Huſbands alſo were permitted to lend their Wives to the firſt that liked them. So that the *Spartans* were as indelicate in their Sentiments, as they were uncouth and rough in their Manners; and their Women were famed for nothing leſs than their Modeſty and Reſervedneſs.

Pal. I have heard you, *Eudoxus*, with Pleaſure. Undoubtedly, thoſe are Blemiſhes in the *Spartan* Laws. And it were hard to account, how *Lycur-*

gus, ſo wiſe and ſtrict in other Matters, ſhould have introduced Ordinances of this Kind; except we admit, that he was borne away by the main Purpoſe he had in View; *to preſerve Freedom and Independency to his Countrymen by making them a brave Martial Nation.* No Virtue was to be cultivated among them, but what had a Tendency to Military Diſcipline—to render the People rough and adventurous; careleſs of all Glory, but the Glory of Arms; inſenſible of every Pleaſure, and every Paſſion, that might ſoften and enervate; able to endure the Inclemencies of the Seaſons, and the Extremities of Want—to teach them an entire Obedience to their Commanders, and to bear Minds reſolute and unſhaken amid the moſt trying Dangers. And thus far, his Scheme was attended with the greateſt Succeſs. For ſurely never was there a People more frugal and abſtemious at Home, or more to be feared in War: never was there a People more firm under Difficulties, or that met the wound of Death with more Conſtancy and Chearfulneſs.——As to their Obedience to the Orders of their Country, they practiſed it to the higheſt Degree. And even their Generals at the Head of victorious Armies laid down their Command immediately, if but the meaneſt *Spartan* brought them the *Scytale of Revocation* from the ſupreme Magiſtrates of *Sparta*[x]. This *Scytale*[y], *Cleanthes*, was nothing more than a narrow Scroll of Parchment, on which the Orders were written. When a General received his Commiſſion, the Magiſtrates gave him alſo a ſhort Staff, and had themſelves

[x] Vide *Plutarch* in Lycurgo et in Ageſilao.
[y] ΣΚΥΤΑΛΗ.

ſelves an other perfectly equal to it in Length and Thickneſs; on this they rolled a Slip of Parchment, and then wrote the Orders; the Parchment was rolled off, and ſent to the General, who, by applying it to his own Staff, was immediately informed, what the Pleaſure of the Government was. And with *this ſimple Inſtrument* did *Sparta* command more forcibly, than could the mightieſt Sovereign, with his Band of armed Miniſters.

Clean. But, pray, *Palaemon*, how could the Ordinances of *Lycurgus* conſiſt with the Encreaſe of the *Spartan* People? You have told us, there were in all thirty nine thouſand Shares of Land, and that one of theſe was to be aſſigned to each Child, as ſoon as he was eſteemed healthy and vigorous. But ſuppoſe at any Time there were more Perſons, than there were Lots, what became of that ſuperfluous Number?

Pal. They were ſent abroad in Colonies. And this ſeems to have been a conſiderable Error, even according to the Principles of *Lycurgus*. For *the Strength of a Country is the Number of its Inhabitants*; and eſpecially to a Military Nation, whoſe Forces muſt be often thinned by the Chance of War. But *Lycurgus* on the contrary contrived, that his People ſhould not exceed thirty nine thouſand, at the ſame Time that the Country of *Laconia* was covered with a Multitude of Slaves, who muſt have been far more numerous than the *Lacedemonians*, ſince it was to them the Culture of all the Lands, and every uſeful Art, were intruſted.

Clean. I am glad you have mentioned the *Slaves*: you mean I ſuppoſe the *Helotae*. — In what Condition were they, after the Times of *Lycurgus*?

Pal. All the *Spartan* Slaves were called *Helotae*, tho' there were many among them, beſides the Poſterity of thoſe of *Helos*. But it was the Fate of this unhappy People, to have their very *Name* become the *Badge* of *Slavery*. It was an Appellation common to all, who were reduced to the hard State of Servitude.——As to *Lycurgus*'s new Syſtem, they gained nothing by it, but *a larger Portion of Wretchedneſs*. Hiſtorians tell us, that he introduced a Method, both of preventing their too great Encreaſe, and alſo of accuſtoming the *Spartan* Youth to the Trade of War at the Expence of theſe unfortunate Victims. A Number of young *Spartans* were ſent forth, armed with Daggers, who were to lie in wait, and fall on the Slaves, as they were diſperſed abroad in the Fields, or returning homeward at Night, and deſtroy the ableſt and moſt warlike of them. Theſe *bloody Executions* were but too frequent in the *Spartan* State. It muſt be confeſſed, *Plutarch*[z] endeavours to clear *Lycurgus* of the Guilt of this, and pretends it was a Political Contrivance, poſterior to his Days. However, other Writers[a] inſiſt, that he himſelf was the Author of it. 'Twas called ΚΡΥΠΤΙΑ, or *the Ambuſcade*, from the Manner, in which theſe poor *unſuſpecting* Slaves were murdered. In after-times, to give a Kind of Colour to this Act of Barbarity, it was cuſtomary for the *Ephori*, at their Entrance into Office, ſolemnly to denounce War againſt them.——But nevertheleſs, whoever was the firſt Adviſer of this execrable Expedient, it is certain, the Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus* ſubjected thoſe *miſerable Men* to many dreadful Indignities. They were

[z] In Lycurgo.
[a] *Plat.* de Legib L. 1. *Ariſtot.* Polit L 2.

were to be forced to drink to Exceſs, and then were to be led, by way of Shew, to the Public Halls, that the *Spartan* Children might ſee how beaſtly was Drunkenneſs. They were neither to ſpeak, nor look, nor walk, as Freemen. They were not even permitted to learn any Songs in praiſe of Liberty and Martial Courage, leſt they ſhould inſpire them with nobler Sentiments, and raiſe them to a Deſire of Freedom [b].

Clean. What a Pity, *Palaemon*, that ſuch Cruelties ſhould have had Place among a People, whoſe Virtues were ſo many?——— But you mentioned juſt now certain Officers named the *Ephori*— Did they alſo owe their Inſtitution to *Lycurgus?*

Pal. It is generally believed, that they were inſtituted by *Theopompus* [c], who was three Generations younger than he.

Clean. What was the Nature of their Office?

Pal. They were deſigned to temper the exorbitant Power of the Senate, and had even an Authority over the Kings themſelves. They were to be five in Number, to be choſen out of the People, and to be elected annually. Their Privileges were very extenſive; they could enquire into the Conduct of all Magiſtrates whatſoever; they could declare War, and make Peace; they could raiſe Forces,

[b] At *Sparta*, the Power of the Maſters over their Slaves was unlimited, only as to theſe two Particulars. ———*They could not ſet them free*—And *They could not ſell them, ſo as that they might be tranſported out of the* Lacedemonian *Dominions.*——— Theſe very Limitations on the Maſters rendered the Condition of the Slaves more grievous.

Vide *Strabon.* L. 8.

[c] Vide *Plutarch* in Lycurgo. *Ariſtot.* Polit. L. 5. et *Meurſ.* Antiq. Lac. L. 2. C. 4.

Forces, and appoint the Funds for their Maintenance. But withal, no Act of theirs was valid, except the five concurred unanimously.

Eud. Does not this new Appointment argue, that the Institution of the Senate by *Lycurgus* was defective?

Pal. I rather Conjecture, that *Theopompus* was, *by his own Mismanagement*, obliged to make use of these new Officers, to silence the Murmurs of the People, whom he had plundered of their Privileges, and to restore the Balance of Power, which he had imprudently destroyed. For this *Theopompus* was he, who invented the famous *Rhetra* I mentioned to you, which forbad the People to propound any thing to the Senate, but permitted them only to admit or reject what was proposed to them. By this Regulation, no Measures could be debated on, but what the *Council of Twenty Eight* thought proper.——It is likely that *Theopompus* found his Mistake, and saw the Storm of Popular Resentment gathering against him; and therefore instituted the *Ephori.*

Eud. Was the Institution of these *Ephori* any Improvement to the State of *Sparta?*

Pal. For some Time they were of excellent use: they acted as the Guardians of the Laws, and greatly advanced the Public Peace and Prosperity: but at length they degenerated. The excessive Power, with which they were invested, tempted them to the Abuse of it; they trampled under Foot the Ordinances of *Lycurgus*; and were the first in *Sparta*, that gave the Example of Luxury and dissolute Manners [d].

Eud.

[d] Vide *Aristot.* Polit. L. 6.

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, were not there ſome Things blameable in the *Original Frame* of the Spartan *Senate*?— The Senators were to be ſixty Years old before they were elected— They were not to be accountable for the Uſe of their Powers either to Kings or People——And they were to enjoy their Place for Life.—Why were they not rather choſen at an Age, when our Abilities are in their full mature Vigour? Why, if worthy of Puniſhment, ſhould they not have been puniſhed? And was it not to be feared, that they ſhould behave improperly in the Execution of an Office, from which they could not be removed[e]?

Pal. Conſider, *Eudoxus*, had the People been poſſeſſed of the Privilege of electing frequently new Senates, the Balance of Power muſt have been entirely in their Favour, and the Authority and Dignity of the Regal Majeſty muſt have ſunk to nothing.—As for the Age requiſite to qualify a Senator; you may obſerve, that the Conſtitutions of that frugal People laſted much longer, than do thoſe of luxurious and effeminate Nations: and a *Spartan* of ſixty had many Years of Health and Vigor yet before him.—Then, this is a Seaſon of Life, at which the feveriſh Paſſions have ſubſided, and Men are cool and experienced. So that it was not to be apprehended, that ſuch Men as theſe, Men of noble Birth, who had come late to the enjoyment of Power, and had been for ſixty Years learning Obedience and Subjection to the Laws, ſhould readily join in any of the deſtructive Schemes, either of a fiery ambitious King, or of a turbulent ſeditious Multitude.

Eud.

[e] Vide *Ariſtot.* Polit. L. 2.

Eud. You think then, that the Government of *Sparta* was wiſely ordered?

Pal. I think, that ſuch a Diſtribution of Power, as *Lycurgus* ſeems to have eſtabliſhed, in which Kings, Nobles, and People enjoyed a Share, was wiſe and uſeful. And to this you may add, that the Honours of the *Spartan* Senators were limited to their Perſons; their Sons did not inherit; they had no way of riſing to the like Degree of Pre-eminence, but by approving themſelves faithful and virtuous Citizens.

Eud. I have one Objection more, *Palaemon.*—The Manner of *Lycurgus*'s Death, what ſay you of it?—Was it not ſomewhat unworthy of a Man, who meant to leave his Example to his Country?

Pal. There, *Eudoxus*, I am entirely againſt him: his Death certainly was wicked and preſumptuous.—You will perhaps be pleaſed, *Cleanthes*, to hear the Particulars of it. After the Eſtabliſhment of his Laws, he pretended there was one thing remaining which he could not impart to them, before he had conſulted the Oracle of *Apollo*; and exacted on Oath from the *Spartans*, that they would obſerve his Laws, until he returned. He then ſet out for *Delphi*, but firmly determined never to ſee *Sparta* more. When he had enquired of the Oracle, concerning the Plan of Polity he had introduced, and received for Anſwer, *that* Sparta *ſhould be happy, as long as ſhe obſerved it*, he put an end to his Life by a voluntary Abſtinence, and ordered his Body to be burnt, and his Aſhes to be caſt into the Sea [f], that the *Spartans* never might be

[f] *Ariſtocrat.* apud *Plutarch.* de Lycurgo.

be releaſed from the Oath they had taken.*— Thus you ſee, how ſuperficial was the Wiſdom of the moſt admired Pagans, who could think, they were Supreme Lords of their own Lives, and that they might diſpoſe of them, as their Caprice or Pride directed them.

* According to moſt Chronologers *Lycurgus* lived near 900 Years before Chriſt: for they ſuppoſe him Cotemporary with *Iphitus*, the Reſtorer of the Olympic Games; and *Iphitus*, as they will have it, flouriſhed 28 Olympiads before *that*, in which *Coroebus* was Victor, that is, 888 Years before the Chriſtian *Era*, tho' there is no Account preſerved of any ſuch Olympiads — But theſe extravagant Calculations have now loſt their Authority. It has been proved that *Iphitus* lived only 776 Years before our Saviour's Birth, and that the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Olympiads did not take Place, till *that* in which the Victory was adjudged to *Coroebus*. And as to *Lycurgus*, Sir *Iſaac Newton* has made it evident that he flouriſhed about the 22d or 23d Olympiad, that is, about 680 Years before Chriſt; and this Syſtem will be found to be in beſt agreement with the Sequel of the *Spartan* Hiſtory. It may be of Uſe to place here a Table of the Kings of *Sparta*, that reigned until the Time of *Lycurgus*'s Legiſlature.

Ariſtodemus.

Elder Branch.	Younger Branch.
Euryſthenes.	*Procles.*
Agis.	*Sous.*
Echeſtratus.	*Eurypon.*
Labotas.	*Prytanis.*
Doryſſus.	*Eunomus.*
Ageſilaus I.	*Polydectes.*
Archelaus.	*Charilaus.*

DIALOGUE THE SEVENTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

CLEANTHES.

I Am longing to know, what Feats thoſe *Spartans* atchieved under that extraordinary Form of Diſcipline. I ſuppoſe, we are to hear of nothing but bold Exploits, and the adventurous Deeds of War.

Pal. Little elſe indeed, *Cleanthes.* The martial Spirit of this People proved but too fatal to the Peace of *Peloponneſus:* they did not long retain in Remembrance the Directions of *Lycurgus, that they ſhould reſt contented within their own Territories, and endeavour only to defend them.* Pretences were not wanting to their Ambition; and they ſoon became the Spoilers and Ravagers of every neighbouring State, the *Peſt of War* to all around them.———This is the Light, in which Reaſon beholds the Glory of all thoſe Conquerors, who wield the Sword, not of *Juſtice*, but of *Violence* and *Oppreſſion.* And in this Light may the *Spartans* deſervedly be conſidered. 'Tis true, at home they were a virtuous People, hardy, temperate, of Minds well governed, and inacceſſible to thoſe Paſſions, which are generally the Bane of human Greatneſs. Nevertheleſs, what was all this, but a courſe of Diſcipline for War, that they might be prepared to invade and deſolate? Their very Virtues were the Ruin of their unhappy Neighbours. ———However——you ſhall judge for yourſelf, *Cleanthes.* You ſhall this Morning have a Detail of Wars, that make abundant Proof of the Genius of this

this People.———It muſt be confeſſed, the Time came, when they acted an illuſtrious Part, when they fought in a Glorious Cauſe, *for the Common Liberties of Greece.* But, far different were many of the Atchievements, of which *Sparta* had to boaſt.———And, my dear *Cleanthes*, I would have you the more ſeriouſly attend to the Hiſtory of this famed People, that you may learn that *true Glory* is not always to be reaped in the Field of War— that it is not a *brutal triumphing* over the Happineſs, the Freedom, and Rights of others. There is *a Glory* far better and more Deſirable. ——The *Glory* of humane Deeds, of univerſal Juſtice, and Moderation— *the Glory* of uſeful Arts, of Induſtry, and Liberal Science—*the Glory* of advancing the Weal of all, as far as may conſiſt with the Peace and Proſperity of our Country.

Soon after the Death of *Lycurgus*, the *Spartans* made Trial of their Force of Arms, and attacked the *Acheans* and thoſe of *Argos.* But their moſt memorable Expedition was againſt the *Arcadians.* They were a People, to whom the *Spartans* ſeem to have borne an inveterate Enmity. Perhaps the rich Paſturages, and Rural Wealth, which the *Arcadians* poſſeſſed, tempted theſe frequent Invaſions. Whatever was the Motive, they marched againſt *Tegea*, a City near to the Borders of *Laconia.* *Charilaus* was at the Head of the *Lacedemonian* Army; and ſo certain were they of Victory, that they brought with them Chains to bind their future Captives. But the *Tegeans* were determined to ſell dear their Liberties, and fought with *that* Vigor, which Deſpair inſpires. The Women alſo appeared in Battle, and charged the *Lacedemonians.* This brave Oppoſition diſconcerted the Schemes of *Charilaus*: he was totally routed; and he and a great Part of his Army

were made Priſoners, and bound with the very Chains, which they had prepared for the *Tegeans*. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after, the too generous Victors releaſed them, on their taking a ſolemn Oath, *that the* Lacedemonians *ſhould never invade* Arcadia *more*; an Oath, which, Hiſtorians tell us, was *religiouſly* obſerved, until *Sparta* found it her intereſt to break it [a].

Archelaus died about this Time, and left the Throne to *Teleclus*: *Charilaus* likewiſe was ſucceeded by his Son *Nicander*. The Fate of *Teleclus* is memorable.——He was killed in the Temple of *Diana* [b], on the *Meſſenian* Borders, as he was endeavouring to defend the Honour of certain *Spartan* Virgins, to whom the *Meſſenians* would have offered Violence. So pretend the *Spartans*. But the *Meſſenians* ſay, it was the Treachery of *Teleclus* occaſioned his Death; for that they, who appeared to be Virgins, were no other than young Warriors in Female Habits, whom *Teleclus* had brought with him to this Temple, to ſeize ſome of the Principal of the *Meſſenian* Lords [c]. However, this Adventure holds a diſtinguiſhed Place in Hiſtory, on account of the important Conſequences, with which it was attended.

Eud. Did it not give riſe to the *Meſſenian* War?

Pal. It was in Part the Occaſion of it: but from the many Outrages the *Lacedemonians* were guilty of againſt this People, there is reaſon to believe that they had an other Incentive far more powerful, *the Deſire of invading* Meſſenia, *and of extending their Dominion over one of the faireſt Countries of* Peloponneſus.——— The care of this War fell to the Share of *Alcamenes* Son to *Teleclus*.

As

[a] *Pauſan.* in Arcadicis.
[b] *Diodor. Sic.* ſays he fell in Battle. *Diodor.* L. 15.
[c] Vide *Pauſan.* in *Meſſeniacis.*

As ſoon as *Alcamenes* had raiſed a ſufficient Force, he entered *Meſſenia*, and took *Amphea* without the leaſt Oppoſition; for ſo expeditious was his March, that he found the Gates of the City open, as in Days of Peace. He, nevertheleſs, wreaked his utmoſt Vengeance on the Inhabitants, and put them all to the Sword, without Diſtinction of either Age or Sex, even in the midſt of the Temples of their Gods. *Euphaes*, who was then on the *Meſſenian* Throne, undiſmayed by this Diſaſter, managed the War with great Bravery and Conduct: he harraſſed continually the *Lacedemonian* Army, and refuſed to venture an Engagement, till his Soldiers had acquired ſufficient Skill, to engage on equal Terms. At length, in the fourth Year he offered them Battle; and obtained ſuch Advantage over them, that they were obliged to retreat into *Laconia* [d]. *Alcamenes* did not long [e] ſurvive this ill Succeſs; he was ſucceeded by *Polydorus* his Son: *Nicander* dying alſo, the Crown deſcended to his Son *Theopompus*.

Theſe two Princes engaged warmly in the carrying on the War, and laid waſte all *Meſſenia*: the Devaſtation of their Country brought on this wretched People a dreadful Encreaſe of Evils, the Horrors of Famine, and an Epidemical Sickneſs. The *Meſſenians*, borne down by this Weight of Misfortunes, reſolved to abandon all their Cities, and to retire to the Top of the high Mountain *Ithome*, where they determined to preſerve their Liberties, or die in the defence of them. At the ſame Time, a Perſon was ſent to conſult the Oracle at *Delphi*, who

[d] *Pauſan.* ubi ſupra.

[e] According to *Euſebius* he reigned 37 Years, but this is utterly irreconcileable with the Hiſtory of this *Meſſenian* War.

who brought back for anſwer, *that the War would end in the Extermination of the* Meſſenian *People, except a Virgin of the Blood of the* Epytidae, ſo was the Royal Family of *Meſſenia* called *, *were offered up a Victim to the Gods.* The diſtracted *Meſſenians* complied with the bloody Injunction; and *Ariſtomenes* [f], a Prince of the Royal Race, ſacrificed his Daughter with his own Hand [g]. Inſpired with new Confidence, the People now promiſed themſelves victory over their Enemies; and a numerous Army of *Lacedemonians* appearing near *Ithome*, a Battle enſued, in which both Sides fought with the moſt inveterate Rage and Obſtinacy. When it was doubtful, which Party ſhould prevail, *Euphaes*, expoſing himſelf too far in the Thick of the Battle, received a wound, and fell: his faithful *Meſſenians* ruſhed to the Place with redoubled Fury, and having bravely recovered the Body of their dying King, brought him back to *Ithome*, where he expired in ſome few Days. This happened about the thirteenth Year of the War.—In the ſtead of *Euphaes*, *Ariſtomenes* [h] was ſeated on the Throne, notwithſtanding the Claims of many Competitors; and he ſoon ſhewed, how well he deſerved the Preference. He not only confirmed his Countrymen in the Proſecution of *a War*, on the Succeſs of which it depended, whether they ſhould continue

[f] See below N. *b*.

[g] *Pauſan.* ubi ſupra:

* From *Epytus*, one of the moſt illuſtrious Kings of *Meſſenia*, youngeſt Son to *Creſphontes*.——Vide *Pauſan.* in *Meſſeniacis*.

[h] This Prince is called *Ariſtodemus* by *Pauſanias*, but in a Fragment of *Diodorus* he has the Name of *Ariſtomenes* given to him.——Vide *inſigne fragmentum* Diodori Siculi, *Edit. Weſſelingii, apud* Wetſten. *Tom.* 2. P. 637. *Voyez auſſi Diſſertation de Monſieur* Boivin, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcript. T.* 2.

continue to be free, or become Slaves to the *Lacedemonian* Power; but alſo, in every thing he approved himſelf *the Father of his People*; he ſtudied to gain their Affections by all the Arts of Affability and Gentleneſs; and even thoſe, who had been his Competitors for the Crown, he adorned with diſtinguiſhed Honours. Beſides, he courted the Alliance of the other *Peloponneſian* States, and laboured much to unite them together againſt the cruel and ambitious Deſigns of *Sparta*: and accordingly, the *Arcadians*, the *Sicyonians*, and the *Argives*, eſpouſed the Cauſe of the *Meſſenians*, and marched to their Relief. This was a ſeaſonable Reinforcement to *Ariſtomenes*; for the *Lacedemonians*, aſſiſted by the *Corinthians*, were preparing to attack him: *Ariſtomenes* was now in a Condition to receive them; and the two Armies engaging together, the *Lacedemonians* were totally defeated. Some ſay, that *Theopompus* himſelf was taken Priſoner, and that he with three hundred *Spartans* were by the exaſperated *Meſſenians* ſacrificed in the Temple of *Jupiter* of *Ithome*[i]. But, with all this Gleam of Succeſs, *Ariſtomenes* beheld his Country a ruinous Waſte, and his brave *Meſſenians* reduced to a ſmall handful of People; and, under theſe Circumſtances, he ſaw it was impoſſible but *Ithome* muſt in the End fall into the Power of the Enemy: he was alſo terrified by ill-boding Omens, and menacing Oracles, *the Contrivances of the Prieſts*, who doubtleſs had ſold themſelves to the *Spartan* Intereſt. All theſe Things ſunk the Spirit of this unfortunate Prince; he fell into a deep Melancholy, and

[i] *Myron Prienenſis* apud *Pauſaniam* in *Meſſeniacis*. *Clemens* in Protrep. *Cyrillus* adverſus *Julianum* L. 4.——However, *Pauſanias* contradicts this Circumſtance, and ſays, that *Theopompus* died after the end of the firſt *Meſſenian* War.

and ſlew himſelf at the Tomb of his Daughter. *Ithome* was ſoon after taken by the *Lacedemonians*, and levelled with the Ground; and the wretched Remains of the *Meſſenian* People were condemned to an hard and rigorous Bondage. At firſt indeed, the *Lacedemonians* behaved towards them with ſome Appearance of Lenity——undoubtedly *Policy* prompted them to it——but the natural Temper of *Sparta* ſoon prevailed, and *Meſſenia* was made to feel all the Barbarity of thoſe mercileſs Conquerors [k].

Clean. Unhappy *Meſſenia!*—— I could weep over the Ruins of that brave People.———Oh *Palaemon*, did the Time ever come, when they repayed thoſe Wrongs to *Sparta?*

Pal. We have not done with them yet, *Cleanthes:* you ſhall ſoon ſee them in Arms again.—— But, *Eudoxus* ſeems deſirous to aſk ſome Queſtion.

Eud. I would know, how long this *Meſſenian* War laſted.———

Pal. Twenty Years.——It broke out the Year 652 before Chriſt, and ended the Year 632 [l], at the Time that *Joſiah* was King of *Judah*.

Clean. The *Theopompus* you have been ſpeaking of, was it not he, who inſtituted the *Ephori?*

Pal. It was: and perhaps the long Continuance of this *Meſſenian* War was one of the Reaſons, that moved him to it [m]: he found it neceſſary to compoſe the Minds of the People of *Sparta*, and to purchaſe Peace at home, at any Price.

Eud.

[k] Vide *Pauſan.* Loc. Citat.

[l] So that it begun towards the cloſe of the thirty-firſt Olympiad, and ended towards the cloſe of the thirty-ſixth. Other Chronologers ſuppoſe this firſt *Meſſenian* War to have begun near an hundred Years earlier.

[m] Vide *Ariſtot.* Polit. L. 5.

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, was there not alſo about this Time a memorable War between thoſe of *Argos* and thoſe of *Lacedemon*, in which *Othryades* a *Spartan* performed a Feat of a very extraordinary Nature?

Pal. There was, *Eudoxus*: it happened about the Time, that the *Meſſenians* retired to *Ithome*. But as that was a Tranſaction foreign to the *Meſſenian* War, I was willing to preſerve the Thread of the Hiſtory unbroken. I intend now to relate the Exploit you mean; and, *Cleanthes*, it is well worth your Notice.——The *Argives* and *Lacedemonians* had a diſpute about the Territory of *Thyrea*, a City ſituate between *Laconia* and *Argolis*: and it was agreed, that there ſhould be three hundred Men choſen on each Side, and that their Swords ſhould decide the Claim. Both Parties fought furiouſly, inſomuch that all the *Lacedemonians* lay as dead on the Field of Battle, and two only of the *Argives* remained alive, who ran to *Argos* to bring the Tidings of their Victory. It happened, that one of the *Spartans*, named *Othryades*, was not quite dead: after the Departure of the *Argive* Champions, he raiſed himſelf on Piles of broken Lances, and having drawn together as many Shields, as lay within his Reach, he erected a Trophy of them, and with his own Blood, wrote on the uppermoſt theſe Words.—*To* JUPITER THE CONQUEROR, GUARDIAN OF TROPHIES, *Othryades the* Spartan *erects this.* And then, unwilling to ſurvive his Countrymen, ſlew himſelf [n]. This occaſioned a fierce Conteſt between the two States, and brought on a new War [o],

[n] Vide *Herodot.* in Clio. et *Plutarch.* in Parallelis.——

[o] *Plutarch*, or whoever was the Author of the Work above quoted,

in which the Victory declared itſelf in Favour of the *Lacedemonians.*

Soon after the Concluſion of the *Meſſenian* War, *Polydorus* was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated in *Sparta.* It does not appear, what Provocation could incite the Murderer to this; for Hiſtorians make very honourable mention of his many Virtues, of his Moderation, and ſtrict Regard to Juſtice. And in ſuch high Eſteem was his Memory held by his Countrymen, that they ordered his Effigies to be engraven on the Public Seal, which the Magiſtrates of *Sparta* were to make uſe of [p].

Next to *Polydorus* reigned his Son *Eurycrates*; and to *Theopompus* ſucceeded his Grandſon *Zeuxidamus* [q]. In the Reign of theſe two Kings, a Conſpiracy was formed, which had well nigh proved fatal to the State of *Sparta.* There are very uncertain Accounts concerning it; tho' it is plain, how dangerous it was accounted, from the extreme and uncommon Lenity ſhewed to thoſe, who were engaged in it. There was no Puniſhment inflicted on them; but by a Public Decree it was enacted, that they ſhould have Permiſſion to ſail over to *Italy*, and have a Settlement procured for them. Accordingly, they got Poſſeſſion of *Tarentum*, where they became a proſperous and flouriſhing People.

Eud. This was the Conſpiracy of the *Partheniae?*

Pal.

quoted, which indeed is generally aſcribed to him, ſays, that an Appeal was made to the *Amphictiones*, and that they decided in Favour of the *Lacedemonians.*

[p] *Pauſan.* in Laconicis.

[q] *Archidamus*, Son to *Theopompus*, died before the Demiſe of his Father.

Pal. So *Juſtin* ſays—However, the Relation, he gives us of this Conſpiracy, ſeems extremely Queſtionable.

Clean. I do not recollect, who theſe *Partheniae* were.———

Pal. The Story, which *Juſtin* and ſome others record of them, ſtands thus.———When the *Lacedemonians* under *Theopompus* marched againſt the *Meſſenians*, they took a ſolemn Oath, *that they never would return home, till they had ſubjected* Meſſenia *entirely*. The brave Reſiſtance, they met with, delayed them longer than they expected; and repeated Complaints came from *Sparta*, that, whilſt they were earneſt againſt their Enemies, they were careleſs of the Encreaſe of the *Spartan* People. Upon this, it was decreed, that thoſe young Men, who were under Age at the beginning of the Expedition, and ſo had not taken the Oath, ſhould have leave to return to *Sparta*, and be allowed the promiſcuous uſe of all the unmarried Women. The Sons, who were born from this Commerce, were called *Partheniae*, or *the Sons of the* Maidens. But when the *Lacedemonians* returned from the War, and the young Men found themſelves neglected, having neither Parents nor Inheritance to claim, they began to form Intrigues, and conſpired with the *Helotae* to fall on the Citizens, in the next general Aſſembly [r]. This was a formidable Conſpira-

[r] This Story of the *Partheniae*, recited by *Juſtin* (L. 3. C. 4.) and recorded, as *Strabo* (Geogr. L. 6.) tells us, by *Ephorus* the Hiſtorian, reliſhes much of Fable, and has many great Difficulties againſt it. It ſeems rather Probable, that theſe young Men were Perſons, who had no Inheritance in *Sparta*, becauſe the 39000 Lots were already diſpoſed of; and that on this account they endeavoured to overturn the Conſtitution of a Country, in which, tho' their Native Land, they were no other than Foreigners.

cy, and might have proved too difficult for the Magiſtrates: and therefore was this Expedient made Uſe of, both to ſave the Commonwealth, and to raiſe thoſe unfortunate Perſons to a more happy Condition. *Phalanthus*, who had been the firſt Adviſer of this Meaſure, was appointed Leader of the Colony.

As to any other Tranſactions of theſe two Kings, Hiſtory is ſilent. *Eurycrates* was ſucceeded in the *Spartan* Throne by *Anaxander* his Son, and *Zeuxidamus* by his Son *Anaxidamus*. Their Reign was rendered memorable by a ſecond *Meſſenian* War; the oppreſſed *Meſſenians* could no longer bear the galling Yoke of *Sparta*, and the various Indignities, which the Pride of their inſulting Maſters impoſed on them.[s].

Clean. May Succeſs crown the Attempt!——— Tell me but one Thing, *Palaemon*, are they to be Victorious?

Pal. You are impatient, *Cleanthes*; tho' I muſt ſay, it pleaſes me much to ſee your Concern for this brave diſtreſſed People: juſt now you ſhall know, what Fate is to attend them.—*Ariſtomenes*, a Prince of the Royal Houſe of *Meſſenia*, was the principal Encourager to this Revolt. He was a Prince bleſſed with all the Qualifications, that conſtitute the Hero; enterpriſing; intrepid; diſintereſted; of ſound Judgment; of Honour unblemiſhed; and of Heart truly faithful to the Cauſe of Liberty and of his Country. His firſt Endeavour was to ſtrengthen himſelf by Alliances. For this Purpoſe he made his Application to thoſe of *Arcadia* and *Argos*: he judged that they could not but behold with jealous Eyes the Power of *Sparta*, and would gladly ſeize every Opportunity of humbling

[s] *Pauſan.* in *Meſſeniacis. Juſtin.* L. 3. C. 5.

bling the Haughtineſs of this ambitious Neighbour. His Conjectures were not groundleſs. They approved his Project, and promiſed him Aſſiſtance.

Eud. How ſoon after the firſt, did this ſecond *Meſſenian* War break out?

Pal. In about forty Years, as *Pauſanias*[t] relates: Sir *Iſaac Newton*[u] is of Opinion, that there was only an Interval of twenty five Years between the one and the other.——The firſt Place, where the *Spartans* and *Meſſenians* met in Battle, was near a certain Village, called *Derae*. *Ariſtomenes* on this Occaſion performed the moſt amazing Exploits, and, as Hiſtorians tell us, behaved with a Courage more than human. The *Lacedemonians* nevertheleſs diſputed the Day with great Firmneſs. But the *Meſſenians*, led by the Example of their General, bare down all Oppoſition, and obtained a complete Victory. His grateful Countrymen now preſſed him to accept of Sovereign Power, and a vulgar Soul might have been elated by the Offer: *Ariſtomenes* had nobler Sentiments; he declined it, with this glorious Anſwer, *that he had taken up Arms, to reſtore them to Liberty, not to raiſe himſelf to Greatneſs.* After this Victory, that no Means might be omitted of ſtriking Terror into the Enemy, he ſtole into the City of *Sparta*, and hung up a Shield in the Temple of *Minerva*, inſcribed with theſe Words, *Ariſtomenes dedicates this to* MINERVA, *out of the Spoils of the* Spartans; an Omen of a very terrible Nature in thoſe Days of Superſtition. Affrighted by theſe ſiniſter Accidents,

[t] In *Meſſeniacis*. *Juſtin* and *Euſebius* ſuppoſe an Interval of fourſcore Years between the firſt and the ſecond *Meſſenian* War.

[u] See Chronology of Ant. Kingdoms amended.

cidents, the *Spartans* ſent a ſolemn Deputation to *Delphi*, to enquire about the Event of the War: the Anſwer was, *that* Sparta *muſt ſeek a Leader from* Athens. The *Athenians* granted the Requeſt, but in ſuch a Manner [w], as plainly argued, how lightly they deemed of the Intereſts of *Sparta*. They gave them the Poet *Tyrteus* for their General——a Perſon of mean Appearance——lame of a Foot—and, eſpecially as to Military Science, held in the loweſt Eſteem at *Athens*. Notwithſtanding theſe ill-boding Circumſtances, the *Spartans*, obedient to the Oracle, received him, and made ready for War. *Ariſtomenes* alſo prepared himſelf, and drew together a powerful Force; the *Eleans*, the *Argives*, the *Sicyonians*, and *Arcadians* having ſent Troops to his Aſſiſtance. The two Armies, fired as they were with high Reſentments, ſoon found the Opportunity of trying the Iſſue of a Battle—— It was bloody and Obſtinate—However, in the End the *Meſſenians* prevailed; and the *Lacedemonians* were routed with great Slaughter. This Defeat occaſioned a deep Conſternation at *Sparta*; the War ſeemed now to have a dark and threatening Aſpect; and a general Diſpiritedneſs poſſeſſed the People. It was in this Conjuncture *Tyrteus*'s extraordinary Abilities began to diſplay themſelves: he reſtored their drooping Courage; he recruited their Armies with the choiceſt of their Slaves; and encouraged them to bear boldly up againſt the Shocks of adverſe Fortune. He alſo compoſed Martial Songs, which affected the Soldiers in a wonderful Manner, and rouzed them to Reſolution and Vigor.—In the mean Time, *Ariſtomenes* neglected not to improve his late Victory: he marched his Forces into *Laconia*, and having taken *Pharae*, a Town

[w] *In contemptum Spartanorum*, ſays *Juſtin*.——L. 3. C. 5.

Town of conſiderable Note, he plundered it, putting all that reſiſted him to the Sword, and carrying off a very rich Booty. Such a daring Inſult *Sparta* could not brook; and a Party was immediately ſent out againſt him: but he ſoon defeated them; and 'tis likely few of them would have eſcaped, had he not been diſabled by a Wound, which obliged him to withdraw from the Field.[x]

The third Year of the War, the *Lacedemonians*, animated by *Tyrteus*'s inſpiring Verſe, raiſed a powerful Army, and once more entered *Meſſenia*. *Ariſtomenes* likewiſe, being joined by *Ariſtocrates* King of *Arcadia*, reſolutely marched forth to meet them. It is ſaid, that, before the Engagement, the *Lacedemonians* (ſo determined were they to Conquer or to die) faſtened, each on his Right Arm, Billets, on which were inſcribed their own Names, and the Names of their Families, that if they chanced to fall in Battle, and their Features were diſfigured, they might be known by thoſe Marks, and reſtored to the Sepulchres of their Fathers[y]. With all this, *Ariſtomenes* would probably have proved too hard for *Sparta*; but, in the Height of the Engagement, the *Falſe Arcadian*, who had been bribed by the *Lacedemonians* to betray his Confederates, baſely drew off his Men, and, to add to the Confuſſion of the *Meſſenians*, forced his Way thro' the midſt of them. *Ariſtomenes* nevertheleſs, forming the Reſidue of his Troops into cloſe Order, gallantly continued the Fight againſt the Enemy, that poured in on him from every Side,

[x] There were ſome other Exploits of *Ariſtomenes* in the Territories of *Laconia*, recorded by *Pauſanias*, which, as they were not of any great Moment, are omitted here for the Sake of Brevity. ——— Vide *Pauſan.* in Meſſeniacis.

[y] Vide *Juſtin.* L. 3. C. 5.

Side; and ſecured a Retreat, tho' at the Expence of the Lives of many the braveſt of his Soldiers. Weakened by this grievous loſs, he reſolved to abandon all the open Country, which with his ſhattered Forces it was impoſſible he ſhould defend, and retired to a Mountain of difficult Acceſs called *Eira*. The *Spartans* now thought the War ended, and therefore, having blocked up all the Avenues of the Mountain, they made a diviſion of the other Lands of *Meſſenia*, and began to cultivate them. But *Ariſtomenes* with three hundred choſen Men, breaking out from *Eira*, drove the *Spartans* before him, and ravaged the whole Country. At other Times he penetrated into *Laconia*, and bare away Corn, Wine, Cattle, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for the Support of the Beſieged. This obliged the *Spartans* to leave waſte, not only the *Meſſenian* Territories, but alſo thoſe Parts of *Laconia*, that were neareſt to the *Meſſenian* Borders. *Ariſtomenes* however, at the Head of his choſen Band, continued his Depredations, and committed frequent Ravages in the very Neighbourhood of *Sparta*. Among the Places he plundered was *Amyclae*, diſtant only about eighteen Miles from the Metropolis. As ſoon as the *Spartan* Kings had an account of this Expedition, they haſtened in Purſuit of him; and as the *Meſſenians* were encumbered with Booty, they came up with them, before they had reached *Eira*. *Ariſtomenes*, whom no Chance of Things could intimidate, diſpoſed his little Party in order of Battle, and, notwithſtanding the poorneſs of his Numbers, maintained a long and vigorous Conflict againſt the whole *Lacedemonian* Army. At laſt, ſpent with his Wounds, he ſunk down ſenſeleſs, and was made Priſoner, together with about fifty more, all that remained alive

alive of thoſe brave *Meſſenians.* This *Illuſtrious Captive* was led in Triumph to *Sparta*, where the *Lacedemonians* expreſſed the loudeſt Joy at the Sight of *a Man*, who had for ſo many Years been the Terror of their Country. As ſoon as he was recovered of his Wounds, it was decreed, that he and all his Fellow-Priſoners ſhould be thrown into a certain gloomy hideous Cavern, there to periſh for want of Food—the common puniſhment of the moſt flagitious Offenders. The Sentence was rigorouſly executed, with this ſingular Favour to *Ariſtomenes, that he was permitted to put on his Armour*[z].

Clean. Barbarous *Sparta!*

Pal. Hold, *Cleanthes.*——Three Days did *Ariſtomenes* continue in this dreadful Abode amid' the Groans of his expiring Countrymen, and the Stench of corrupted Carcaſſes. The Third Day, when he was almoſt famiſhed, he heard a Noiſe, and by the glimmering Light perceived a Fox gnawing a Body near him: with one Hand he ſeized its hind Leg, and defending his Face with the other, he followed the ſtruggling Creature, till he found it thruſting its Head into a Hole; this was the Crevice through which the Fox had got in—*Ariſtomenes* then, looſing his Hold, purſued the Tract, and by dint of Labour wrought himſelf a Paſſage into the open Air. Feeble as he was, he haſtened towards *Eira*, and almoſt miraculouſly reached the Place, to the inexpreſſible Joy and Amazement of his faithful *Meſſenians.* When his Eſcape was firſt told at *Sparta*, it was eſteemed a Fiction: *Ariſtomenes* ſoon gave them ſenſible Proofs of the Truth of it; for falling on the

[z] *Pauſan.* in Meſſeniacis.

Forces, that lay before *Eira*[a], he ſlew moſt of their Officers, with a Multitude of private Men, and pillaged their Camp. The Loſs on this Occaſion was ſo conſiderable, that the Enemy deſired a Ceſſation of Arms for forty Days, under Pretence of ſome Religious Ceremony, but in Truth, that they might have Time to bury their Dead. Notwithſtanding the Truce, certain *Cretans*, who were in the Service of *Sparta*, perfidiouſly ſeized *Ariſtomenes*, as he was walking without the Walls, and carried him away Priſoner. Theſe *Cretans* were ſeven in Number. Two of them ran with the Tidings to *Sparta*: the reſt of them conducted their Prize to a lonely Cottage, inhabited only by a Widow-Woman, and her Daughter. The old Woman knew *Ariſtomenes*, and communicated the Diſcovery to the Maiden, who, being encouraged to the Enterprize by an extraordinary Dream ſhe lately had, prevailed on her Mother to attempt his Deliverance[b]. In this View, they plied his Guards with ſtrong Drink; and, when the Men were heavy in ſleep, they unlooſed *Ariſtomenes*'s Bands, and armed him with a Poniard. He immediately avenged himſelf on the treacherous *Cretans*, and brought away his Deliverers to *Eira*, when

[a] It appears from *Pauſanias*, that moſt of theſe were *Corinthians*: for as in the preceding War againſt the *Meſſenians*, ſo in this, the *Corinthians* were the only People of *Peloponneſus*, that aſſiſted *Sparta*.

[b] She had dreamed, that ſhe ſaw a Lion without Claws, bound and dragged along by Wolves, and that ſhe having looſed his Bands, and repaired his Strength, and given him Claws, he immediately tore the Wolves to Pieces,——The Words of *Pauſanias* are theſe.—— Τῇ δὲ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ εἶδεν ὄψιν ἡ Παῖς, ὡς λέοντα ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν λύκοι σφίσιν ἤγαγον δεδεμένον, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄνυχας· αὖτη δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἀπέλυσε, καὶ ἀνδροῦσα ἔδωκε τοὺς ὄνυχας· οὕτω τὲ διασπασθῆναι τοὺς λύκους ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ λέοντος.——Vide *Pauſan.* in Meſſeniacis.

where he rewarded them largely, and gave the young Woman in Marriage to his Son *Gorgus*.

It was now the eleventh Year, ſince the *Spartans* had laid Siege to *Eira*—this length of Time had the Virtue of *Ariſtomenes* baffled all their Purpoſes. But it was his Fortune to be defeated by Fraud and Treachery. It happened, that a *Meſſenian* Woman had commerce with a *Spartan*: by the Means of this Intrigue the *Spartans* were apprized, that *Ariſtomenes* was detained at home by ſome Wound; and that the Soldiers, ſecure of him, had retired from their Stations, on account of the inclemency of the Weather. As ſoon as the *Spartan* Commander had received this Intelligence, he prepared for the Attack, and, aſſiſted by the Darkneſs of a tempeſtuous Night, without any Oppoſition ſcaled the Walls, and made himſelf Maſter of all the *Meſſenian* Poſts. When Day appeared, *Ariſtomenes* beheld his dangerous Situation. And now began one of the fierceſt Engagements Hiſtory makes mention of. It laſted for three Days and two Nights; the Women themſelves aſſaulting the Enemy with inceſſant Fury. At laſt, oppreſſed with Numbers, and finding it impoſſible to preſerve the Citadel, *Ariſtomenes* the third Evening drew off his wearied Troops. On the next Morning, having diſpoſed his ſlender Forces with great Art, the Women and Children being placed in the Center, he moved on, at the head of them, directly towards the Enemy, reſolved to force his Way, or to periſh in the Attempt. The wondering *Spartans*, doubtful of the Trial, opened to the Right and Left, and ſuffered him to march off thro' the midſt of them. In this Manner did this excellent Prince bid his laſt Farewel to his native

Land, leaving nothing to the *Spartans*, but a *poor waſted, depopulated* Country.

Clean. Oh *Palaemon*, that is a deep affecting Story!—Who would not rather be an Exile with that *Ariſtomenes*, than ſhare the guilty Triumphs of *Sparta!*—But pray, what was the Fate of this Great Man?

Pal. Such exalted Virtue, *Cleanthes*, ſeldom fails of Support.—*Heaven* took care of his Preſervation.—His firſt Retreat was to the *Arcadians*, the antient Allies of the *Meſſenian* People. They crouded about him earneſtly, and heard his Story with the utmoſt Aſtoniſhment. Long before it had been the Report in *Arcadia*, that *Eira* was taken, and all the *Meſſenians* exterminated. The faithleſs *Ariſtocrates* had contrived theſe falſe Tidings, to prevent the marching of the *Arcadian* Troops; and had perſuaded his Subjects, that any Attempt in behalf of the *Meſſenians* would now ſerve only to draw down on themſelves the Vengeance of *Sparta*. It ſeems, he had alſo covered his former Treaſons with plauſible Pretences, alledging, *that menacing Omens had obliged him to retire from the Field of Battle*. *Ariſtomenes*, without urging any Accuſation againſt the perfidious King, made it his ſole Endeavour to excite the *Arcadians* againſt the Ravagers of his Country. He propoſed, with five hundred Men only, to march to *Sparta*, and lay it in Ruins. "The *Spartans* were now employed "in the pillaging of *Eira*, and fearleſs of Ene-"mies: he could not fail of ſurprizing them at "this Juncture, and taking Vengeance on that "inhuman People for the Wrongs done to wretch-"ed *Meſſenia*." A Propoſal of ſo bold a Nature, made by a Perſon well able to execute it, and that argued ſuch Firmneſs of Courage in the midſt of

his

his broken Fortunes, could not fail of moving Admiration. The whole Aſſembly anſwered him with loud Applauſes. *Ariſtocrates* however by various Artifices delayed the Execution, and in the mean Time ſent to thoſe of *Sparta* notice of the intended Invaſion. *Ariſtomenes*'s Friends, ſuſpecting the King, intercepted the Meſſenger, and before the great Council of the Nation produced the Letters from the *Lacedemonians* to him, in which all his Treaſons were laid open. Never was there ſeen more violent Indignation, than appeared on this Occaſion. The whole Aſſembly roſe up furious againſt their guilty Sovereign, and began to Stone him, calling frequently on the *Meſſenians* to aſſiſt their juſt Revenge: but the generous *Ariſtomenes*, far from contributing to his Puniſhment, beheld the Tragic Scene with deepeſt Concern, and his Face covered with Tears; whether it was the Fate, or the Baſeneſs of this unworthy King, that affected him moſt.——Some Time after this, a Prince of *Rhodes*, enquiring of the *Delphic* Oracle, whom he ſhould take to Wife, that his Poſterity might be a Bleſſing to his People, received for Anſwer, *that he ſhould marry the Daughter of the moſt Worthy of all the* Greeks. There was no doubt who *this Perſon* was. It could be no other than the Great *Ariſtomenes*. Accordingly, the Prince eſpouſed his Daughter, and *Ariſtomenes* retired with them to *Rhodes*, where he formed a well-concerted Scheme [d] againſt the Power of *Sparta*.

But

[d] *Pauſanias* ſays, he purpoſed to paſs over to *Sardis*, and make his Application to *Ardys* King of the *Lydians*, and Son to *Gyges*; and thence to go to *Ecbatane*, and ſollicit *Phraortes* King of the *Medes*, in order to engage thoſe two Princes to unite their Arms againſt *Sparta*.——However the Chronology of this *Grecian* Hiſtorian

But, amidſt his bold-ſpirited Projects, he was ſurprized by Death.——The *Rhodians* raiſed a ſumptuous Monument to him, and his Memory was held in the higheſt Veneration.

Eud. Thoſe *Meſſenians*, who marched out of *Eira* under the Banners of *Ariſtomenes*, paſſed over, if I remember rightly, to the Iſland of *Sicily*.——

Pal. Yes, *Eudoxus*; and there they got Poſſeſſion of a City called *Zancle*, which Name they changed into that of *Meſſene*, in remembrance of their loſt Country [e].

Eud. How long do you account this *Meſſenian* War to have continued?

Pal. Fourteen Years; three, before the fortifying of *Eira*; and *Eira* was beſieged eleven Years [f].

Clean. But did not any of the *Meſſenians* remain in *Peloponneſus?*

Pal. Many of them had fallen into the Hands of the *Spartans*, during the Courſe of War: and there might be ſome diſperſed about *Meſſenia*, at the Time that *Eira* was taken. All theſe ſhared the ſame Fate with the unfortunate *Helotae*, and were reduced to the hard Condition of Servitude. It is ſaid alſo, that the *Spartans* laid on them a double Portion of wretchedneſs, and made uſe of every Severity, to afflict and break the Spirit of a People, who had ſo long preſumed to reſiſt them.

Eud. But was not *Meſſenia* raiſed again?

Clean.

Hiſtorian ſeems to be Faulty: for *Ardys* died about the thirty-ſeventh Olympiad, and *Phraortes* about the thirty fifth.—Probably, *Alyattes* Father to *Croeſus* was then on the Throne of *Lydia*.——Vide *Pauſan.* in Meſſeniacis.

[e] *Pauſan.* ubi ſupra.

[f] So that it ended in the third Year of the 46th Olympiad.—See P. 272. N. *l.* and P. 277.

Clean. Raiſed again!—— What? and *Sparta* humbled!

Pal. It were a pity, *Cleanthes*, not to indulge you in a Proſpect, with which you ſeem ſo delighted. *Meſſenia* was reſtored to Liberty. But that is a Tranſaction far diſtant, ſome hundred Years poſterior to the Times, of which we are now ſpeaking [g].

Anaxander and *Anaxidamus* were on the *Spartan* Throne, at the Concluſion of the *Meſſenian* War. After their Demiſe, the Kingdom deſcended to their two Sons, *Eurycratides* [h] and *Archidamus*, in whoſe Reign there happened not any thing Memorable. They were ſucceeded by *Leo*, and *Agaſicles*, or *Hegeſicles*. Theſe two Kings attacked *Tegea*, and laid waſte its Territories: but the *Tegeans*, having taken Arms, and worſted them in ſeveral Engagements, impoſed on them a Condition, which they well deſerved; they condemned them to reſtore all the Improvements, and to cultivate with their own Hands the very Lands, which they had ravaged.[i]——In their Time lived *Solon*, the *Athenian* Lawgiver of whom I ſhall entertain you more fully in his proper Place.

Next to theſe two Kings, reigned *Anaxandrides* and *Ariſto*, who invaded the *Tegeans* with better Succeſs, and in the End brought that brave People into Subjection. *Herodotus* [k] pretends, that this was owing to the Removal of *Oreſtes*'s Bones, which lay at *Tegea*, and which the *Spartans* were warned by an Oracle to bring to *Sparta*. It might be

[g] *Meſſenia* was built by *Epaminondas* the third Year of the 102d Olympiad, or about two hundred and twenty four Years after the ſecond *Meſſenian* War. ——See Dial. 13.

[h] He is ſo called by *Herodotus* (in Polymnia) by other Authors he is named *Eurycrates* the Second.

[i] Vide *Herodot.* in Clio, et *Libanium* in Panegyr. *Juliani.*

[k] *Herodot.* ubi ſupra.

be a better Reaſon, that the *Tegeans* were over-harraſſed and weakened by the continual attacks of an unjuſt Neighbour, whoſe choſen Delight was War and Deſolation, and who knew not what it was to enjoy the gentler Days of Peace.

Eud. Is there not ſomething extraordinary recorded of this *Ariſto*, concerning the Manner in which he obtained his Queen?

Pal. There is, *Eudoxus*—and a Circumſtance it is, which you may well call *extraordinary*. She was a Woman of ſingular Beauty, and had been the Wife of *Agetus*, a noble *Spartan*, whom the King honoured with diſtinguiſhed Marks of Favour. One Day, in a merry Mood, *Ariſto* made Agreement with *Agetus*, to give him whatſoever he ſhould aſk, on Condition that *Agetus* ſhould ſhew him the like Compliance: and they both ſware to obſerve the Promiſe. *Agetus* deſired ſome trifling Boon, and was gratified; and then, the King claimed his Wife. This was a Requeſt *Agetus* expected not: however, he was too much a *Spartan* to refuſe a demand of the Kind; and ſo was his Wife raiſed to the Throne of *Sparta*. Take notice, the King had two Wives before this, and they were both childleſs; nevertheleſs, ſeven Months after his Marriage with the Wife of *Agetus*, ſhe was delivered of a Son. When *Ariſto* had the News brought to him—it happened to be, as he was on the Tribunal with the *Ephori*—he publicly expreſſed much Surprize, and ſeemed to doubt, whether he ſhould acknowledge him: but afterwards he owned him for his Son, and deſigned him Heir to his Kingdom [l]. The young Prince received the Name of *Demaratus* [m].

Clean.

[l] *Herodot.* in Erato.

[m] *Demaratus*, or *Damaratus* from Δᾶμος, or, according to the *Doric*

Clean. A curious Account truly!

Pal. The Family-Hiſtory of the other *Spartan* King *Anaxandrides* is not leſs Remarkable.——He was married to a Perſon, whom he dearly loved, but ſhe was barren. The *Ephori* on this Account preſſed him to divorce her; and finding all their Endeavours fruitleſs, they inſiſted that, ſince he would keep her, he ſhould at leaſt marry an other Wife; which Injunction he was forced to comply with. By this ſecond Marriage he had a Son, named *Cleomenes*; and ſoon after he was born, his firſt Wife proved with Child, and brought forth a Son, who was called *Dorieus*. Strong Suſpicions were at firſt entertained concerning his Birth: but theſe were effectually confuted by the Birth of two other Sons, which ſhe had, *Leonidas* and *Cleombrotus*. Howbeit, *Cleomenes* ſucceeded his Father; and *Dorieus*, diſguſted at *his* being preferred to him, left *Sparta*, and retired to *Sicily*. [n]. About the Time that *Cleomenes* obtained the Kingdom, *Ariſto* died, and *Demaratus* reigned after him.

Clean. Pray, how proſpered theſe two Kings? for an uncommon Fate ſeems to attend them.

Pal. Their ſucceeding Fortunes were alſo extremely ſingular, and clouded over with ſtrange Diſaſters, tho' the beginning of their Reign ſeemed to promiſe much Glory and Happineſs.——When they aſcended the Throne of *Sparta*, *Athens* was in an afflicted State, ſubjected to the Yoke of *Hippias* the Son of *Piſiſtratus*. His Father had uſurped the Supreme Authority; and the Son, who enjoyed the ſame Power after him, made the *Athe-*

Doric Dialect, Δᾶμος, the People, and Αραὶ, Prayers: as if he had been granted to the Prayers of the People.

[n] Vide *Pauſan.* in Laconicis.

nians feel all the Calamities, which the Sway of a jealous cruel Tyrant generally brings on. The Spirit of *Athens* languiſhed under this Oppreſſion; and either Baniſhment or the Sword of Violence had already deprived her of many of the moſt worthy of her Citizens. Among thoſe, who had fled from *Athens*, ſome of the moſt conſiderable had made choice of *Delphi* for their Place of refuge, where they prevailed on the *Pythian* Prieſteſs to ſollicit the *Spartans*, as in the Name of the God, in behalf of their diſtreſſed Country. Moved by theſe *Warnings*, which were conſtantly and earneſtly repeated, the *Spartans* determined to ſet *Athens* free. But *Hippias*, having ſtrengthened himſelf with a conſiderable Body of *Theſſalian* Horſe, fell upon their Army, and routed them with great Slaughter. *Sparta* was not diſcouraged: a ſecond and more numerous Army was raiſed; and *Cleomenes*, at the Head of it, penetrated into *Attica*, and laid Siege to *Athens*. The Tyrant nevertheleſs would, probably, have defeated all their Meaſures, if a Domeſtic Misfortune had not contributed to ſubdue him: his Children fell into the Hands of the *Spartans*, who refuſed to reſtore them, except he would depart out of *Attica* in the Space of Five Days. Paternal Affection prevailed. *Hippias* choſe rather to loſe his Crown, than expoſe the Lives of his Children, and retired to *Sigeum* [o], a City of *Aſia* the Leſs [p].

Clean. Was not this at leaſt a noble Enterprize, and honourable to *Sparta?*

Pal.

[o] Vide *Herodot.* in Terpſichore.——See Dial. 8.

[p] This Expulſion of the *Piſiſtratidae* happened the third Year of the ſixty ſeventh Olympiad.——Vide *Ariſtot.* Polit. L. 5. C. 12.

Pal. I fear, it was more the Superſtition of the Times, than the Force of generous Sentiments, that urged the *Spartans* to it.———Hear what follows, and you will be the better able to determine.———After *Athens* was reſtored to her Liberties [9], there happened a Contention of Intereſts, between two of her principal Citizens, *Cliſthenes* and *Iſagoras*, both conſiderable by their Wealth and Noble Deſcent. *Cliſthenes* by certain Popular Acts ſoon gained the Superiority; and on the other Side *Iſagoras* called in *Cleomenes* to ſupport him. The *Spartan* King gladly ſeized the Opportunity of extending his Power over *Athens*; and marching thither immediately, as if he had put down one Tyrant, only to ſet himſelf up in his Stead, cauſes *Cliſthenes*, and ſeven hundred Families, that adhered to him, to be condemned to Baniſhment; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Acropolis*, endeavours to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and to veſt the whole Supreme Power in three hundred of *Iſagoras*'s factious Accomplices. The *Athenians* reſolutely oppoſed theſe Innovations, and falling on the *Spartans*, put moſt of them to the Sword, obliged *Cleomenes* to leave *Attica*, and recalled *Cliſthenes* and his Friends. *Cleomenes* was of a Temper violent and implacable; and therefore having aſſembled together a great Army from all Parts of *Peloponneſus*, and formed a League with the *Boeotians* and *Chalcideans*, he invaded the *Eleuſinian* Territories, whilſt they of *Boeotia* and *Chalcis* ravaged the reſt of *Attica*. Theſe arbitrary Proceedings were ſo much diſreliſhed by his own Confederates, that the *Corinthians* drew off their

[9] Vide *Herodot.* Libro ſupra citato.

Forces, and even *Demaratus* the other *Spartan* King refuſed to co-operate with him [r].

When *Cleomenes* found he could not effect his Purpoſe by Force of Arms, and that the *Athenians* were not to be brought to a ſlaviſh Submiſſion, he repented him ſincerely of the Share he had in freeing them from the Yoke of *Hippias*. He alſo diſcovered the Artifices, which had been made uſe of, to engage *Sparta* in the Cauſe of *Athens*. Reſentment and diſappointed Ambition urged him on; and he determined at any Rate to humble this proud City. For this End, he endeavoured to infuſe jealous Fears into his Countrymen——*Attica*, he told them, *was now beginning to Flouriſh again: her People were of a bold aſpiring Genius: who could ſay, how ſoon they might be in a Condition to diſpute the Empire of* Greece, *and preſcribe Laws to* Sparta *herſelf? It was* LIBERTY *had raiſed her to this State of Splendor*; *and* SLAVERY *and* BONDAGE *were the ſureſt Means to ſink and depreſs her.*— It ſufficiently appears, how narrow and ſelfiſh was the Policy of *Sparta*, when ſuch baſe Counſels met with Acceptance. *Hippias* was ſent for; and in a General Aſſembly of the *Spartan* Allies it was propoſed, to eſpouſe his Quarrel, and to reſtore the very Tyrant, whom they had ſo lately contributed to expel. This Propoſal was received with Amazement; and for a Time a dead Silence prevailed through

[r] *Herodotus* (in Terpſichore) tells us, that on this account a Law was made in *Sparta*, that for the Future the two Kings ſhould not march out together at the head of their Armies: but in the next Book (in Erato) he contradicts this; for it appears, that *Cleomenes* and *Leotychides* jointly invaded *Aegina*. Probably, it was this very Act of the two Kings, that occaſioned the Law to be made; as it is well known, that this laſt Invaſion of the *Aeginetae* was accounted moſt oppreſſive, and generally diſavowed by the *Spartan* People.

through the whole Aſſembly. At Length, the *Corinthians* brake out into bitter Reproaches, and anſwered the *Spartans* with ſuch keenneſs and Strength of Reaſon, that the Project was dropped, and *Hippias* forced to return to *Aſia*.

Eud. Well, *Cleanthes*—what ſay you of thoſe *Corinthians?*

Clean. I ſay, they were a generous virtuous People.—But, *Palaemon*, what Name are we to give to *Cleomenes*'s Conduct?

Pal. Undoubtedly, *Cleanthes*, he was a Man of Violence and Blood.———However, one Thing is recorded, much to his Honour. Whilſt he was on the throne, there arrived at *Sparta* one of the *Aſiatic Greeks*, *Ariſtagoras*, Governor of *Miletus*, in the Name of the *Ionian* States to ſollicit Aſſiſtance from the *Spartans*. He pretended certain Complaints againſt the Miniſters of *Darius*, who was then on the Throne of *Perſia*; and, to revenge himſelf, had found Means to draw all *Ionia* into a Revolt. The Perſon he made his Application to was *Cleomenes*; *him* he endeavoured to engage by many vaunting Offers, promiſing him no leſs than the Reduction of all *Aſia*.

When *Cleomenes* had heard all the magnificent Speeches of *Ariſtagoras*, and the Deſcription he gave of the Wealth of the *Perſian* Provinces, and of the Splendor and Treaſures of *Darius*, he then aſked him, how far it was to the City, where this mighty Monarch reſided. *Ariſtagoras* anſwered, that it was a Journey of three Months. *Cleomenes* upon this, interrupting him immediately, ordered him to depart from *Sparta* before the ſetting of the Sun. The *Ionian* nevertheleſs followed *Cleomenes* in a ſuppliant Manner, beſeeching him to hear what he had to ſay, and to diſmiſs his Daughter, a Child

Child of about eight Years old, that he might deliver a Matter of the utmoſt Importance. *Cleomenes* bade him ſay on, without fear of her. Then *Ariſtagoras* began to tempt the King with large Sums, proceeding gradually in his Offers, till he came to *Fifty Talents* : at which *the Girl* cried out, *Fly, Sir, or this Stranger will corrupt you. Cleomenes* ſmiled and retired [s]. This Daughter of his was *Gorgo*, afterwards Wife to *Leonidas*, the Great *Spartan* King.

Eud. Did not the *Ionian* Embaſſadors go from *Sparta* to *Athens ?*

Pal. They did—and there they had a more favourable Reception ; the *Athenians* being indiſpoſed againſt the *Perſians* on account of *Artaphernes*, Governor of *Sardis*, and Brother to *Darius*, who had intereſted himſelf in behalf of *Hippias*, and ſent orders to the *Athenians* to admit him again, on pain of his Diſpleaſure. This inſulting Meſſage filled the whole City with the higheſt Reſentment : and juſt at this Juncture arrived *Ariſtagoras*. The exaſperated *Athenians* readily promiſed to concur with the *Ionian* States, and ſent out twenty Ships to their Aſſiſtance. It was this gave beginning to that famed *Perſian* War, in which the Virtue and Magnanimity of the *Grecian* People ſhone out ſo conſpicuouſly.———But we ſhall enlarge on theſe Things, when we come to the *Athenian* Hiſtory [t]. ——Let us now return to *Cleomenes*, the Remainder of whoſe Hiſtory is little more than a Series of extravagant Feats, in which his Ambition and Cruelty appear always uppermoſt. One of the moſt remarkable of *theſe* was againſt the *Argives*, whoſe Territories

[s] *Herodot.* Libro ſupra citato.
[t] See Dial. 9.

Territories he invaded; and having defeated them in Battle, incloſed them in a Grove conſecrated to ſome Deity. The Difficulty was, how to draw them forth from their Sanctuary: he therefore gave them Aſſurances, that their Lives ſhould be ſecured to them, on the Payment of a Ranſom; and ſeveral of them venturing out, in Confidence of this, were inſtantly put to Death. There remainmained yet a conſiderable Number within the Grove, who, diſcovering the hapleſs Fate of their Countrymen, refuſed to truſt the perfidious *Spartan*: but this availed them not; for *Cleomenes* ordered the Grove to be ſet on Fire, and had them all conſumed.——Some Time after this barbarous Execution, he paſſed over to *Aegina*, and would have ſeized on the chief Perſons of the Iſland, under Pretence, that they had ſtipulated to betray the Cauſe of *Greece* to the *Perſian* King. This Expedition appeared ſo unjuſt, that it occaſioned a formal Accuſation from *Demaratus* to the *Ephori*; tho' *Herodotus* thinks that *Envy* was his principal Motive to this. Be it as it may, the Accuſation proved fatal to *Demaratus*. For *Cleomenes*, having been heard in his Defence, and obtained his Acquittal, ſtirred up *Leotychides*, a Prince of the Family of the *Eurytionidae*, to call in Quetion *Demaratus*'s Birth, and to deny his being the Son of *Ariſto*. The raſh Words, which the King had ſpoken, were now brought in proof againſt him; and the Matter being left to *Perialla* the *Delphic* Prieſteſs, who had been ſuborned by *Cleomenes* to proſtitute the Oracle to his Views, ſhe declared *Demaratus* Son to *Agetus*; and accordingly, *Leotychides* was appointed King in his Stead [u].

End.

[u] Vide *Herodot.* in Erato.

Eud. Was it not this *Demaratus*, who attended *Xerxes* in his Expedition againſt *Greece*?

Pal. It was; tho' this excellent Prince appears to have always loved his Country with an unchanged Affection. He even bare the Loſs of the Regal Dignity with an uncommon Greatneſs of Mind, and for a Time ſubmitted to live in *Sparta*, and filled the Office of an Inferior Magiſtrate. But at length the Inſults of *Leotychides* forced him away, and obliged him to ſeek Refuge at the Court of *Darius*, where he was received with great Diſtinction, and honoured with large Poſſeſſions [w].

Clean. And how did *Cleomenes* behave, after the Removal of *Demaratus*?

Pal. His firſt Care was to avenge himſelf on the *Aeginetae*, in whoſe behalf *Demaratus* had engaged againſt him. He had now a Partner on the Throne, intirely devoted to his Will: and therefore being joined by him with the whole *Lacedemonian* Army, he entered the Iſland, and obliged the *Aeginetae* to ſurrender to him ten of the moſt Conſiderable of the Inhabitants. It might be expected, that the *Ephori* would not avow this Act of Injuſtice; and therefore, to make ſure of his Vengeance, he delivered the Priſoners into the Hands of the *Athenians* their inveterate Enemies; chooſing rather to lay aſide his Reſentments againſt *Athens*, than not to indulge his hatred to thoſe of *Aegina* [x].

Clean. But did all theſe perfidious Crimes of *Cleomenes* paſs unpuniſhed?

Pal. No, *Cleanthes*—the Cloſe of his Fortunes was terrible, and well deſerves to be attended to. In a ſhort Time after his laſt Expedition, it was proved,

[w] *Herodot.* Libro ſupra citato.
[x] *Herodot.* Libro ſupra citato.

proved, that he had ſuborned the Prieſteſs of *Delphi* to procure the dethroning of *Demaratus*. Alarmed at this Diſcovery, *Cleomenes* fled to *Theſſaly*, and from thence removed into *Arcadia*, where, not being able to ſubmit to a Life of Peace, he ſoon began to form Intrigues; and having gathered together a Band of reſolute Men, bound them under a ſolemn Oath, that they would follow him, whitherſoever he would lead them. Theſe Preparations occaſioned much ſpeculation at *Sparta*; and it was thought ſafer to forgive *Cleomenes*, and to recall him home, where the *Ephori* might narrowly obſerve all his meaſures, than to leave this dangerous enterprizing Spirit at liberty to plan Schemes againſt his Country. Accordingly, *Cleomenes* was reſtored to the Regal Dignity. He was not long returned, when the Diſtraction of his Mind encreaſed to a violent degree, and he became outrageouſly frantic, ſtriking and wounding all that approached him. This obliged the *Spartans* to confine him; and he was committed to the care of an *Helot:* but *Cleomenes* having by Threats forced his Guard to furniſh him with a Sword—for, notwithſtanding his low condition, the very Voice of *the King* made *the Slave* to tremble——he began to lay open his Fleſh from his Ancles upwards, until he came to his Belly, which he ripped up, and expired [y].

Eud. One would think that Heaven ordained, that thoſe Hands, which had ſo often rioted in the Blood of others, ſhould now be the Inſtruments of Vengeance againſt himſelf.

Pal. It certainly was a *Fearful End.*——

[y] *Herodot.* Libro ſupra citato.

Clean. But what became of *Leotychides?* for he had a large ſhare in the Wrongs done to *Demaratus*, as well as in thoſe offered to the *Aeginetae.*

Pal. The *Aeginetae* demanded juſtice againſt him; and ſo exaſperated were the *Spartans*, that they offered to give him up to their will. But the People of *Aegina* required only, that he ſhould aſſiſt them with his Good Offices, to obtain from the *Athenians* the Releaſe of their Countrymen. Purſuant to their deſire, *Leotychides* was ſent to *Athens*, though without effect; and nevertheleſs, he was continued in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and afterwards made ſome figure in the *Perſian* War, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you.——However, the laſt of his Days were far more wretched than thoſe of *Demaratus*; for he died *in Baniſhment, laden with Infamy, and under deſerved condemnation, for having baſely betrayed his Country.* He had received bribes from the Nations of *Theſſaly*, the declared Enemies of *Sparta*, whom he had been ſent to chaſtiſe; and, inſtead of improving the ſucceſs, which his Arms had at firſt been attended with, fell into weak and dilatory Meaſures, and ſuffered the *Theſſalians* to ſtrengthen themſelves. Theſe treacherous Proceedings drew on him the Public Indignation; and his guilty Conſcience not permitting him to abide his Trial, he fled to *Tegea*[z].

Eud. Was not *Leonidas* the Succeſſor of *Cleomenes?*

Pal. Yes, the *Illuſtrious LEONIDAS*,[a] who raiſed the *Spartan* name to its higheſt pitch of Glory.

[z] *Herodot.* Lib. ſup. citato.

[a] In the Note, at the end of Dialogue the ſixth (See Page 265) has been given a Table of the Spartan Kings, until the Legiſlature of *Lycurgus*, Seven Kings in each Branch, excluſive of *Ariſtodemus.*

ry.—From this Period, the Hiſtory of *Sparta* runs no longer in a divided Channel; it breaks into the general Hiſtory of *Greece.* And therefore I ſhall ſtop here. To-morrow, *Cleanthes*, you ſhall be entertained with an account of the other Great Commonwealth of *Greece*, the renowned *Athens*, that Rival of *Sparta* in Military Atchievements, and Love of the Public Weal—but formed in a ſofter Mould—the Patroneſs of Sciences and Arts —and in whom every Virtue, that adorns Humanity,

Ariſtodemus. Here follow the Kings, who reigned from that Period, unto the Battle of *Thermopylae.*

Elder Branch.	Younger Branch.
Teleclus. }	*Nicander.*
Alcamenes. }	
Polydorus.	*Theopompus.*
Eurycrates.	*Zeuxidamus.*
Anaxander.	*Anaxidamus.*
Eurycratides.	*Archidamus.*
Leo.	*Agaſicles.*
Anaxandrides.	*Ariſto.*
Cleomenes.	*Demaratus.*
Leonidas.	*Leotychides.*

Sir. *Iſaac Newton*, whoſe Computations I have followed, (*Dial.* 4. P. 142) ſuppoſes 17 Kings of each Race to have reigned in *Sparta* between the Return of the *Heraclidae*, and the Battle of *Thermopylae:* and yet in this Table there are but 16 Kings of the Younger Branch. But then he takes in the Genealogy of *Leotychides*, (See *Newton*'s Chronology) though ſome of his Progenitors were not Kings; and according to that Genealogy (Vide *Herodot.* in Urania.) *Leotychides* is indeed the eighth from *Theopompus*; and *Theopompus* being the ninth *Spartan* King, there is a complete Line of Seventeen Princes.—To this may be added, that between *Theopompus* and *Zeuxidamus* there intervened *Archidamus* eldeſt Son to *Theopompus*, who died before his Father (See above P. 274 N. *q.*) ſo that even according to this Order of Deſcent there are 17 Princes in the Younger Branch.

nity, flouriſhed as in its Native Soil.——But, *Cleanthes*, it were unjuſt to anticipate your Obſervations: the Actions of the *Athenians* themſelves will beſt tell you, what *Athens* was.

Before I leave you, *Eudoxus*, I muſt take notice to you, that *Phidon* of *Argos*, that aſpiring Prince, who is famed in Hiſtory for the grievous oppreſſive Rule, which he exerciſed over the *Eleans* and the *Argives* [b], flouriſhed in the times, of which we have now been ſpeaking. His Day of Power was towards the end of the ſecond *Meſſenian* War.——I mention this, becauſe many Chronologers have ſuppoſed him much earlier.

Eud. What? this was the *Phidon*, whoſe Brother *Caranus* founded the Kingdom of *Macedon* [c]?

Pal. The ſame. He was, you know, of the Royal Blood of *Temenus* [d]; and having expelled all his Kindred, who reigned in different Cities of *Argolis*, formed the whole into one Kingdom, and became one of the moſt potent Princes of his Age. He was the firſt, who appointed weights and meaſures in *Peloponneſus*, and coined Silver Money. He alſo uſurped the Office of Judge of the Olympic Games, after he had conquered the *Piſeans*, who made War on thoſe of *Elis*, and invaded their Rights. The *Eleans* called in *Phidon* to their aſſiſtance; but, when he had ſubdued their Enemies, the uſe he made of his Victory was to remove them from all Superintendency of that Great Feſtival, and

[b] See Dial. 5. P. 160.

[c] See Dial. 5. P. 220.

[d] None of the Poſterity of *Temenus* ſucceeded to the Kingdom of *Argos*, after *Ciſus*, *Temenus*'s Son; from that time the Family of the *Temenidae* divided one againſt an other, and each ſet up for himſelf in whatever Portion of *Argolis* he could get poſſeſſion of——Vide *Pauſan.* in Corinthiacis.

and to order the Games to be celebrated by his ſole Authority [e].

Clean. And was his Glory of long continuance?

Pal. No—he ſoon received the Puniſhment due to his Perfidy and lawleſs Ambition. The People of *Elis* had recourſe to the *Spartans*, and by their means they overthrew the Kingdom of *Phidon*, and recovered their antient Privileges [f].

Eud. I ſuppoſe, he was the laſt prince of the Houſe of *Temenus*, that reigned in *Argolis*.——

Pal. Undoubtedly, after his Fall his Kingdom was broken into many parts [g]. But whether any Child of his ſucceeded to any Portion of his Dominions, Hiſtory does not mention. *Herodotus* [h] indeed has preſerved to us the name of a Son of his, *Leocides*. Probably his Poſterity may have reigned in ſome of the Cities of the *Argives:* if they did, it certainly was with *limited Authority*, and *diminiſhed Splendor*; the People having preſcribed ſevere bounds to the Regal Power, from the Days of *Phidon* [i].

Eud. Juſt now you ſaid, that many Chronologers aſcribed him too high an Antiquity——

Pal. Yes; *Euſebius* [k], and many others [l] tell us,

[e] *Herodot.* in Erato. *Strabo* Geogr. L. 8.

[f] *Strabo* Lib. ſupra citato.

[g] Hence it was, that, when *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, the Cities of *Argolis* had not any Union of Intereſts.—See Dial. 5. P. 160.

[h] *Herodot.* in Erato.

[i] It appears from *Herodotus* (in *Polymnia*) that at the time of the *Perſian* War there was a King at *Argos*; but nevertheleſs, as has been obſerved before (P. 160) the Government was chiefly *Ariſtocratical*, the principal Power being lodged in the Hands of the Senate: and this very Shadow of a King continued but few years after——Vide *Herodot.* in Polymnia.

[k] *Euſeb.* Chronic.

[l] Vide *Dodwelli* Chronol. Antiq. *Athenienſium* pro *Marmor. Oxon.*

us, that he was elder than the Olympiads, that is, above two hundred Years more antient than he really was.

Eud. And is there reaſon to believe, that he lived at the time you mentioned?

Pal. There are many ſtrong reaſons. For, in the firſt place, it appears from *Strabo* [m] that *Phidon* was the *fourteenth*, and from *Velleius Paterculus* [n] that he was the *ſixteenth* from *Hercules*. Now *Anaxander* and *Anaxidamus*, who reigned in *Sparta* at the time the Second *Meſſenian* War ended, were likewiſe in the *ſixteenth* degree of the *Herculean* Line.———Again, *Alexander* of *Macedon*, who came into *Greeece* with *Xerxes*, was the *ſixth* [o] from the *firſt Founder* of the *Macedonian* Kingdom; and the firſt Founder of the *Macedonian* Kingdom, as you have already ſeen, was Cotemporary with *Phidon* [p]. Now *Xerxes* marched into *Greece* towards the end of the Seventy fourth, and the beginning of the Seventy fifth Olympiad [q]. So that reckoning back 120 Years from that Epoch, that is, at the rate of 20 Years to a Generation—for the Computation of *Alexander*'s Anceſtors is by the eldeſt Sons, and *Alexander* at this time was in the bloom of Life—and it fixes the Reign of *Phidon* to the 45th Olympiad, about which time, I ſuppoſe, he began to tyrannize in *Argolis*, and expel his Kindred.

All

[m] Vide *Strabon.* Geogr. L. 8.

[n] Vide Vell. Peterc. L. 1. C. 6.

[o] *Herodot.* in Urania.

[p] This Founder of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, was called *Perdiccas*, according to *Herodotus* ——See Dialo. 5. P. 221. N. 1.——Several other Writers make *Perdiccas* the Succeſſor of *Caranus*.

[q] Vide *Selden.* Chronic. *Marmoreum.* Et *Herodot.* in *Polymnia* et *Urania*.

All this is confirmed by what *Herodotus* [r] tells us, that *Leocides* ſon to *Phidon*, and *Megacles* Son to *Alcmaeon* the *Athenian*, courted *Agariſta* the Daughter of *Cliſthenes*, Prince of *Sicyon* [s]. Now it is unqueſtionable, that *Alcmaeon* was Cotemporary with *Solon*; and therefore muſt *Phidon* alſo have been Cotemporary with him, tho' probably he was his elder by ſome Years. And Chronologers all agree to place the Legiſlature of *Solon* ſomewhere near the 50th Olympiad, and therefore about this time muſt *Phidon* have lived.——It is alſo to be obſerved, that *Alcmaeon*, whoſe Son *Megacles* was Cotemporary with, and in Years nearly equal to, *Leocides*, the Son of *Phidon*, lived in the Days of *Croeſus* King of *Lydia*, and was entertained at his Court. And *Sardis* was taken, and *Croeſus* made Priſoner at the beginning of the fifty ninth Olympiad [t].——

From all which it is highly probable, that the War againſt *Phidon* fell out ſome few Years after the Concluſion of the Second *Meſſenian* War; perhaps about the beginning of the Reign of *Archidamus* and *Eurycratides*. Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that he preſided at the Olympic Games in the 49th Olympiad, and that his Kingdom was overthrown

[r] In Erato.

[s] It does not appear, that this *Cliſthenes* was of the Family of the *Temenidae*. *Pauſanias* (in *Corinthiacis*) ſays, he was Son to *Ariſtonymus*, and Grandſon to *Pyrrho*. It is plain he muſt have flouriſhed at the ſame time as *Phidon*. Probably *Phidon* contented himſelf with making him his Tributary: or perhaps was he aſſiſtant to the ambitious Schemes of that Tyrant of *Argos*.——See Dial. 5. P. 160.—See alſo concerning *Cliſthenes* Dial. 8.

[t] Vide *Petavii* Rat. Temp. P. 1. L. 2. C. 9. See alſo *Newton*'s Chronol.

overthrown about the Fiftieth [u].——And it deſerves conſideration, that this Period of time, during which I ſuppoſe *Phidon* to have been employed in extending his Empire, was certainly the moſt favourable to his deſigns. For the *Meſſenian* War did not end, 'till the third Year of the forty ſixth Olympiad. And therefore ſuch muſt the Diſtreſſes of the *Spartans* have been during the Continuance of this War, that they could have but little opportunity to attend to the Concerns of others.—Hence alſo *probably* it was, that, in the laſt Years of *Ariſtomenes*, the *Argives* did not exert themſelves in behalf of the *Meſſenians*, as might have been expected. The whole Nation was in a diſtracted State, and had their own Liberties to contend for.

[u] Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s (Chronol. of Ant. Kingdoms) collects theſe Dates from what *Pauſanias* relates, that in the 48th Olympiad began the Diſputes between thoſe of *Elis*, and thoſe of *Piſa*, about the Right of Preſiding; and that, at the Celebration of the Fiftieth, an end was put to all Contention about this Right, and Perſons were choſen by Lot out of the City of *Elis*. ——Vide *Pauſaniam* in Eliac. L. 1.

DIALOGUE THE EIGHTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

THE earlier Days of *Athens* were Days of Difficulty and Confuſion; the People ſtruggling againſt the Power of the Nobles, and the Nobles refuſing to yield up their Privileges to the People. The Eſtabliſhment of the *Annual Archons* ſeemed to promiſe the Commonwealth more Stability. The Supreme Authority was no longer inveſted in one Perſon; and they, who were raiſed to the Magiſtracy, were ſoon to deſcend again into the rank of Subjects, and to render an exact and rigorous account of their Adminiſtration. This Order of Government took place, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, in the 43d Olympiad [w]: and *Creon*, as I obſerved to you ſome Days ſince [x], was the firſt *Annual Archon*.

Eud. Were not theſe *Annual Archons* nine in number?

Pal. The Office of *Archon* was ſhared among nine Perſons, and each had his particular Department aſſigned to him; but there was only one, to whom the title of *Archon* was given. He was called ſo, by way of Eminence; for he had the Precedency of all the reſt: the higher Acts of Royalty belonged originally to him, and it was

[w] See Dialogue 6th P. 230. N. *
[x] See P. 231.

with his Name the Year was inſcribed.——The Magiſtrate next to him was the *Baſileus*, Βασιλεὺς, or the King: to him was committed the Care of all Religious Matters, and the Inſpection of the Sacred Families [y]; and on this account was he honoured with the Regal Title; for in antient times the Kings were the *Officers* of *Religion*, as well as of *Civil Polity* [z]; and the more auguſt Sacrifices were performed by their Miniſtry.——The third *Archon* was the *Polemarchus*, or the *General*; and from this Appellation it is evident, that, at the firſt, Military Affairs were under his Direction: But *Solon* confined his Power within narrower Bounds; and we find, that in the later times of *Athens* his principal Office was to celebrate certain Religious Solemnities in honour of the *Deities of War*, and to the Memory of *Deceaſed Patriots*; and to take care of a Proviſion for the Children of thoſe, who had fallen in the Defence of their Country.—— The ſix other Archons were ſtyled the *Theſmothetae*. It is thought by ſome, that at the beginning they were inſtituted in behalf of the People, to vindicate their Rights, and to temper the power of the three firſt Archons. Certainly, their name ſeems to imply, that they were the Guardians of the Conſtitution: perhaps were they appointed to prevent any Ordinances from taking place, that might abridge the People of their Liberties, and impair the Public Proſperity [a].

Clean.

[y] Theſe were they, to whom certain Prieſthoods or Religious Offices were peculiarly affected, ſuch as the Εὐμολπίδαι and Κήρυκες.—See a further account of theſe in Arch. *Potter*'s excellent Treatiſe of the *Grecian* Antiquities; B. 2. C. 3.

[z] Vide *Virgil* Aeneid. L. 3. V. 80, et *Servium* in locum.

[a] Vide *Ubbon Emm.* Veter. Graec. et *Meurs* Them. Attic.

Clean. How were theſe new Regulations reliſhed at *Athens?*

Pal. The Nobles were far from being ſatisfied with them; they mourned their loſt Privileges, and beheld with indignation this Encreaſe of Liberty to the People.

Clean. But the People themſelves——were not they well contented?

Pal. One thing was yet wanting to them. There were no *Laws* at *Athens*; excepting thoſe, which had been enacted in her Infant-State, or, as the Poets ſtyle it, in the Days of *Ceres*, when the firſt Introduction of Tillage and Improvement occaſioned Boundaries, and Rules of Property, to be eſtabliſhed: and theſe, according to the Simplicity of thoſe early times, were few and incomplete. In moſt caſes, the Conſcience of the Magiſtrate was in the place of Law——a *Power* this, eaſily abuſed, and always ungrateful to a People fond of Liberty. Theſe Inconveniences induced them to elect *a Lawgiver*; and to this important Office was *Draco* * appointed, *a Perſon of high Character for Probity and Unblemiſhed Manners.*

Clean. The fitteſt Perſon ſurely to preſcribe Laws to a People.——

Pal. Probity and *Unblemiſhed Manners*, my dear *Cleanthes*, are the fundamental Qualifications. But, in order to win over the Affections of a People, and to ſecure their Submiſſion to Government, Juſtice muſt not be inflexible. *Draco* forgot this.

* According to *Euſebius*, *Draco*'s Legiſlature was the firſt Year of the 39th Olympiad: and according to Sir *Iſaac Newton* it was not till the laſt Year of the Fifty firſt. I would rather ſay, that it was in the 43d or 44th Olympiad, ſome few Years before the *Cylonian* Conſpiracy.——See P. 309.

All his Ordinances were arrayed in Terrors; and the leaſt Tranſgreſſion was to be puniſhed with Death[b]. This *extreme Severity* fruſtrated the purpoſes of the Legiſlator. His Inſtitutions ſoon fell into Diſuſe; and the *Athenians* choſe rather to leave Crimes unpuniſhed, than to renounce the Dictates of Mercy.

Eud. I have often thought, that *Draco*, in thoſe Laws of his, might have in view, to break the Spirit of the *Athenian* People by frequent Executions, and to put the Lives of them all in the power of the Magiſtrates; ſince, under ſo rigorous an Oeconomy, it was ſcarcely poſſible, but every *Athenian* muſt render himſelf obnoxious in ſome inſtance.

Pal. Your Conjecture, *Eudoxus*, is not without foundation. Doubtleſs, this Multiplying of Penal Laws had in it more of the Genius of Arbitrary Government, than of a Free State: and accordingly we find, that *Draco* was ſhortly after forced to retire from *Athens*; in ſuch deteſtation was he held there by the People, on account of the Bloody Laws, he had enacted[c].

Clean. So the *Athenians* found themſelves under a neceſſity of chuſing a new Lawgiver?

Pal. The *Domeſtic Troubles*, that followed, left them little leiſure for this. Theſe *Troubles* were occaſioned by *Cylon*, an *Athenian* of Noble Birth; his Quality and Wealth had acquired him a great Number of Dependants, and beſides he was become conſiderable by his Marriage with the Daughter of *Theagenes* Tyrant of *Megara*. Theſe Advantages fired his Ambition; he determined to free himſelf

[b] *Plutarch.* in Solone.
[c] *Heſychius* de Illuſt. Phil.

himſelf from the mortifying Yoke of Popular Government, and to invade the Sovereignty of *Athens*. It ſeems, he had conſulted the Delphic Oracle about the fitteſt time, for executing his Purpoſe, and had received for anſwer, *When the* Athenians *were employed in celebrating the Higheſt Feaſt of Jupiter*. This they concluded to be the *Feaſt of the Olympic Games*. And indeed it was an *inviting* Opportunity, as a great Concourſe of *Athenians* generally reſorted to this Feſtival. In obedience therefore to the Oracle, at the ſolemnizing of the next Olympiad, it was then the 45th Olympiad *, *Cylon* and his Party ſeized on the *Athenian* Citadel. Immediately *Megacles* *, who was the Archon of that Year, got together a conſiderable Force, and preſſed the Conſpirators with ſuch Vigor, that *Cylon* and his Brother were obliged to conſult their ſafety by Flight, and of his Aſſociates as many, as could, took ſanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva*. *Megacles* laboured much to perſuade them to come down, and leave their Cauſe to the iſſue of a Legal Trial: at length they conſented, but with this Precaution; they tied a Cord to the Image of *Minerva*, and held by one end of it, to ſhew, that they ſtill claimed the Protection of the Goddeſs. But unfortunately, as they came down, the Cord happening to break, *Megacles* and they with him took Advantage of the Accident, which they explained into an Intimation, *that the Goddeſs had now rejected them*, and falling inſtantly on them, put moſt of them to Death, ſome even at the Altars, whither they had fled for Refuge. This ſevere Execution proved

* Vide *Dodwelli* Chronolog. Antiq. *Athenienſium Euſebian.*

* This *Megacles* was Father to *Alcmaeon*, and Grandfather to *Megacles*, who married the daughter of *Cliſthenes*, Prince of *Sicyon*— Vide *Herodot.* in Erato.

proved the cauſe of violent Diſtractions. For *Cylon*'s Friends made it their care to intereſt the Superſtition of the People againſt the Archon, and to perſuade them, that the Majeſty of the Gods had been violated. The Prieſts alſo, glad of this fair occaſion of exerting their Authority, zealouſly engaged in the vindication of their polluted Temples, and execrated *Megacles*, and all thoſe concerned with him [d].

Clean. But how did the Miniſters of *Delphi* excuſe themſelves? for they had promiſed ſucceſs to *Cylon.*

Pal. They pretended, that he had miſtaken the time; and that the Great Feſtival, implied in the anſwer of the God, was not *the Olympic Solemnity*, as he imagined, but *the Feaſt of the* Diaſia, which it was cuſtomary to celebrate annually at *Athens* in honour of *Jupiter the Propitious* [e].——Such was the Faith of thoſe deceitful Oracles!——In the midſt of the Diſſenſions, which this unlucky Affair had excited, the *Megarenſes*, who were likewiſe in the Intereſts of *Cylon*, declared War againſt the *Athenians*, and having taken *Niſea*, on the *Saronic* Gulph, paſſed over to *Salamis*, and drove the *Athenians* out of it. The *Athenians* proſecuted the War with great earneſtneſs: but notwithſtanding, after many grievous Loſſes, they were obliged to give up all hopes of recovering the Iſland; and ſo dejected were they at their ill Succeſs, that a Decree was made, by which *the very propoſing to attempt it* was rendered Capital.——There was nevertheleſs a Perſon found, hardy enough to adventure his Life to ſerve his Country. This was *Solon.*

Eud.

[d] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Plutarch.* in Solone. *Pauſan.* in Achaicis.
[e] Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος.——Vide *Thucyd.* ubi ſupra.

Eud. Solon, the Lawgiver?

Pal. Yes; He, who afterwards was the Reſtorer of the *Athenian* State: he was a Perſon of noble Extraction, and ſaid to be lineally deſcended from *Codrus*. And though his Fortune was not equal to his Birth, yet did his many eminent Virtues make full amends for the trifling Advantages of Wealth, he was deprived of.———The better to effect his Deſign, he counterfeited Madneſs; and going into the Public Aſſembly in a Garb ſordid and ridiculous, he began to addreſs the People in Verſes, which he had compoſed for the Occaſion, upbraiding them with their Poorneſs of Spirit, and encouraging them to renew the War. A Number of young *Athenians* crouded about the uncouth Orator; among whom was *Piſiſtratus*, a Nobleman of great Figure, a near Relation of *Solon*'s, and who probably was privy to the Scheme. They loudly applauded the Propoſal, and exhorted their Fellow-Citizens to obey his Directions. Theſe Exhortations, together with the Elegance of the Verſes, and the affecting Manner, in which they were ſpoken, determined the People: the Decree was repealed; and *Solon* having contrived a Stratagem to ſurprize the *Megarenſes*, or, according to others, having by his Prudence brought about an Accommodation, *Salamis* was recovered [f].

This acquired *Solon* much honour. But his Fame was yet more highly advanced by a conſiderable ſervice, which he performed to the Common Cauſe of *Greece*. The People of *Criſſa* had levied tribute on thoſe, that came to conſult the *Pythian* God; and

[f] *Plutarch.* in Solone.

and not contented with theſe impious exactions, had even made incurſions into the *Delphic* Borders, and attempted to pillage the Temple. Such daring Sacrilege raiſed the Indignation of *Solon*: he applied to the *Amphictionic* States, and procured an Army to be ſent againſt the *Criſſeans*, of which *Eurylochus* of *Theſſaly*, *Cliſthenes* Prince of *Sicyon*, and *Alcmaeon* Son to *Megacles*, were appointed Generals: and he himſelf alſo accompanied them [g]. ——The *Criſſeans* were not intimidated, they prepared for their defence; and, that the *Protection of Heaven* might not be thought wanting to them, they even obtained an Oracle [h], that ſeemed to portend them the Victory. The Purport of it was—— *that* Criſſa *never ſhould be taken, until the Sea waſhed the Territories of* Delphi: and yet were the *Delphic* Territories many Miles diſtant from the Sea Shore. This *Declaration* gave Courage to thoſe of *Criſſa*; and

[g] *Plutarch.* ubi ſupra. *Aeſchin.* contra Cteſiphont. *Pauſan.* in *Phocicis.* et *Scholiaſt.* in *Pindar. Pyth.*

[h] This Oracle has been preſerved to us both by *Aeſchines* in his Oration againſt *Cteſiphon*, and by *Pauſanias* in his Antiquities of *Phocis*. The Words are not exactly the ſame in theſe two Authors, but the difference is not material. In *Pauſanias* the Oracle ſtands thus——

Οὐ πρὶν τῆς δε πόλης ἐρείψετε πύργον ἐλόντες,
Πρὶν ἡ ἐμῶ τεμένει κυανώπιδα Ἀμφιτρίτης
Κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον.

Never ſhall Criſſa feel the Victor's rage,
Until the blue-ey'd Empreſs of the Deep
With ſwelling ſurge ſhall lave my Sacred Bounds.

and greatly diſpirited the Confederate Army. At length, when the Siege had now laſted ſeveral Years [j], it occurred to *Solon* [k], that the Oracle might admit of a more happy Interpretation. He adviſed the *Amphictiones*, ſolemnly to devote to the *Delphic* God all the Country of the *Criſſeans*; *and then*, ſays he, *ſhall the Territories of* Delphi *be waſhed by the Sea, and the Oracle be fulfilled.* This Expedient proved favourable to the *Amphictiones*; and ſoon after [l] was *Criſſa* [m] taken [n]. This War is called by ſome the Firſt Sacred War.

Notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes abroad, the *Athenian* Affairs were ſtill in Confuſion. The *Cylonian* Faction maintained a laſting Enmity againſt thoſe of *Megacles*'s Party; and the Prieſts, who all acted in conjunction with the former, were continually repreſenting, that ſome heavy Guilt impended

[j] It is ſaid to have laſted ten Years—— *Calliſthen.* apud *Athenaeum.*

[k] *Pauſan* in *Phocicis.* *Suidas* in Σωλων.——*Pauſanias* adds a Circumſtance very diſhonourable to *Solon*; he ſays he poiſoned the Waters of the *Criſſeans.*

[l] It was taken, according to the *Marbles*, and the *Greek Scholiaſt* on *Pindar*, the ſecond Year of the 47th Olympiad. Sir *Iſaac Newton* thinks we ought to correct this Date, and rather ſay, that it was taken on the firſt Year of the 53d Olympiad.

See *Newton*'s Chronology.——

[m] This City has been known by two Names, that of *Criſſa*, and that of *Cirrha*. *Criſſa* was the more antient, and the latter ſeems to be a corruption of the former. Several Authors have endeavoured to prove that theſe were two diſtinct Cities, but this, both by the teſtimony of the accurate *Pauſanias*, and of thoſe ingenious and obſerving Moderns, *Spon*, and *Wheeler*, appears to have been an opinion ill-founded.

Voyez Hiſtoir. de *l'Acad.* des. Inſcrip. Tom. 3.

[n] It was after this, and out of the Spoils of the *Criſſeans*, that *Eurylochus* the *Theſſalian* celebrated the *Pythian* Games with ſuch extraordinary Magnificence, and beſtowed Pecuniary Rewards on the Victor.——*Scholiaſt.* in *Pindar. Pyth.*——

See Dial. 5. P. 172. N. 29.

over the City, and demanded Expiation. About the ſame time, a Peſtilence broke out at *Athens*. There were alſo Prodigies and ſtrange Appearances ſeen frequently, owing doubtleſs to the Artifices of the Prieſts, aſſiſted by the diſtempered Fancies of the ſuperſtitious People. However, *Solon* evidently perceived, that theſe Diſtractions never could have an end, except Means could be found to free their Minds from the Horrors they laboured under; and to perſuade them, *that the Gods were placated.* For this purpoſe, he prevailed on as many of the Aſſiſtants of *Megacles*, as were living, to ſubmit to a Trial, and, when condemned to Baniſhment, to depart peaceably out of the *Athenian* Territories. He cauſed alſo *Epimenides* of *Crete*, a man in high repute for Sanctity, and famed for his Skill in Expiations, to be ſent for: This Perſon was of infinite uſe to the *Athenian* People; for not only he eaſed them of the Dread of Divine Vengeance, by the ſolemn Expiatory Sacrifices, which he offered in their behalf, and rendered the City more healthy by cleanſing and purifying it; but alſo he taught the People, to entertain happier notions of Religion, he inſtructed them to court the favour of the Gods, not by pompous Oblations, but by Piety and Holy Manners, he diſpoſed their Minds to Unity and Peace, and made them more flexible and patient of Controll. Theſe ſage Leſſons ſeem to have prepared the way for the eſtabliſhing the *Athenian* State on a firmer Baſe. The *Athenians* now ſaw, what had been the principal Cauſe of their late Calamities, and began to be convinced, that the Commonwealth could not proſper, until their Civil Rights were ſecurely ſettled, and all Orders of Men chearfully conſpired to advance the Public Good. In theſe Diſpoſitions, they

they all turned their Eyes on *Solon*; both Rich and Poor had an entire confidence in his Probity, and were willing to ſubmit the Diſcuſſion of all their Claims to his Deciſion. So that by unanimous conſent he was choſen Supreme Magiſtrate of *Athens*, with unlimited power to enact new Laws, and model the Conſtitution [o].

Clean. What a truſt, *Palaemon!*

Pal. A truſt, *trying*, and *hazardous:* but this excellent Perſon had both the Abilities and the Integrity, this momentous Charge required. *Plutarch* tells us, that at the beginning many of the chief Men of *Athens* were extremely urgent, that he ſhould make himſelf King; but he rejected the Propoſal with the utmoſt indignation. *Virtue was to him of more value, than all the Splendor of Regal Dignity* [p].

Clean. Great indeed!

Pal. The firſt Act of Power he performed, after his being inveſted with the Legiſlative Authority, ſhewed the generous Feelings of his Heart. It was in favour of the meaner rank of Citizens. There was a prodigious inequality of Fortune among the *Athenians*, and the Avarice and Haughtineſs of the Rich had reduced the Poor to the loweſt degree of Wretchedneſs. Not only their Lands had been ſeized by their mercileſs Creditors; but alſo they themſelves were frequently ſold as Slaves. Many of them had been obliged to purchaſe their Liberty, by giving up their own Children to Bondage; or to ſeek a refuge in other Climes from the perſecution of thoſe cruel Exactors. Theſe Evils had been of long continuance, and had occa-

[o] *Plutarch.* in *Solone. Diogen. Laert.* in *Epimenide.*
[p] Vide *Plutarch.* ubi ſupra.

ſioned loud and grievous murmurings. *Solon* therefore enacted, that the Marks of mortgaged Lands ſhould be removed, all Debts diſcharged entirely, and every *Athenian* reſtored to Liberty and the Enjoyment of his Country. The moneyed Men were much diſpleaſed at this; and the Poor were far from being contented: they expected, a new Diviſion of Lands ſhould have taken place, and that the Rich would be obliged to reſign ſome part of their wide Poſſeſſions. But in a ſhort time *Solon* convinced both Parties of the Expediency of this Ordinance; and, in proof of the general Satisfaction, a Public Feſtival was celebrated, called the Feaſt of the *Seiſactheia*[q], or *the Diſburthening*, becauſe the People were now ſet free from the *heavy Burthen*, under which they had laboured[r].

Plutarch relates a Circumſtance in this Affair, which may ſerve to ſhew, how nicely Men in exalted Stations ſhould ſcan thoſe, whom they admit to their Friendſhip. *Solon* had certain Intimates, to whom every ſecret of his Heart was open. And to them he communicated his Plan of cancelling all Debts, but of leaving Land-Eſtates entire. Theſe falſe Friends ſacrificed *Solon*'s Credit to their own private Intereſt; and, having immediately borrowed large Sums, purchaſed Lands. When the new Law was promulged, this Deceit occaſioned great indignation: but the Legiſlator ſoon gave abundant proof of his own Uprightneſs, by his remitting five Talents, which he was known to have lent; and the whole Infamy fell on thoſe worthleſs men, who were ever after ſtigmatized with a name of ſingular reproach[s].

When

[q] Σεισάχθεια, from σείω, to ſhake off, and ἄχθος, a burthen.
[r] *Plutarch*, ubi ſupra. *Diogen. Laert.* in *Solone.*
[s] Χρεωκοπίδαι, Sinkers of Debts.

When he had thus exerted himſelf in vindication of the Injured and Oppreſſed, he then turned his Thoughts to the forming the Commonwealth. Notwithſtanding the Supreme Authority was portioned out among nine Perſons, the whole Magiſtracy of *Athens* had hitherto remained in the Hands of thoſe of extenſive Fortune, and noble Birth; and the People were entirely excluded from all Share in the Government. *Solon* wiſely conſidered, that a more equal Diſtribution of Power might add to the public Security and Strength. To this end, he formed the Citizens into different Claſſes, according to the difference of Eſtates. In the firſt Claſs he ranked thoſe, who were worth five hundred meaſures both in wet and dry fruits [t]: and theſe were the Nobles of the higheſt Quality. In the ſecond Claſs thoſe were placed, who were worth three hundred meaſures [u]: theſe were nearly of the ſame Dignity, as the Knights in the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and were obliged to furniſh an Horſe [w] for Military Service [x]. The third Claſs conſiſted of ſuch, as were worth only two hundred meaſures: and this was the Body of the *Athenian* Gentry [y]. Out of theſe three

[t] Πενταχοσιομέδιμνοι.——Theſe paid a Talent into the Public Treaſury.——*Pollux*. 8. 10. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Ariſtides*, tells us, that the *Archons* were to be choſen only out of this Claſs of Citizens.

[u] Τριακοσιομέδιμνοι.

[w] Whence they were alſo called Ἱππάδατελεῖντες.

[x] Or to pay half a Talent into the Public Treaſury.—*Pollux*, ubi ſupra.

[y] Theſe were called Ζευγῖται, from Ζεύγνυμι to join, becauſe they formed the middle rank between the Knights and the People: or becauſe two of them *jointly* furniſhed an Horſe for the Service. According to *Pollux*, they were, in default of the Horſe, to pay, each of them, ten Minae, or the ſixth part of a Talent, into the Treaſury.

three Orders he appointed all the Officers of the State to be choſen. The remainder of the People he formed into one Claſs; and theſe were the Vaſſals, or Perſons labouring for hire [a]: They were rendered incapable of bearing any Office, but in return they enjoyed the Right of voting in the General Aſſembly. This at firſt ſeemed an inconſiderable Privilege, tho' afterwards it was found to be a Power of the greateſt extent: for all, who pleaſed, had the liberty, in every caſe, of appealing to this Aſſembly; ſo that by degrees, the People, tho' not Magiſtrates themſelves, became the Judges of Magiſtrates, Lords of the State, and final Arbitrators of all Controverſies: no Appointment made by the Senate was valid, until ratified by their Decrees; all Honours depended on their Suffrages; and to their examination was the Conduct of even the Archons themſelves ſubjected [a].

Clean. So that the People were in truth the Supreme Governours of *Athens.*——Was not this too great a Power conceded to them [b]?

Pal. Plutarch intimates, that *Solon* found ſo ſtrong a Bent to Liberty in the People, that he did not think it ſafe to reſiſt it; and that therefore he introduced a Democracy, as the only kind of Government the Spirit of the *Athenians* would ſubmit to. It may be alſo, that he ſuſpected the tyrannical temper of the Men of Wealth, whoſe Pride and Cruelty had already brought *Athens* to the Brink of Deſtruction. But however, *Solon* did not give up the Guidance of the State to the Will of the giddy Multitude: he appointed two great Councils, that might ſerve as Anchors to the Common-

[a] Θητες.
[a] *Plutarch* ubi ſupra. *Ubbon. Emm.* Vet. Graec.
[b] Vide *Ariſt.* Polit. L. 2. C. 10.

mon-wealth, and break the Violence of popular Tumult.——The firſt of theſe was the Senate of the *Areopagites*, ſo called from *Areopagus*, or *Mars*'s *Hill*[e], the Place, where they held their Seſſions. This Court owed its Inſtitution to *Cranaus*, one of the firſt *Athenian* Kings, and was the ſupreme Court of *Athens* for many Ages: but *Draco*, in his Legiſlature, transferred the moſt important Cauſes to the Court of the *Ephetae*; ſo that from that time the *Areopagites* loſt much of their former Splendor. *Solon* reſtored them, and *augmented* them with many new Privileges. He ordered that all kinds of Murder, or Attempts of Murder, thoſe eſpecially by Poyſon, ſhould come under their cognizance. He aſſigned them the Cuſtody of the Laws, and the Inſpection of the Public Funds. The Care of young Perſons of both Sexes belonged to them. They were the Guardians of Manners. All Matters of Religion, Blaſphemy againſt the Gods, Contempt of the Holy Myſteries, and the Introduction of new Ceremonies into Divine Worſhip, were referred to their Judgment. They were to puniſh all the Profligate and Impious; and to enquire by what Means each Man ſupported himſelf, whether by Induſtry and honeſt Labour: for Idleneſs was ſeverely puniſhed at *Athens*, as a Crime of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the National Proſperity, and the Parent of Rapine and all kinds of evil Arts.——This Tribunal was to be compoſed of the moſt Venerable Perſonages, Men of tried Characters, and exemplary Virtue: *Solon*

[e] *Suidas*, thinks it was ſo named, not on account of the Fable, *that Mars was tried in this place*, but as he was *the Deity of War and Blood*, becauſe this was the Court, that took Cognizance of wilful Murder.

Suidas in Ἀρειοπάγος.

Solon ordered, that none but the Archons, who had diſcharged their Office blameleſs, ſhould be Members of it. If any of the Senators were convicted of the leaſt Immorality, they were expelled immediately. Even the ſitting in a Public Houſe was ſufficient to diſqualify them. Their Words, their Geſtures, their very Looks were to be ſolemn and compoſed: to laugh in this Aſſembly was an Act of Levity, for which there was no Forgiveneſs: and it was expreſsly forbidden, that an *Areopagite* ſhould write a Comedy [d].——Such an extreme Delicacy of Virtue did even *Pagans* require in thoſe, that were to be intruſted with the Adminiſtration of the Laws.

Their Method of Proceeding likewiſe ſhewed the niceſt Regard to Juſtice. As ſoon as the Senators were met together, they divided themſelves into different Committees, each of which had their particular Cauſes appointed to them: and this Deſignation was determined by Lot, after they were come into Court, that the Judges, not knowing what Cauſes ſhould fall to their ſhare, might be ſecure againſt all Attempts of Bribery or Favour.—They were to hear Cauſes by Night, and in the Dark, that they might not be affected by ſeeing either the Plaintiff or Defendant.——They were to ſit in the open Air; a Cuſtom indeed common to all the Courts, that took cognizance of Murder: for in thoſe Days ſo execrable was the Perſon of a Murderer, that it was eſteemed a Pollution to be under the ſame Roof with him.——They, who pleaded before them, were to ſpeak to the point directly, in a Style ſimple and conciſe; they were not allowed to ſtudy any of the Ornaments of Speech,

[d] *Demoſthen.* paſſim. *Plutarch.* in Solone. *Meurs* reopag.

Speech, nor to preface their Orations with artful and inſinuating Compliments.——When the Senators gave ſentence, they caſt their ſuffrages into Urns placed for that purpoſe, in ſuch a manner, that none ſhould know, on which ſide they voted. It is remarkable, that this Cuſtom was aboliſhed in the Days of the thirty Tyrants, as too favourable to the Cauſe of Liberty [e].——Such was the Court of *Areopagus*, whoſe inflexible Uprightneſs was the great Boaſt of Antiquity. It was accounted the moſt ſacred Tribunal of the *Pagan* World: even Foreign States ſubmitted their Diſputes to its Deciſion [f]: and *Demoſthenes* tells us, that, to his Days, it was never known to have given one iniquitous judgment [g].

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, had this Court any Power of Controll over the Aſſemblies of the People?

Pal. Yes, they were to have a vigilant Eye to their Proceedings, and had the Power to reverſe the Sentence of an Aſſembly, if the People, often raſh and prejudiced in their judgments, were found to have acquitted the Guilty, or condemned the Innocent. So that theſe excellent Men were ſtationed, as faithful Centinels, to watch over the Preſervation of their Country, and to defend the Laws againſt all Infractions whatſoever. On theſe accounts it is, that the Diminution of Honours, which this Court ſuffered, in the Days of *Pericles* [h], has been looked on as one of the principal Cauſes of the Decay of the *Athenian* Glory.

[e] *Lyſias* in *Agorat.*

[f] *Pauſanias* tells us, that the *Meſſenians* were willing, before their Wars with *Sparta*, to ſubmit all Matters to the Judgment of the *Areopagus*. But the *Spartans* refuſed to truſt to that Iſſue.——In *Meſſeniacis.*

[g] In *Ariſtocratea.*

[h] *Plutarch.* in *Pericle.*

The other Senate, which *Solon* inſtituted, had ye a more direct influence over the Popular Aſſemblies, and the very deſign of it was to moderate and reſtrain the impetuoſity of the Multitude. This was the Senate of Four hundred, or rather of Five hundred, as it was called from the time of *Cliſthenes*, who added one hundred to the number, which *Solon* firſt ordained. It will be neceſſary, *Cleanthes*, that you ſhould have a right notion of this great Council, as it is the main foundation, on which *Solon* raiſed his *Fabric of Government.*— The Members of it were to be elected annually, one hundred out of every Tribe, in the Days of *Solon*; but when *Cliſthenes* had encreaſed the number of the Tribes from four to ten, and the Senate was made to conſiſt of five hundred Perſons, then each Tribe furniſhed fifty. The Method of Election was this. The Preſident of each Tribe gave in the names of all the Perſons in his Diſtrict, who, after a ſevere Examination into their Manners and Courſe of Life, appeared the moſt worthy and capable of the Senatorial Office. Theſe were engraven on ſmall Plates of Braſs, and caſt into a Veſſel contrived for the purpoſe: into another Veſſel was put the like number of Beans, of which Fifty were white, and the reſt black; and they, whoſe Names were drawn out with the white Beans, were admitted into the Senate. After the Election of Senators, the Names of the ten Tribes were thrown into a Veſſel, and into another ten Beans, of which one was white. The Tribe, whoſe Fortune it was to be drawn out together with the white Bean, preſided firſt; the reſt, in the Order in which they were drawn out of the Veſſel. Each Tribe preſided thirty five Days; ſo that the ten Tribes might nearly complete a Lunar Year, which, according

cording to the *Attic* Computation, conſiſted of three hundred and fifty four Days [i]: three hundred and fifty Days therefore were required, that each Tribe might perform its courſe; and the four ſupernumerary Days were employed in the Election of Magiſtrates. The Preſiding Fifty were called ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΣ, *PRYTANES*; and, to prevent confuſion, there was this Arrangement obſerved——the time of their Preſiding was divided into five Weeks, and each week ten *Prytanes* preſided: the *Prytanes* of the Week were called ΠΡΟΗΔΡΟΙ, *PROEDRI*; and out of theſe one was each Day elected by Lot, to be firſt Preſident; ſo that of the *Prytanes* three were excluded from this honour. The Preſident of the Day was called ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ, *EPISTATES*; and to his care were committed, the Great Seal of the Common-wealth, the Keys of the Citadel, and the Keys of the Exchequer. This was an Office of ſuch high importance, that by the Laws no man was permitted to continue in it above one Day, or to be elected into it a ſecond time.

This Senate was convened once every Day, Feſtivals excepted, and even oftener, if Occaſion required: and here audience was given to all, who had any thing to propoſe, that concerned the Common Weal. If the thing propoſed appeared to be of moment, it was engraven on Tablets, and referred to another Meeting, that every Senator might conſider the point maturely, before the time of debate came on. In the Deliberations of the Council, all the Senators had full liberty to ſpeak their opinion, and to ſupport it by reaſons; and when they voted, it

[i] De Forma veteris Anni *Attici*, et de Anno *Solonis*, Vide *Cenſorin.* de Die *Natali.* et *Dodwelli.* de Veter. Grec. *Cyclis* Diſſert. tertiam de *Cyclis* Metone *antiquioribus.* See alſo *Potter*'s *Grecian* Antiquities, B. 2. C. 26.

was, as in the *Areopagus*, privately, by Beans caſt into a Veſſel. If the Majority was found to approve of the Propoſal, it was enacted into a Decree, if not, it was rejected entirely. Theſe Decrees of the Senate were afterwards to be propounded to the General Aſſembly of the People, that they might receive ratification; otherwiſe, they were in force only during that Year, until the election of a New Senate [k]. It was in this view chiefly *Solon* inſtituted this Court, that the People might not, by the means of eloquent and artful Speakers, be hurried into haſty reſolutions; but that all the Meaſures of Government ſhould be the reſult of deliberate thought and calm Councils. And, beſides this great end of their Inſtitution, theſe Senators had alſo ſeveral important Offices aſſigned to them. They were to have the Inſpection of the Public Priſons; they were to take care of thoſe Reduced Citizens, that were maintained by an Allowance out of the Exchequer; and the Accounts of Magiſtrates, at the expiration of their Office, were to be laid before them. And in ſucceeding times, when the Maritime Power of *Athens* began to encreaſe, they were the Commiſſioners of the Navy, and to provide for the building of new Ships of War. On this account, it was a Law among the *Athenians*, that thoſe Senators, during whoſe Adminiſtration no Ships had been built, ſhould be deprived of the honour of wearing a Crown, the uſual reward of thoſe, who had ſerved their Country faithfully [l].——This Decree probably was enacted

[k] The Reſolutions of the Senate were called Προβουλεύματα, and Ψήφισματα, but, when enacted into Decrees by the People, they had the name of Νόμοι given to them.

[l] Vide *Plutarch.* in *Solone*; *Demoſthenem.* paſſim; *Pollucem*; et *Ubb. Emmium* de Repub. *Athenienſium.*

ted ſoon after the Engagement at *Salamis*, when Naval Glory became the darling Purſuit of the *Athenians*.

But the Court of *Dernier reſort* was *the Great Aſſembly of the People*. This Aſſembly was held regularly four times during every *Prytaneia*, that is, in the ſpace of thirty five Days, or more frequently, if any weighty unexpected occaſion required it. Many were the Precautions made uſe of, to preſerve order among this Multitude. Some time before their meeting, a Placart [m] was to be affixed on the Statues of the ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΙ [n], in a place of general concourſe, on which were written the Matters to be propoſed to them. There were Perſons, whoſe Office it was to remind the People of the Laws of their Country [o], and to hinder them from decreeing any thing ſubverſive of the Public Good. One of the Tribes was appointed to take care of the Suggeſtum, and to defend the Commonwealth againſt the inſinuations of ambitious and popular Orators. No Man was allowed to make an Oration, until they, who were upwards of Fifty Years old, had ſpoken; and even then, all under thirty Years were excluded.——Religion alſo was called in, to render their Debates the more awful and ſerious. The Omens were obſerved. The Place, where they aſſembled, was purified with the Blood of Victims: and when the Expiation was ended, one

[m] Πρόγραμμα.

[n] Theſe were certain Heroes, which were called Επώνυμοι from the Names they gave to the *Athenian* Tribes, and honoured with Statues erected near the Senate-Houſe. Their Names, according to *Pauſanias* (in his Antiquities of *Attica*) were theſe, *Erechtheus, Cecrops, Aegeus, Pandion, Acamas, Antiochus, Leo, Oeneus, Hippothoon, Ajax.*

[o] Νομοφυλακες.

one of the Sacred Officers [p] made a ſolemn Prayer for the Proſperity of the State, and the ſucceſs of their Deliberations; and pronounced a tremendous Execration againſt all thoſe, who ſhould give their Suffrages for Lucre, or endeavour any thing in that Aſſembly to the impairing of the Public Weal.

Eud. But, with all this, muſt not ſo numerous an Aſſembly have been extremely confuſed and tumultuous?

Pal. There is reaſon to believe it muſt, at leaſt is it certain that it was ſo in the Days of *Demoſthenes*. We are told, that he was wont to exerciſe himſelf by ſpeaking on the Sea-ſhore, that, from being accuſtomed to the noiſe of the waves, he might be undiſmayed at the Shouts and hoarſe Murmurs of the People. But, what was much more to be feared in an Aſſembly of this kind, was the Influence of corrupted Counſellors, who, being ambitious of leading the People, might purchaſe their favour at the price of the Public Proſperity. And to this are we to aſcribe thoſe Laws, which, in the later times of *Athens*, complimented away to the People the Funds, which ought to have been expended for the ſupport of the Commonwealth, and, in the ſtead of well-diſciplined Armies and formidable Fleets, gratified them with Shews and Theatrical Diverſions.

Clean. Pray, *Palaemon*, were all the *Athenians* members of this Aſſembly?

Pal. All the Freemen of *Athens*, who are ſuppoſed to have been about twenty thouſand, had a right of voting in it, thoſe excepted, who had been guilty of any enormous Crime, who had been irreverent to their Parents, or contemned the Gods. The

[p] Κήρυξ.

The wiſe *Athenians* juſtly thought, that a Man, vicious in his private Life, was ſcarcely to be intruſted with the Concerns of his Country.

Clean. You have often mentioned their caſting their Votes into Urns: was their manner of giving their Suffrages always the ſame?

Pal. No——in the Great Aſſembly of the People it was generally by holding up of hands: they, who were for the Affirmative, held them up: whence in antient Authors *to hold up the hand* [q] ſignifies to ordain, and eſtabliſh. But when the Matter propoſed was of high moment, and the Great Perſons of the Commonwealth were deeply intereſted in the fate of the Queſtion, it was cuſtomary to vote by Ballot, that the pooreſt Citizen of *Athens* might enjoy his Liberty unreſtrained. The ſame method, as you have ſeen, was alſo in uſe in the *Areopagus* and the Council of Five hundred, as well as in moſt of the ſmaller Courts of *Athens*. This way of voting was by *Beans* or *Pebbles*, *black* and *white*: the *black* denied, the *white* affirmed; and in Criminal Caſes, the *white* abſolved, the *black* condemned. If there was the ſame number of *white* as of *black*, the Law leaned to Mercy, and pronounced the Priſoner not guilty.

Eud. It appears by this, that the Power of the *Archons* was confined within narrow Limits, under the Conſtitution eſtabliſhed by *Solon*——

Pal. Their Power extended little farther than to examine the Cauſes brought before them, and to refer them to the cognizance either of the Court of *Areopagus*, or the Judges of the inferior Tribunals.

Clean. What were theſe Tribunals?

Pal.

[q] Χειροτονεῖν.

Pal. There were at *Athens* ten Judicial Courts, four of which had cognizance of Actions concerning Blood; and the ſix remaining, of Civil Matters. The moſt remarkable of theſe was the Court of *Heliaea*, in which were tried Civil Affairs of the greateſt moment: it always conſiſted of at leaſt fifty Judges, and in Cauſes of ſingular importance the number ſometimes roſe to Fifteen hundred.—In theſe Courts every *Athenian*, who was of the Age of thirty, and not declared infamous, might claim a Seat. And this was the Method obſerved. Thoſe, who had leiſure to hear Cauſes, delivered in their Names, together with the Names of their Father and Borough, to the *Theſmothetae*, who, after determining by Lot which Court ſhould be aſſigned them, gave them *Tablets*, on which was engraven the *Letter* of the Court, which the Lot had directed: for the Gate of each Court was marked with a particular *Letter*. Theſe Tablets they carried to the Crier of the *Court*, ſignified by the *Letter*: and from him every Man received a *Tablet* inſcribed with his own Name, and the Name of the *Court*, which fell to his Lot, and a Scepter, the Enſign of Judicial Authority. Upon their admiſſion into the Court, they were obliged to take a ſolemn Oath, *that they would give Sentence uprightly, and according to Law, where the Law had determined, and, if the Law was ſilent, according to the beſt of their Judgment.* After the Deciſion of the Cauſe, each Judge had an Obolus paid to him.——When the Conſtitution was falling to decay, and falſe Counſellors began to cultivate Popular favour, this Stipend was advanced conſiderably higher [r].

Clean. I thought the Great Aſſembly of the People judged all Matters.——

Pal.

[r] *Scholiaſt.* in *Ariſtoph.* Ran. et Veſp.

Pal. They might in Caſes of Appeal: but their peculiar Province was to debate and determine about the high Matters of Government, Peace and War, Alliances with Foreign States, the enacting of New Laws, and the cancelling of thoſe, that were become either uſeleſs or detrimental. The only Puniſhment it belonged to them to inflict was that of Oſtraciſm; if this can properly be called a Puniſhment, when neither the Life, nor the Eſtate, nor the Reputation of the Perſon ſentenced, could be affected by it.

Clean. What was the nature of this Oſtraciſm?

Pal. It was the voting into Baniſhment for ten Years any *Athenian*, whoſe diſtinguiſhed Worth had rendered him formidable to Liberty. *Democratical States are always ſuſpicious:* and therefore thoſe Perſons, who had raiſed themſelves above the common Level by great and glorious Actions, by their Riches, their Liberality, their Eloquence, were looked on at *Athens*, as dangerous to the Conſtitution, and *this Guilt of Superior Merit* was mulcted with a ten years Exile. This Sentence was always decreed in the General Aſſembly; and it was required, that there ſhould be no leſs than ſix thouſand Voters preſent. The Cuſtom was, that each Perſon ſhould write on an Earthen Tyle, in *Greek* called Ὄστρακον, *Oſtracon*, the name of him whom he would have condemned: and he, whoſe Name was written on the greater number, was ſentenced to Baniſhment. It is ſaid, that the *Oſtraciſm* was inſtituted in the Days of *Theſeus*; if ſo, it was ſeldom put in practice, until the Eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth: at laſt it ended in the Baniſhment of *Hyperbolus*, a baſe mean Man; from which time

it was eſteemed reproachful, and not proper to be inflicted on Perſons honourable and virtuous[s].

Solon's next care was concerning the Laws of Manners. And there is a remarkable Spirit runs through all thoſe enacted by him, principally with relation to theſe three Particulars, *Humanity*, the *Advancement* of *Induſtry* and *Virtue*, and *a Zeal for the Public Good.* Firſt, he endeavoured to poſſeſs the People with the ſtrongeſt abhorrence of Cruelty and Bloody Deeds: when the Murderer was brought to Trial, none of the Judicial Halls, as you have ſeen, was to be polluted with his Preſence; the very Attempt to Murder was a Capital Crime; and even he, who had been guilty of Chance-Medley, was to be exiled from his Country for one Year. And to prevent the raſh effects of ſudden Paſſion, it was forbidden to wear Arms in the City, except in times of Public Danger.——Inſtead of the rigorous Puniſhment of Death, which *Draco* had appointed againſt all Crimes whatſoever, he ſoftened the Laws: the Penalties, which he decreed, affected the Honour or the Property of Men, rather than their Lives or Limbs; and none were to be condemned to die, but ſuch Monſters as had been engaged in murderous Attempts, the Deſpiſers of Religion, the Magiſtrate that diſgraced his Office, and thoſe that conſpired againſt their Country. To all other Offenders the Sanctuaries were open. There was to be a general Releaſe of Priſoners every Year at the Celebration of the *Theſmophoria.* And they, who fell into Errors *unwittingly*, were not even to ſuffer the reproach of being arraigned in the Public Court, but were to be rebuked and admoniſhed privately. He alſo propoſed

[s] *Plutarch.* in Nicia. et paſſim.

propoſed *Rewards* as well as *Penalties*. They, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by faithful Service to the State, were to have the *Firſt Seats* [t] in all Public Places, they were to have *Pictures* or *Statues* erected to them, they were to be honoured with *Crowns*, to enjoy *an Immunity from all Taxes* [u], and *to be entertained at the Expence of the Commonwealth* [w]; which laſt, *Cicero* [x] tells us, was among the *Grecians* reputed one of their moſt ſignal Honours. And to make theſe Diſtinctions of the greater price, he ordered that they ſhould be beſtowed ſparingly, and on Perſons of uncommon worth.

Eud. Doubtleſs, *Palaemon*, ſuch a method of working on the mind muſt have been of wonderous uſe———

Pal. Of greater uſe, than perhaps you perceive at firſt view. It has an immediate influence on the Manners, and muſt highly have improved the *Athenian Character*. Frequent Executions rather harden a People, and contribute to render them fierce and laviſh of ſhedding Blood. Whereas this conferring of honours on the Deſerving, and the inviting of men by theſe gentler Arts, refines the Sentiments, and renders them delicate. You may alſo add, that this *Gratitude* of the State might be an excellent Means of rendering private Perſons *grateful:* they ſaw Public Acknowledgments paid to thoſe, who had merited well——Was not this an inſtructive Leſſon to every Citizen of *Athens*?

But, beſides this general tendency of *Solon*'s Laws, there were ſome particularly deſigned to inforce the Dictates of Humanity. It was forbidden, that any ſhould ſpeak evil of the Dead, though provoked by the Children of the Deceaſed.

[t] Προεδρία. [u] Ἀτέλεια. [w] Σιτία ἐν Πρυτανείῳ.
[x] De Oratore L. 1.

The Defamer and Slanderer were to be fined ſeverely. And he who reviled a living Perſon at the Sacred Solemnities, in the Courts of Juſtice, or at Public Spectacles, was to pay a Mulct of five Drachms, a Sum, according to *Plutarch*, equal to five Sheep.——It is likely, the Civil Feuds, which *Athens* had been a prey to, had rendered theſe laſt Laws neceſſary.

Clean. But how were the Slaves treated?

Pal. Their Lot was ſo happy at *Athens*, as to be thought by *Demoſthenes* preferable to that of *Denizons* in other Cities [y]. If a Slave ſuffered under the Imperiouſneſs of a cruel Maſter, he might take refuge in *Theſeus*'s Temple, and claim the protection of the Laws, which in that caſe obliged the inhuman Maſter to diſpoſe of him to an other Perſon [z]. Slaves were permitted to acquire Eſtates for themſelves, paying to their Maſter a ſmall yearly tribute: and if they could procure money to pay their Ranſom, their Proprietor could not with-hold their Liberty from them. If they were called upon to take up Arms, and behaved themſelves well, they were rewarded with Enfranchiſement, and held in ſingular Eſteem.

Clean. Excellent *Athens!*——Well might the *Genius of Mercy* have an Altar raiſed to it among that humane People.

Pal. The Advancement of Induſtry and Virtue was likewiſe conſulted by many excellent and well-deviſed Laws.——Trade and every kind of induſtrious

[y] Philippic. 2.

[z] But if a Slave had an indulging Maſter, and obtained his Freedom from him, and was afterwards convicted of Ingratitude to his Benefactor, he was reduced to his former State of Slavery. So baſe a Wretch was deemed unworthy the glorious Privilege of Liberty.——*Valer. Max.* L. 2. C. 6.

duſtrious Occupation was declared honourable. An Action of Slander lay againſt him, who ſpoke contemptuouſly of the honeſt Trader. And he who was remarkably ingenious in his Art, was to be accounted a Friend to his Country, and to have a Place of Honour at all Games and Public Shews. ——A Life of Idleneſs was a Crime cognizable by the *Areopagites*, and ſeverely puniſhed. All Perſons were required to have their Children inſtructed in the Rudiments of Literature, or, if of meaner Fortunes, to have them taught Huſbandry or ſome uſeful Trade. And though it was eſpecially provided, that thoſe, who did not honour their Parents, or refuſed them aſſiſtance, ſhould be declared infamous; yet if a Parent neglected the Education of his Child, he was not bound to contribute to his Maintenance, or pay him Filial Duty. The ſame Law was in force with regard to Children, who had been proſtituted by their Parents, and to Children of ſpurious Birth.——The Adultereſs was not permitted to wear Ornaments; if ſhe did, any that met her were at liberty to tear her Cloathes off her Back, and to beat her, provided they did not kill, or diſable her. The Man, who lived with his Wife, after ſhe had been convicted of Adultery, was to be eſteemed infamous.——If any Perſon was found to be extravagant, and to ſquander away his Subſtance, he was condemned to Infamy [a]. There were Officers appointed, to inſpect Public Entertain-

[a] There were two kinds of *Infamy*; by the leſſer, a Man was degraded, and made incapable of all Honour or Office in the Commonwealth——Such was *that* in the Caſe above mentioned.——By the greater, he and his Children were liable to be killed by any Man, and he not to be queſtioned for it.——Such was the Penalty decreed againſt him, who deſerted his Poſt in Battle.——

Entertainments, and to inforce the Sumptuary Laws. None but Mixed Wines were to be allowed at Feaſts, except one Cup of pure Wine to the honour of the good Genius.——Theſe Ordinances eſpecially affected thoſe intruſted with any Office relating to Government; from theſe the Laws required the ſtricteſt Purity of Manners. When a Magiſtrate was to be choſen, the whole courſe of his paſt Life was canvaſſed rigorouſly; and he could not be admitted, until it appeared, that he had been pious towards his Parents, that he had not waſted his Inheritance, nor given way to Luxury. An *Archon*, who was ſeen drunk, was to ſuffer death. And the leaſt Blemiſh in any of the Senators was ſufficient to occaſion their Expulſion.———The like upright and frugal Manners were to have place in the conduct of all Domeſtic Affairs whatſoever.——A Bride, Heireſſes excepted, was not to carry with her to her Huſband's Houſe any more than three Garments, and Veſſels of ſmall value.——Heireſſes were obliged to marry their neareſt Relations, that Fortune might not be a Temptation to ill-ſorted Marriages. And if a Virgin happened to be left an Orphan, and without a Fortune, her neareſt Kinſman was either to give her a Portion, or to marry her himſelf.——No Perſon was to be Guardian to an other, whoſe Eſtate he was to enjoy after his death. And a Guardian was not to marry the Mother of thoſe Orphans, with whoſe Eſtate he was intruſted.----Tombs were not to be adorned with Statues, or to have more work on them, than ten Men could finiſh in three Days. A Concourſe of People was not to be allowed at Funerals; nor were there to be any Women to tear their Faces, and make Lamentations.——It was alſo this regard to Frugality, that moved *Solon* to reſtrain the Recompence beſtowed on thoſe, who obtained the

Victory

Victory in the *Olympic* and *Iſthmian* Games. For though the Prize-Crown was of ſmall value, yet was it now cuſtomary for the Cities, to which the Victors belonged, to confer on them ſome noble pecuniary Rewards. Theſe were ſo extravagant at *Athens*, as to be thought by *Solon* burthenſome to the State. It appears beſides, that he entertained a low Opinion of thoſe boaſted Combatants. They were become uſeleſs Members to the Community; and inſtead of cultivating that kind of Activity and Vigor, that might have made them formidable in Battle, they confined their whole Excellence to the *Agoniſtic* Exerciſes: ſo that, as *Solon* obſerved, *they were dangerous Victors, and were crowned rather againſt, than for their Country* [b].

The third Claſs of Laws were thoſe, which related to the Conſervation of the Public Weal.—— If any Citizen did Injury to an other, he was to be looked on as an Invader of the Common Proſperity, and any *Athenian* might have his Action againſt him. A Stranger was not to be admitted a Denizon of *Athens*, except he was in perpetual exile from his Native Land, or had removed his Family and all his Fortune into *Attica*; leſt he ſhould have divided Intereſts and Affections. Every Perſon of Free Birth was at the Age of eighteen to be inliſted in the City-Bands, and at the Age of twenty, if occaſion required, to march againſt the Enemy. They, who refuſed to ſerve in the Armies of the Republic, were not to be permitted entrance into the Public Aſſemblies, or into the Temples of the Gods. The Coward, that forſook his Station in the Day of Battle, was to be adjudged infamous. They, who fell in War, were to be honoured with Pompous

[b] Vide *Diog. Laert.* et *Plut.* in Solone.

Pompous Obſequies, and Funeral Orations. But the moſt ſingular of the Laws of this Claſs were theſe two: *He, who remained Neuter in a Public Sedition, was to ſuffer Confiſcation of Goods, and to be baniſhed for Life:* And, *When any* Athenian *was ſlain in Battle, his Parents were to be maintained by the State, his Children educated at the Public Charge, ſettled in ſome uſeful Profeſſion, preſented with a complete Suit of Armour, and honoured with the Firſt Seats at all Spectacles.* The Deſign of this laſt Law is obvious. The humane *Athenians* judged, that a tender Concern for an helpleſs Family might find a way into the Thoughts, and damp the Courage, of the braveſt Man; and therefore was it made the care of the Commonwealth to remove this generous Anxiety: ſhe declared herſelf the Parent and Protectreſs of all thoſe, whoſe Friends fell in the defence of their Country.——As to the other Law, let us ſee, *Cleanthes*, whether you can perceive the reaſon of it. Why ſhould it be forbidden to ſtand Neuter in a Public Sedition?

Clean. I ſuppoſe, to oblige the Virtuous and Good to interpoſe in times of Public Diſtreſs, and ſave the Commonwealth.

Pal. Undoubtedly, that was the reaſon——that the State might not be abandoned to the Luſt of Violent and Factious Men. I ſhall conclude this Account of *Solon*'s Inſtitutions, with the Form of Oath, which all the *Athenians*, when arrived at the Age of eighteen Years, (at which time their Armour was delivered to them) were called upon to take. It will beſt ſhew you, what was the Genius of this excellent People.——I WILL NEVER DO ANY THING TO DISGRACE THIS ARMOUR; I WILL NEVER DESERT MY POST, OR REVOLT FROM MY GENERAL, BUT I WILL FIGHT FOR MY COUNTRY

COUNTRY AND RELIGION, IN AN ARMY OR SINGLE COMBAT; I WILL NEVER BE THE CAUSE OF WEAKENING OR ENDAMAGING MY COUNTRY; AND IF IT BE MY FORTUNE TO SAIL ON THE SEAS, MY COUNTRY THINKING FIT TO SEND ME IN A COLONY [c], I WILL READILY ACQUIESCE, AND ENJOY THAT LAND, WHICH IS ALLOTTED TO ME; I WILL FIRMLY ADHERE TO THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION, AND WHATSOEVER ENACTIONS THE PEOPLE SHALL PLEASE TO PASS, I WILL SUFFER NO PERSON TO VIOLATE OR PERVERT THEM, BUT I WILL, EITHER SINGLY BY MYSELF, OR BY JOINING WITH OTHERS, ENDEAVOUR TO ASSERT THEM; I WILL CONFORM TO THE RELIGION OF MY COUNTRY; I SWEAR BY THESE FOLLOWING DEITIES, THE *AGRAULI, MARS, JUPITER*, THE *EARTH*, AND *DIANA*.——I WILL LAY DOWN MY LIFE, IF OCCASION REQUIRES IT, FOR MY NATIVE COUNTRY.—— MY ENDEAVOURS TO EXTEND THE DOMINIONS OF *ATHENS* SHALL NEVER CEASE, WHILE THERE ARE WHEAT, BARLEY, VINEYARDS, AND OLIVE TREES, WITHOUT ITS LIMITS [d].

[c] It appears from *Laertius* (in *Solone*,) that *Solon* perſuaded the *Athenians* to make eſtabliſhments on the *Thracian Cherroneſus*. And *Herodotus* (in *Clio*) informs us that part of *Piſiſtratus*'s Revenues were brought from the River *Strymon*.—Undoubtedly they roſe from the Silver Mines in thoſe parts—So that the *Athenians* ſent out Colonies, long before they excelled in Naval Strength.

[d] This Form of Oath has been preſerved by *Stobaeus*.——As to the Conſtitution of *Athens*, and the *Attic* Laws, a ſelect number only of which I have placed here, the curious Reader may conſult *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, the fifth Book of *Ariſtotle*'s Politics, *Demoſthenes*'s Orations, the Life of *Solon* by *Plutarch* and *Diogenes Laertius*, *Cicero*'s ſecond Book of Laws, *Athenaeus*, *Aulus*

Clean. What a State, *Palaemon*, this muſt have been!

Pal. A State great indeed, my dear *Cleanthes*, had its Peace been more effectually ſecured againſt the raging of Domeſtic Storms. *Anacharſis* of *Scythia*, who was about this time at *Athens*, obſerved this defect in *Solon*'s Inſtitutions: *In your State*, ſaid he to him, *Wiſe Men debate, and Mad Men determine*[e]. But it was not altogether the *Spirit* of *Solon*, it was in a great meaſure the *Spirit* of the *Athenians* themſelves, that dictated this Order of Polity. The Wiſdom of the Legiſlator was in many inſtances forced to yield to the impetuous Temper of the People.

Eud. However, his Laws of Manners have been generally held in eſteem.——

Pal. In high eſteem. *Tacitus*[f] thinks them more excellent and more complete, than thoſe either of *Lycurgus* or of *Minos*. And the *Romans*, you know, did not diſdain to tranſcribe moſt of them into their Twelve Tables[g]; and, from them they have been adopted by the wiſeſt Nations of the Earth.

Clean. But how did the *Athenians* approve of *Solon*'s Legiſlation?

Pal. It was decreed, that his Laws ſhould remain in force an hundred Years, and that the *Theſmothetae* ſhould be ſolemnly ſworn to the Obſervation of them. But nevertheleſs the inconſtant People ſoon began to raiſe Difficulties about the Import

Aulus Gellius, *Libanius*, *Emmius* of the *Athenian* Commonwealth, *Petit* of the Laws of *Athens*, *Stanley*'s Life of *Solon*; and Archbiſhop *Potter*'s *Grecian* Antiquities.

[e] *Plutarch.* in Solone.

[f] Annal. 3. 26.

[g] Liv. L. 3.

port and Expediency of each particular Law, and to fatigue the Legiſlator with numberleſs Objections. This induced *Solon* to leave *Athens*, until the new Eſtabliſhments were become more familiar to his Countrymen. According to Hiſtorians [h], he was abſent ten years; and theſe he employed in travelling through the moſt cultivated Nations. Some part of the time he reſided among the Prieſts of *Sais* and *Heliopolis*, thoſe famed Sages of *Egypt*. He alſo viſited *Cyprus*, where he made his Name memorable by the beautiful and convenient Structures, with which he perſuaded one of the *Cyprian* Princes to adorn his Kingdom.—Thus uſefully did this Good Man employ his Years of leiſure, in conſulting the happineſs of others, and in inriching his own Mind with valuable Improvements; and this at a Seaſon of Life, when his Age might well have admitted of repoſe, and the full Portion of Glory, he had acquired, ſeemed to demand nothing more.

Eud. Was he not alſo famed for his intimacy with the Wiſe Men of *Greece*, his Cotemporaries?

Pal. He was, long before his being choſen Lawgiver of the *Athenian* People. Hiſtorians tell us, that *Periander*, Tyrant of *Corinth*, procured an Interview of them all at his Court, where he entertained them with great delicacy and ſumptuouſneſs [i].

Clean. Who were theſe Wiſe Men?

Pal. They are ſaid to have been ſeven in number, *Thales* of *Miletus*, *Solon*, *Bias* of *Priene*, *Chilo* of *Lacedemon*, *Cleobulus* of *Lindus*, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene*, and *Periander*, in whoſe ſtead ſome Authors more properly place *Anacharſis* the *Scythian*.

[h] *Herodot.* in *Clio.*
[i] *Plut.* Conviv. Septem Sapient.

It muſt be confeſſed, *Periander*'s Fame for Wiſdom ſeems moſtly to have riſen from his affecting a taſte for Literature, and from the *oſtentatious* Regard he paid to Learned Men. But as for real Wiſdom, *the Virtue of the Heart*, he had it not. He was the Tyrant of his People, and indulged himſelf in the moſt brutal Cruelties even againſt thoſe of his own Family [k]. And *Diogenes Laertius* hath preſerved to us a Letter written to him by *Solon*, which plainly ſhews what Opinion the *Athenian* Lawgiver entertained of *Periander*'s Conduct.

Clean. I perceive theſe Wiſe Men were not all of *Grecian* Birth.———

Pal. They were all of them Natives of *Greece*, or the *Grecian* Colonies, *Anacharſis* excepted. He was a Prince of the Royal Blood of *Scythia*, and had come to *Athens* in ſearch of Wiſdom, where he ſo greatly profited by the happy Opportunity he enjoyed of knowing *Solon*, and of converſing with him, that he obtained the Reputation of being one of the moſt accompliſhed Perſons of his Time.

Clean. Does it appear from Hiſtory, what the excellence of theſe Sages conſiſted in?

Pal. Thales was the only Perſon among them, who applied himſelf to the Study of Natural Things, and of Geometry, which he had firſt been inſtructed in by the *Egyptians*. The Wiſdom of the others conſiſted in their Knowledge of the Arts of Government and Legiſlation, and of the Means of making Nations happy.——But what chiefly raiſed the Character of thoſe illuſtrious Men, was the Adventure of the *Golden Tripod*. Do you remember, *Eudoxus*, what Hiſtorians relate concerning this?

Eud.

[k] *Herodot.* in *Thalia. Diogen. Laert.* in *Periandro.*

Eud. It was found, as I can recollect, in the Net of certain Fiſhermen of the Iſland of *Cos*, who having enquired from the Oracle, in what manner they ſhould diſpoſe of it, were anſwered, that it muſt be given to the Wiſeſt. Accordingly, it was preſented to *Thales*, who, having modeſtly declined the honour, deſired them to beſtow it on *Bias*; from him it was ſent to an other, and ſo to every one of theſe Wiſe Men, until it came to *Solon*, who offered it to *Apollo*, with this ſaying worthy of a better Religion, *that to GOD alone was the Prize of Wiſdom to be offered* [l].

Pal. There is an Author [m], who records the Story with ſome other Circumſtances extremely remarkable. He tells us, that the *Tripod* was inſcribed with theſe words, *To the Wiſeſt*, and that it was taken up by ſome Fiſhermen at *Athens*, who referred the diſpoſal of it to the General Aſſembly of the People. It ſeems, *Bias* had ranſomed certain *Meſſenian* Virgins, who were in Captivity on the *Ionian* Coaſt; the generous *Greek* had not only ſaved them from Servitude, he had alſo taken a tender care of their Education and Manners, and after ſome time reſtored them to their Parents. The Father of theſe Maidens happened at this juncture to be at *Athens*, and related what *Bias* had done—Immediately the People voted him the *Wiſeſt Man*, and decreed that the *Tripod* ſhould be given to him; which he, in the manner you have aſcribed to *Solon*, offered up in the Temple of *Apollo*.—Obſerve, only, *Cleanthes*, that at *Athens* in thoſe Days to be the *Wiſeſt Man* was to be the *Moſt Virtuous*.

Eud.

[l] *Diogen. Laert.* in *Thale.*
[m] *Phanodicus* apud *Diog. Laert.* in *Bia.*

Eud. Pray, *Palaemon*, did not *Solon* alſo viſit the Court of *Croeſus*, King of *Lydia?*

Pal. That tranſaction belongs to the later Years of *Solon* [n]. We muſt firſt ſee him return to *Athens*, where

[p] *Plutarch* ſays, that this Viſit of *Solon* to *Croeſus* belongs to theſe ten Years, which he employed in travelling after the Eſtabliſhment of his Laws; though he himſelf admits that this is entirely irreconcileable with Chronology. I have therefore choſen, in agreement with *Diogenes Laertius*, to refer *this Viſit* to the laſt Years of our Lawgiver, after he had taken his final leave of his Country, on account of *Piſiſtratus*'s Uſurpation.——As to the times in which *Solon* flouriſhed, probably he enacted the *Athenian* Laws about the latter end of the Fifty firſt, or the beginning of the fifty ſecond Olympiad; for as to *Soſicrates* (Vide apud *Diog. Laetr.* in *Solone*) who places his Legiſlature in the third Year of the forty ſixth Olympiad, his Calculation is plainly erroneous; the War of *Criſſa* not having been concluded, according to the *Oxford Marbles*, till the ſecond Year of the Forty ſeventh Olympiad. According to the ſame *Marbles*, *Piſiſtratus* invaded the Sovereignty of *Athens* the fourth Year of the fifty fourth Olympiad, that is, ten or twelve Years after the Legiſlation by *Solon*. And ſhortly after this Invaſion of the Sovereignty, *Solon* retired to *Sardis*. According to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, he died the Year following. But then, Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves, that the Chronology ſet down in the *Marbles*, until the Conqueſt of *Media* by *Cyrus*, which was in the fourth Year of the ſixtieth Olympiad, will approach the truth much nearer, by ſhortening the times before that Conqueſt in the proportion of four to ſeven. So the *Cirrheans* were conquered the ſecond Year of the forty ſeventh Olympiad, according to the *Marbles*, that is, fifty four Years before the Conqueſt of *Media*; and theſe Years, being ſhortened in the proportion of four to ſeven, become thirty one Years, which, ſubducted from the fourth Year of the ſixtieth Olympiad, place the Conqueſt of *Cirrha* upon the firſt Year of the fifty third Olympiad. And by the like Correction of the *Marbles*, the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*, which is ſaid to have begun the fourth Year of the fifty fourth Olympiad, began in fact the third Year of the fifty ſeventh Olympiad. And by conſequence *Solon* died the fourth Year of that ſame Olympiad.——If this Conjecture of Sir *Iſaac Newton* were to have place, and the Death of *Piſiſtratus* is allowed to be, as it is generally ſuppoſed, (Vide *Ariſtot.* Polit. L. 5) in the firſt year of the ſixty third Olympiad,

where Faction had again confounded the whole State of things. At his arrival there, he found the Commonwealth diſtracted by three powerful Parties——that of the Nobles, headed by *Lycurgus*——that of the People, headed by *Piſiſtratus*——and that of the Traders and Seamen, who demanded a Mixture of *Ariſtocracy* and Popular Government, at the head of which Party was *Megacles* °. *Solon* endeavoured to compoſe theſe fatal Differences, and to prevail on theſe Leaders of Faction to conſult the Public Peace. They all received his Exhortations with great Shew of Reſpect, eſpecially *Piſiſtratus*, who had always appeared particularly devoted to him, and now expreſſed the warmeſt Zeal for the Ordinances, which he had eſtabliſhed. Nevertheleſs, it was from him *Solon* apprehended the greateſt Danger to the Common Liberty. He was a Nobleman of the moſt amiable Qualifications, and who joined extraordinary Natural Abilities to the Advantages of a very extenſive Fortune: his Deportment was popular and courteous, and his Manner of Speech wonderouſly perſuaſive and affecting; the Intereſts of his Fellow-Citizens ſeemed to be his own, and every poor diſtreſſed *Athenian* found in him a Friend.

Eud. The ſpecious Coverings of his Ambition!

Pal. His Virtues, *Eudoxus*, were not merely an aſſumed Semblance; they were, many of them, the

Olympiad, it will follow that *Piſiſtratus* enjoyed his uſurped Sovereignty only ſix Years; for by this Calculation there elapſed only twenty two Years between the beginning of his Tyranny and his Death; and of thoſe he lived ſixteen in Exile. Whereas it is commonly believed, that there elapſed thirty three Years between his Uſurpation and his Death, and that of theſe he reigned ſeventeen.

° *Herodot.* in Clio. *Plutarch.* et *Diogen. Laertius* in Solone.

the real Temper of his Soul, as plainly appeared, when he was riſen to the full Enjoyment of Power. However, *Solon* ſaw through his Deſigns, and endeavoured to open the Eyes of the People on the Perils, that threatened them. There is an Obſervation of his, to this purpoſe, recorded by *Plutarch*, which deſerves your Notice. *Theſpis*, who had conſiderably improved the firſt rude State of Tragedy, began about this time to ſhew his Pieces at *Athens*, and the Novelty of the Entertainment made it extremely pleaſing to the Multitude. *Solon* went to ſee the Performance, and after the Play, aſked him, whether he was not aſhamed to tell ſo many Lies before ſuch a Company: *Theſpis* replying, that there was no harm to tell Lies in Jeſt and Merriment; *Ah*, ſays *Solon*, ſtriking his Staff againſt the ground, *if we commend ſuch Merriment as this, it will ſoon find a way into our moſt ſerious Affairs.* Though *Plutarch* does not tell us, in what view *Solon* ſaid this, it certainly was an oblique ſtroke againſt *Piſiſtratus*[p], who was *perſonating* the Friend of the People, and miſleading them by his artful Repreſentations. But with all the warnings of this excellent Patriot, at length the Wiles of *Piſiſtratus* wrought effectually. He cauſed himſelf to be wounded in ſeveral Parts of his Body; and in this condition, with his Wounds all bleeding freſh, he drives into the Market-place, where

[p] It is plain from *Laertius* that *Solon* intended this againſt *Piſiſtratus*. He tells us, that when that artful Nobleman came wounded into the Market place, *Solon* obſerved it was a mere *Stage-Feint*——*It is* Theſpis, ſays he, who has taught him to act ſo well.——Take it in the words of *Laertius*—— Θέσπιν ἐκώλυσε τραγωδίας ἄγειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀνωφελῆ τὴν Ψευδολογίαν: ὁτ' οὖν Πεισίστρατος ἑαυτὸν κατέτρωσεν, ἐκεῖθεν μέλη ἔφη, ταῦτα φύναι.

Vide *Diog. Laert.* in Solone

where he addreſſes the People, telling them, *it was on their account he had been treated thus; that he had no Enemies, but thoſe who were Enemies to them; and that he ſhould ſoon fall a Victim, for ſupporting the Liberty of his Country.* This put the whole City in Confuſion: the People ruſhed into the Forum from all Quarters; and it was immediately propoſed, that a Guard ſhould be allowed *Piſiſtratus. Solon* made vigorous oppoſition to it, but this was no Seaſon for cool Counſels, and Rage and Faction governed the Aſſembly; ſo that a Decree paſſed, *that he ſhould have a Guard of Fifty Men.* ——This was all *Piſiſtratus* deſired; he ſoon encreaſed the number, and having ſeized on the Citadel, uſurped the Sovereignty, as *Solon* had foretold to his unbelieving Countrymen.

Clean. What did *Solon* then?

Pal. He would have excited the *Athenians* to a vindication of their Liberties [q]; but finding, that they wanted reſolution, he retired out of *Attica*—It was on this occaſion he viſited the Court of *Croeſus.*

Clean. The wealthy *Croeſus* you mean?

Pal. Yes, he reigned in *Lydia*, and was eſteemed the richeſt Monarch of his time. From what Hiſtorians relate, it appears, that he was poſſeſſed of many valuable Endowments; and probably might have had a place among the greateſt Princes, had not Proſperity corrupted him.——His Court was always open to Perſons of diſtinguiſhed worth; and as ſoon as he heard, that *Solon* had left *Athens*, he ſent him an invitation to come to *Sardis*, the City, where he had his reſidence. At *Solon*'s Arrival, he gave directions, that he ſhould

[q] *Diogen. Laert.* et *Plutarch.* Loc. ſup. citat.

be received with the utmoſt Pomp. The firſt Apartment, which he was admitted into, was magnificently adorned, and filled with a number of Courtiers, all in coſtly Dreſs, and in the midſt of them a Nobleman, whoſe Ornaments had the Shew of Regal Dignity. The next Apartment exceeded this. And the third was yet more ſumptuous. In this manner was *Solon* led through a long Range of Rooms of State, all riſing, one above the other, in Magnificence and Splendor, till at laſt he reached that, where *Croeſus* was. He found him ſeated on a Throne of Gold, a precious Crown on his Head, and his Robes covered over with Jewels of dazzling luſtre. This *faſtuous* way of expreſſing Majeſty ſeemed poor to our Wiſe *Athenian*, and, inſtead of being moved to Admiration, he beheld it with a *reproving* Eye. *Croeſus* then ordered that he ſhould be conducted through his Palace, and that all his Treaſures ſhould be diſplayed before him. And now thinking that he had vanquiſhed the Indifference of the Philoſopher, he aſked him, who was the happieſt Man, he had ever known——*An* Athenian, *one* Tellus, anſwered *Solon, a Man of moderate Fortune, but of Manners unblemiſhed, bleſſed with virtuous Children, and who died fighting in defence of his Country?*——But after him, replied the King, was there ever any, whoſe Happineſs was to be compared to mine?—*Yes*, ſaid *Solon*, Cleobis *and* Bito, *Sons to a Prieſteſs of* Argos; *ſuch was their Filial Piety, that, when the Oxen were long in coming, they yoked themſelves to the Chariot, and drew their Mother to the Temple; tranſported with Joy at the Honour ſhe received from the duteous Affection of her Children, the Mother offered up her Prayers to* Juno, *that ſhe would reward them with her choiceſt Bleſſings: The Goddeſs*

Goddeſs heard her Requeſt, and the two young Men, having fallen aſleep, awaked no more,—What then, ſays *Croeſus.* Is all my Splendor, and the Glory of my Kingdom to be of no account?——*Oh King*, anſwered this excellent Man, *Providence has given to us* Greeks *a kind of Wiſdom, fitted rather to the obſcurer Fortune of mean Perſons, than to the Pomp of Courts; and this forbids us to grow inſolent on the Enjoyments of the preſent hour, or to eſteem Men happy from Poſſeſſions, that may paſs away. He alone, is to be called Happy, to whom God has given to live and to die in Happineſs: but the Happineſs of him, whoſe Days are not yet ended, is like the Glory of a Wreſtler, who is yet within the Ring, precarious and uncertain.*——Theſe were unwellcome Words to this gay Prince, who had been too much accuſtomed to the Voice of Flattery; and *Solon* was diſmiſſed in a contemptuous manner.———*Plutarch* tells us, that *Aeſop*, who was in great Eſteem with *Croeſus*, and was well ſkilled in the Arts of Adulation, would have had *Solon* be more courtly: *Either*, ſays he to him, *Let your Viſits to Kings be few, or ſpeak pleaſing things to them.*——*No, rather*, anſwered *Solon*, *Let your Viſits to them be few, or ſpeak things that may profit them*[r].

Eud. Solon had moſt Probity, but perhaps *Aeſop* was the better Courtier.

Pal. I muſt ſtep a little out of my way, *Cleanthes*, to give you an account of the end of *Croeſus*'s Fortunes; it is extremely intereſting. Some few Years after this Interview with *Solon*, *Cyrus* the *Perſian* made War on him, overturned his Kingdom, and took him Priſoner. *Croeſus* was

[r] *Herodot.* in *Clio*, *Plutarch.* et *Laertius*, ubi ſupra.

condemned to be burnt, and, when on the Pile, he cried out, *Solon, Solon, Solon: Cyrus* desired to know, who was the God, whom he invoked.—— *He was the wiſeſt Man, that ever graced my Court*, replied *Croeſus*, and related what you now have heard. The inſtructive Leſſon ſunk deep into the Heart of *Cyrus*, and he not only freed *Croeſus* from the intended Puniſhment, but alſo held him in the higheſt Honour: Thus, as *Plutarch* obſerves, this Wiſe Man proved of ſingular Service to theſe two Kings; he ſaved the Life of the one, and improved the Mind of the other[s].

Eud. Did *Solon* live to ſee the Cataſtrophe of the *Lydian* Empire?

Pal. No, he died ſhortly after he had left the Court of *Croeſus*, in what place, Authors do not agree.

Clean. But in the mean time how did *Athens* proſper?

Pal. The *Athenians* began to feel, what a galling Yoke *Piſiſtratus* had faſtened on them, and dear as he had been to them, as much now was he the Object of the Public Hatred.

Clean. And he, I ſuppoſe, repaid them with *Cruelty* and *Violence*, the uſual Means made uſe of to preſerve Power unjuſtly acquired.

Pal. No, *Cleanthes*, his Manner of Government was ſuch, as ſeemed almoſt to give a Sanction to his Uſurpation. He oppreſſed not any Man. He was courteous and affable to all: even perſonal Inſults he paſſed by without Reſentment. His chief concern appeared to be, to advance the Proſperity of the *Athenian* People, and to melt down their ſtubborn Temper by the force of kind Offices. For this

[s] *Herodot.* et *Plutarch.* ubi ſupra.

this purpoſe, he adorned the City with ſtately Structures, and encouraged Planting and Agriculture throughout all the *Attic* Territories. He was the firſt, that built a Library for Public Uſe, and directed that *Homer*'s Works ſhould be digeſted into regular order [t]. The Laws alſo were permitted to have their courſe; the Conſtitutions of *Solon* were obſerved; and the ſeveral Magiſtrates were elected, with this difference only, that *they* were choſen out of *Piſiſtratus*'s Dependants. And the only Tax, he impoſed on them, was no more than it was uſual to pay for the Support and Defence of the State, the Tenths of the Produce of their Lands [u].——Nevertheleſs, all his Virtues weighed little with the *Athenian* People; and his moſt beneficial Ordinances were burthenſome to them, becauſe inforced by an Authority not legally eſtabliſhed.

Eud. I own, *Piſiſtratus* had great Abilities; but I doubt whether in many of his Actions he had any other view, than the ſtrengthening of his own Power. What makes the greateſt Figure in his Government, is the Improvement of the Country of *Attica*. And you know, there are Authors, who tell us, that even this was a Political Contrivance, that he might diſperſe the People of *Athens*, and by this Method render the Popular Aſſemblies leſs formidable.

Pal. Doubtleſs, there was much Policy in *Piſiſtratus*, but alſo there were many excellent Qualities; and whether from Prudence, or from Goodneſs

[t] *Diuchidas*, an antient Author quoted by *Laertius*, aſcribes this to *Solon*.

[u] Vide *Ariſtot.* Polit. L. 5. *Plut.* Apothegm. et *Epiſt. Piſiſtr.* ad *Solon.* apud *Diog. Laertium.*

neſs of Heart, he certainly was a gentle and uſeful Governour. However, the *Athenians* loved Liberty, and nothing could compenſate for the Loſs of it. *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, the heads of the two oppoſite Factions [w], took advantage of theſe Diſpoſitions of the People, and, having formed a powerful Party againſt him, obliged him to leave *Attica*.

Clean. What——was it a real Concern for the Public Liberty, that moved them to this?

Pal. They were, what Popular Leaders generally are——under the Pretence of ſerving their Country, they meant to aggrandize themſelves. But *Megacles*, finding himſelf the Dupe of *Lycurgus*, began to treat with *Piſiſtratus*; and, having made his terms, contrived that the Uſurper ſhould be reſtored again.

Clean. Do Hiſtorians ſay, what was the Recompence of *Megacles* for his Treachery to his Country?

Pal. He had ſtipulated, that *Piſiſtratus* ſhould marry his Daughter, and *Piſiſtratus* accordingly married her. But ſoon after, when he thought himſelf in a condition to deſpiſe *Megacles*, he treated his new Wife with the greateſt Indignity, under colour that ſhe belonged to a Family, that was accurſed. This engaged *Megacles* and all his Friends to join with the other Faction; and *Piſiſtratus*, ſeeing them all united againſt him, found it wiſeſt to retire from before the gathering Storm, and paſſed over to *Eretria*.

Eud. But he returned again?

Pal. He returned, in about eleven Years, when, having formed ſeveral Alliances, and raiſed a conſiderable

[w] *Herodot.* in Clio.

ſiderable Force, he invaded *Attica*, and took *Athens* by Surprize. It appears, that the *Athenians* ſhewed little Vigour on this Occaſion. The Intrigues of their Great Men had broken them into Parties, and this Diviſion in their Councils made them an eaſy Prey to the Enemy. It may be alſo, that many of them were become the better affected to the Government of *Piſiſtratus*, on account of the Domeſtic Troubles they had been involved in, from the time of his Expulſion.——Upon his Reſtoration, *Megacles* with the whole Family of the *Alcmaeonidae* left *Attica*.

Clean. Did *Piſiſtratus* experience any more Revolutions?

Pal. No: he died *, poſſeſſed of Sovereign Power. From the beginning of his Uſurpation to his Death, there elapſed thirty three Years, of which he reigned Seventeen. His firſt Exile laſted five Years, his ſecond eleven [x].

Eud. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Hippias?*

Pal. Some ſay, by him; others, by his Son *Hipparchus*; and again, a third Claſs, with great ſhew of Reaſon, affirm them both to have reigned jointly. But without entering into the diſcuſſion of a Queſtion merely curious, it may be ſufficient to obſerve to you, that they both, for many Years, imitated the excellent Qualities of *Piſiſtratus*, his Concern for the Common Proſperity, his Affability, and Courteous Demeanor; like him, they delighted in being the Protectors of the Learned and Ingenious, and were at uncommon pains to cultivate and improve the Minds of their People: ſo that *Athens* was in a manner ſubdued by theſe

* Olymp. 63. 1.——See above P. 342. N. n.
[x] *Herodot.* Lib. ſup. Citato. *Ariſt.* Polit. L. 5.

theſe humane and gentle Arts, and ſeemed ſcarcely to know, that her Liberty was taken from her; when one Act of Violence rouzed again her Spirit, and brought on the final Overthrow of the Houſe of the *Piſiſtratidae* [y].

There were at *Athens* two young Men nobly born, *Harmodius*, a Youth of ſingular Beauty, and *Ariſtogiton*, who were united to each other by the ſtricteſt Bands of Friendſhip. It happened, that *Hipparchus*, led by a baſe Paſſion, injured *Harmodius* in a very ſenſible manner. The two Friends, impatient of the inſult, vowed to take vengeance on the whole Family, and having engaged ſome Perſons to aſſiſt them, it was determined, that they ſhould deſtroy the two Brothers, and reſtore the Common-wealth to her Liberties. But before the appointed time, being alarmed with the Suſpicion that their Deſign was diſcovered, and *Hippias* not being in the City, they two alone fell on *Hipparchus* and ſlew him *. His Death was immediately revenged by his Guards, who killed *Harmodius*, and took *Ariſtogiton* Priſoner. This Attempt terrified *Hippias* greatly, and he reſolved to puniſh all thoſe concerned in it with exemplary Severity. Accordingly, *Ariſtogiton* was brought before him, and at his Command put to the Rack, in order to extort from him the Names of all, who were privy to the Conſpiracy. The Man, as ſoon as he felt the Torments, named ſome of the Tyrants beſt Friends, who were immediately led away to Execution. He then named more; and they alſo were put to Death. Upon which the Tyrant aſking, whether there were not ſome others;

[y] Vide *Herodot.* in *Terpſichore.* et Thucyd. L. 6.
* The third Year of the 66th. Olympiad.

thers; *Thou thy ſelf art now the only one, whom I would wiſh to ſuffer Death*, replied *Ariſtogiton* ſmiling, and ſhortly after expired [z].——There was alſo a Woman, whom *Ariſtogiton* loved, and who was ſeized by the Orders of *Hippias*, and put to the Torture. For ſome time ſhe bore it with wonderous Firmneſs; but when ſhe found ſhe could endure no longer, ſhe bit off her Tongue, and ſpit it out, that ſhe might not have it in her Power to divulge the Secrets, with which ſhe had been intruſted [a].

Clean. Amazing Conſtancy!

Pal. Theſe extraordinary Inſtances of Reſolution inſpired the People with new Courage. And the tyrannical temper, which *Hippias* [b] gave way to, completed what theſe Examples had begun. For inſtead of the mild and humane Diſpoſitions, which he had always ſhewn, he was now become gloomy and ſuſpicious, oppreſſive and cruel.——In the mean time, *Cliſthenes* Son to *Megacles* was ſolliciting at *Delphi* in behalf of his Country. He had been commiſſioned by the *Amphictiones* to rebuild the Temple of the *Pythian* God, which had been deſtroyed by Fire [c]; and, that he might ingratiate himſelf with the Prieſteſs, he added much to the Magnificence of the Building, and faced it with *Parian* Marble, at his own private Expence [d]; for he was a Perſon of immenſe Wealth, both by his

[z] *Juſtin.* L. 2

[a] *Plut.* de Garr.

[b] *Hippias* reigned about four years after the death of *Hipparchus.*—— *Herod.* et *Thucyd*, ubi ſupra.

[c] It is ſaid that the Deſtruction of this temple was imputed to the *Piſiſtratidae*; probably their avowed Hatred to the *Athenian* Exiles, who were protected at *Delphi*, occaſioned this ſuſpicion. ——Vide *Scholiaſt.* in *Pindar. Pyth.* 7.

[d] Vide *Herodot.* Lib. ſupra dicto.

Grandfather *Alcmaeon*, and by his Mother *Agariſta*, Daughter to *Cliſthenes* Prince of *Sicyon*. It was on this account, that the Oracle was devoted to his Intereſts, as I have already told you, and that the *Lacedemonians* were urged with repeated Commands, in the Name of the God, to undertake the Deliverance of the *Athenians*.——You know the reſt, *Cleanthes*——*Hippias* was obliged to abandon *Attica*, and retired to *Sigeum*[e].——Tomorrow you ſhall ſee what a diſmal Concluſion his Fortunes had.

Eud. And yet, how happy might *Piſiſtratus* and his Sons have been, with the excellent Qualities, of which they were poſſeſſed!——how honoured! and how great!——if, contented with the Glory of being the Friends and Ornaments of their Country, they had not ſought to invade her Liberties!——

Pal. You ſee, *Eudoxus*, how ſlippery and deceitful are the Ways of Ambition. That very Sovereignty, which *Piſiſtratus* vainly thought would add Splendor to his Family, and which he purchaſed at ſo dear a rate, at the price of *Innocence* and *Peace*, proved the Diſgrace and Ruin of his Children.——A lively Warning to all, who eſteem any thing honourable, but what is virtuous!——Remember this, my dear *Cleanthes*. 'Tis the *Glory of Virtuous Deeds* alone, that can make Men either *Great*, or *Happy*.——But the Servant calls; I muſt leave you.

[e] See Dial. 7th. P. 290.

DIALOGUE THE NINTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

Pal. WE are now entering into one of the moſt memorable Periods of Antient Hiſtory, *the Age of Glory of the Athenian People.* Every thing, that can give Fame or Dignity, appears at this time, as it were, *conſpiring* to advance their Greatneſs——an unſhaken Reſolution in the defence of the nobleſt Cauſe, the Cauſe of *LIBERTY* and the *PUBLIC WEAL*——a Courage, unappalled in the utmoſt extremity of Peril——Feats, ſcarcely credible, wrought by Sea, by Land——and Victories won, where even to have eſcaped might have been eſteemed a Miracle.———And with all this, the humaneſt Sentiments, and the moſt generous Tenderneſs of Heart, preſerved amidſt all the Din of War——a Love of Literature, a Delicacy of Genius, never equalled by any Nation.———The *Lawrel-Crown* and the *Ivy-Wreath* were both theirs. And thoſe Men, who yielded to none in the Day of Battle, were alſo foremoſt in every refined Improvement [f].

But,

[f] It is aſtoniſhing how highly not only the *Grecians*, but even the *Romans* themſelves, extol this Celebrated People———*This*, ſays *Juſtin* ſpeaking of *Athens*, is the *Sacred Seat*, where *Literature*, and *Eloquence*, and *Civil Order* have eſtabliſhed their Abode. *Literae certe, ac Facundia, et hic Civilis Ordo Diſciplinae, veluti Templum* Athenas *habent.*——L. 2. C. 6.——That fine Writer *Saluſt*, jealous I ſuppoſe for the honour of *Rome*, wou'd perſuade us, that it is impoſſible the Atchievements of the

But, *Cleanthes*, what is moſt amazing, never did People riſe by ſuch quick Steps to an height of Glory. Within leſs than eighty Years before the *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, *Athens* was a Republic of ſmall Figure, often diſtreſſed by the petty States around her: and yet *now* did that glorious People find themſelves in a condition to bid defiance to the Powers of *Perſia*, and with Impunity to ſcorn the proffered Friendſhip of the greateſt Monarch of the World.——In Literature likewiſe was their Progreſs wonderfully rapid. Until the Days of *Piſiſtratus*, as you have ſeen, the politer Studies were but faintly cultivated by the *Athenians*; and, only then, was the Great Prince of Poets introduced among them. And nevertheleſs, ere two Generations were paſſed away, *Athens* was become the Seat of

Athenians ſhould have been altogether ſuch as Hiſtory ſpeaks them; their Fame, ſays he, is due to that number of Perſons, diſtinguiſhed in every Lettered Art, that roſe up among them: and hence have their Exploits been eſteemed the greateſt that were ever performed, becauſe recorded by the brighteſt Geniuſes, that ever wrote. *Athenienſium Res Geſtae, ſicuti ego exiſtumo, ſatis amplae magnificaeque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam famâ feruntur: ſed quia provenere ibi magna Scriptorum ingenia, per Terrarum Orbem Athenienſium Facta pro maxumis celebrantur. &c.* Bell. Catalin.——*Cicero* likewiſe, and he ſo accurate a Judge, tells us, that every Endowment and every Bleſſing, that can adorn and exalt the Human Mind, ſeem to have had their Beginning among the *Athenians*——that ſuch was the Excellence of *Athens*, that even Deities are feigned to have contended about the Patronage of it——and that at the time, when *Greece* was fallen away from her Power and Splendor, the Dignity of the *Grecian* Name had its ſole Support in the Glory of this Illuſtrious City. *Illae omnium Doctrinarum inventrices Athenae.*—De Orat. L. 1.—*Athenienſes, unde Humanitas, Doctrina, Religio, Fruges, Jura, Leges ortae, atque in omnes terras diſtributae putantur: de quorum Urbis poſſeſſione, propter Pulchritudinem, etiam inter Deos certamen fuiſſe proditum eſt——auctoritate autem tantâ eſt, ut jam fractum ac prope debilitatum Graeciae nomen hujus Urbis laude nitatur. Pro Flacco.*

of Science, the choſen Abode of the Tragic and Comic Muſe, of both Philoſophy and Eloquence. ——Can you account, *Eudoxus*, for this ſurpriſing Advancement?——The *Proſperity*, as well as the *Decay* of Nations, has its Cauſes. Whence therefore this Strength of Genius to the Inhabitants of this little Spot of Earth? How came they to be poſſeſſed of that *Intrepidity*, that *Readineſs of Apprehenſion*, that *Energy of Thought*, which to this Day render them the Subject of Admiration?

Eud. Liberty, I ſuppoſe, the Spirit of Liberty wrought within them, and bare them on to theſe great things.

Pal. Undoubtedly, it was to the Spirit of Liberty they owed this wonderous Vigor. But, can you ſay, why at this Period of Time its Influence ſhould have been ſo powerful?——The Truth is—there was an happy Conjunction of Circumſtances, a Number of lucky Events, that concurred at this time in Favour of the *Athenians*.——A ſhort Review of thoſe may give you an uſeful Inſight into the Hiſtory of this Illuſtrious People.

In the firſt place——*they had lately felt the Yoke of Tyranny; and the Violence and Oppreſſion of the laſt Years of* Hippias *were full in their remembrance.* The *Athenians* always loved *Liberty*, but *now* they knew what it was to loſe it. The Evils of thoſe wretched Days had taught them, at what a price this Bleſſing was to be valued, and how much it became them to ſuffer in defence of it.

Eud. Indeed, it appears evidently what an impreſſion theſe things had left on their Minds, from the extraordinary Honours they paid to the Memory of thoſe, who had attempted their Deliverance.

Clean. What? to *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton?*

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*; they honoured them in a very

very extraordinary Manner. Not only they raiſed Statues to them; ſolemn Obſequies were alſo annually performed to their Memory. Their Praiſes were ſung both at Public Feaſts, and Private Banquets. It was even decreed, that no Slave ſhould ever bear the Name of *Harmodius* or *Ariſtogiton*. And their Poſterity, through every Generation[g], were to be free from all Impoſts, and to be allowed a Penſion out of the Revenues of the State.——Nay, *Ariſtogiton*'s Miſtreſs, who ſhewed that wonderous Reſolution in the midſt of Tortures, was not forgotten. And becauſe it was thought inconſiſtent with Purity of Manners to erect the Statue of a Woman of reproachful Life, ſhe was repreſented under the form of a Lioneſs without a Tongue[h].——This Effuſion of Gratitude plainly ſpeaks Minds deeply affected with their late Condition.——The ſame turn appears alſo in the Laws enacted after *Hippias*'s Expulſion. It was enacted, that not only he, who ſhould engage in ſubverting the Commonwealth, but alſo the Perſon, who ſhould bear any Office after its Subverſion, ſhould be deemed an Enemy to his Country; and whoſoever killed him, ſhould be held guiltleſs. And the Obſervation of this Law was inforced by the Sanction of an Oath: every *Athenian* was to ſwear, that he would with his own Hand endeavour to deſtroy that Man, who ſhould aim at the Diſſolution of

[g] A ſhining inſtance of the Gratitude of the *Athenian* People, even long after their Deliverance from the Tyranny of *Hippias*, has been preſerved to us by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Ariſtides*——The *Athenians* hearing that a Grand-daughter of *Ariſtogiton*'s lived very poorly in the Iſle of *Lemnos*, they ſent for her to *Athens*, and giving her a noble Portion, married her to one of their richeſt and moſt conſiderable Citizens. Who would not chearfully have expoſed his Life in the Service of ſuch a People!

[h] *Plut.* de Garr. Vide et *Pauſan.* in *Atticis.*

of the Republican Government, or accept of any Office after its Diſſolution. And if any Perſon was to attempt the deſtruction of the Tyrant and his Abettors, and fail in the Attempt, the *Athenians* were by the ſame Oath bound to pay the like diſtinguiſhed Honours to his Poſterity, as were paid to thoſe of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton* [i].

Clean. Strong Indications certainly, that this People were prepared to dare any thing, rather than ſubmit to the Shackles of Bondage.

Pal. Another Circumſtance at this Juncture, extremely favourable to *Athens*, was *the Placing an Encreaſe of Power in the Hands of the People.* This you know was the *Spirit* of *Solon*'s Inſtitutions; and *Cliſthenes*, who is ſpoken of as one of the greateſt Men of his Age, added many things, after his Return, to ſtrengthen the Popular Government [k].———There was alſo the Great Aſſembly, in which every Citizen, not declared Infamous, had a Suffrage.———So that in *Athens* the pooreſt Member of the Commonwealth was immediately intereſted in the Public Fortune. In Deſpotic States, it matters not, at leaſt to the meaner Ranks of Men, who has the Power; and Revolutions of Government only bring on a Change of Maſters. But here, the loweſt *Athenian* had a Country, in the propereſt Senſe, to fight for; he was one of the Lords of the Commonwealth; he had real Rights and Privileges; and could not give up the Conſtitution without being a Traitor to himſelf. ———In their Councils, 'tis true, this Power of the Multitude was often found leſs expedient. However, at this time of Danger, when the Exigencies

[i] *Lycurg.* in Leocrat.
[k] *Herodot.* in Erato. *Plutarch.* in Ariſtide.

gencies of the State demanded the Aſſiſtance of each Individual, it doubtleſs was an happy Circumſtance, that every *Athenian*, from his Civil Situation, muſt have been ready to expoſe both his Property and his Perſon in defence of his Country, and that there ſcarcely was one Man, but choſe rather to fall with the Commonwealth, than to purchaſe Life at the Expence of Liberty [1].

Eud. I remember it well, *Palaemon:* that ſurely was the Spirit of the *Athenians* in thoſe Glorious Days.

Pal. Another Circumſtance there was alſo at this time, that greatly contributed to advance the Virtues of the *Athenian* People.——*From the Expulſion of* Hippias, *to the* Perſian *Invaſion*, Athens *had a continued train of Difficulties to ſtruggle with.* ——*Cleomenes* firſt endeavoured to ſubject them to the *Spartan* Power, and to mould their State according to his Will. He had aſſiſted them againſt *Hippias*; but he ſoon became jealous of the Independency, which they affected, and of the great Abilities, which *Cliſthenes*, then at the Head of the *Athenian* Affairs, appeared to be poſſeſſed of. You may remember, how this moved *Cleomenes* to employ the terror of the *Spartan* Arms againſt the *Athenians*, and to procure the Baniſhment of *Cliſthenes:* not contented with this, he [m] cauſed ſeven hundred Families beſides to be ſent into Exile, and, ſeizing on the Citadel, would have entirely ſubverted the Democracy. But theſe Acts

[1] At the time of the firſt *Perſian* Invaſion, this was the Caſe exactly. And in the Second *Perſian* War, when Diſtreſs and Deſolation preſſed moſt ſeverely on the *Athenians*, ſo very few are the Inſtances to the contrary, that they do not deſerve mention. See the remaining part of this Dial. and Dial. the 10th.

[m] Vide *Herodot.* in *Terpſichore.*

Acts of Violence rouzed the *Athenians*; and *Cleomenes* having been forced to betake himſelf to Flight, *Cliſthenes* and all the Exiles were recalled. ——You may likewiſe remember, that ſtung with this Indignity he raiſed a numerous Army, and invaded *Attica* [n], whilſt the *Euboeans* and *Boeotians*, with whom he was leagued, were preparing alſo to ravage it. Deſtruction ſeemed now to threaten *Athens*; and haply might ſhe have been ſwallowed up, had not the Generoſity of the *Corinthians* and of *Demaratus* the other *Spartan* King defeated *Cleomenes*'s meaſures, and obliged him to retire. Nevertheleſs, the *Euboeans* and *Boeotians* were ſtill carrying on Hoſtilities: the former of theſe the *Athenians* marched againſt, and eaſily defeated; but the *Boeotians*, ſeeing what dangers they were expoſed to, formed an Alliance with thoſe of *Aegina*, by which means this became a long and hazardous War. For the *Aeginetae* were not only a Martial People, they were alſo a People powerful at Sea, and therefore able to lay waſte, almoſt at pleaſure, the *Attic* Borders.——In the mean time the other Enemies of *Athens* were not inactive. *Cleomenes*, you know, had found out the Art to prepoſſeſs the whole *Spartan* State againſt this riſing City; and, by the baſeſt Policy, *Hippias* had been ſent for, that, by replacing him on the Throne, they might again depreſs the aſpiring Genius of *Athens*.——Of ſuch Importance was Liberty, even in the judgment of the *Spartans* themſelves. If this Rival, whom they ſo much feared, were once deprived of it, they well knew, that there was an end of her Strength and Glory.——But what I would chiefly induce from the State of *Athens* at this juncture, is, that

[n] *Herodot.* ubi ſupra.

theſe trying Circumſtances, theſe continual Wars, this lowering Aſpect of Foreign Affairs, were of real uſe to the Athenians. To a People, who love their Country, *Times of Public Danger* are always *Times of Public Virtue.* The urging Difficulty calls forth the whole Vigor of their Spirit, and occaſions a full Exertion of their Abilities and Fortitude. So that this *ſeemingly-adverſe* Chance of things proved a real Cauſe of Splendor and Power to the *Athenian* People. Hence it was, that the Invaſion of the *Perſians* found them acquainted with Perils, and accuſtomed to the Buſineſs of Arms; it found them brave, hardy, united—ſtrong in Soldiers—and ſtrong in Chiefs.

Another Circumſtance deſerves your Attention. *The Strength of the AEginetae conſiſted in their Fleets; and the* Athenians *had only Land-Forces.*

You have read, *Eudoxus*, what the Poets tell; that both *Neptune* the Monarch of the Deep, and *Minerva* the Goddeſs of Civil Arts, claimed the Patronage of *Athens*, and that the Victory was decided in favour of the latter [o]. This antient Fable witneſſeth, what was of old the Genius of the *Athenian* People. They were naturally averſe from a Maritime Life, and greatly inexpert in Naval Affairs. But the Diſtreſſes of the *Aeginean* War introduced an entire Change of Policy. The *Athenians* opened their Eyes on the Advantages they were ſurrounded with; and Navigation began to be cultivated among them.

You have hitherto had a view of the *Athenian* People in their riſe to Greatneſs.——We are now bordering on the Event, which put their utmoſt Force to Trial, *the pouring in of the* Perſian *Forces againſt*

[o] *Plut.* in *Themiſtocle.*

againſt them.——Let me only obſerve to you, that, from the Expulſion of *Hippias* to the Battle of *Marathon*, there elapſed twenty Years.

Clean. But, *Palaemon*, have we not a farther Demand on you?——You mentioned the quick Progreſs, which the *Athenians* made in the Liberal Arts; and you have not treated of the Cauſes, that raiſed them to this Preeminence of Genius.——

Pal. Liberty, my dear *Cleanthes*, was alſo the principal Cauſe of this; for Science and Arts are always the Attendants of *Liberty*. *Genius* is, as it were, licentious; it loves to ſport itſelf after its own wanton manner, neither expoſed to the Jealouſies of Tyrants, nor to the Threats of Laws. It is then only, that the Mind becomes capable of the *wide-expatiating* View, and the *bold-towering* Thought [p].——Thus it was at *Athens*. There, *Imagination* knew no bounds; and all the Exceſs of Liberty was fully indulged, except when the Religion of the Superſtitious People happened to be wounded. From this it is, that the *Old Comedy* [q] preſents us with the freeſt Scenes of Wit and Humour,

[*] *Hippias* was driven into Exile the third Year of the 67th. Olympiad; and the Battle of *Marathon* was fought the third Year of the 72d.——

[p] Vide *Longinum* de Sublimi. Sect. 44. Vide etiam *Quint.* de Inſtit. Orat. L. 10. C. 1.

[q] The *Old Comedy* was written with the moſt poignant Wit; it dealt in real Tranſactions; it expoſed living Characters; it ſpared none; Generals, Stateſmen, Philoſophers, nay, ſometimes the Gods themſelves, were the Victims of the keen-edged Satire. It even produced on the Stage the Faces of thoſe, againſt whom it was deſigned: the *Perſona*, which it made uſe of, had the very Features, the very Complexion of him, who was to be the Jeſt of the Day. Of this kind of Comedy the moſt eminent Writers were *Cratinus*, *Eupolis*, *Ariſtophanes*. In the *New Comedy*, which was cultivated by *Menander*, the Poet was to

mour, that ever were produced [r]: *the Poet* had no reſtraints from abroad, and might ridicule the moſt venerable Characters without hazard.——I mean not

move within the narrow Circle preſcribed to him; he was not to attempt *Perſonal Reflections*, nor to meddle with *Matters of Government*; none but *harmleſs fictitious Subjects* were to be allowed of: In a word, it had more Decency than the *Old Comedy*: but——ſhall I ſay it?——It had alſo leſs Wit, leſs Life, leſs Genius: it was the Entertainment of *Athens obſcured and inſlaved*——the Other was the Delight of the *freeſt, braveſt, higheſt-ſpirited*, and *moſt delicate People*, that Hiſtory makes mention of.——Between the Suppreſſion of the *Old Comedy*, and the Introduction of the *New*, there was another Species of Dramatic Writing, called the *Middle Comedy*, in which living Characters were attacked, but in a covert manner, and under fictitious names. To theſe reſtraints was the Poet forced to ſubmit, from the time of the Eſtabliſhment of the Tyrants by *Lyſander*. But after that the Conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, and the Power of his Succeſſors, had put an end to all Liberty, then was even this kind of Satire interdicted, and the *New Comedy* took poſſeſſion of the Stage of *Athens*.

[r] Every thing contributed to give Spirit and Ornament to the *Athenian* Comedy. The influence of Liberty had undoubtedly the greateſt ſhare in this; and to it may be aſcribed that *Eaſe* and *Freedom*, that *Variety of Characters*, and *Rich Vein of Humour*, to be found in the *Comic Writers* of *Athens*. But beſides, they had alſo ſeveral ſingular Advantages——they had *the livelieſt turn of thought*, and *the happieſt manner of expreſſion*——their very *Language* had an inimitable *Delicacy*, and abounded with numberleſs *Elegances*. No Nation of *Greece* ſpoke like the *Athenians*: inſomuch that, ſay the Antients, were the Gods to ſpeak in the Language of Men, they would ſpeak in no other than the Dialect of this Refined People. Accordingly, *Quintilian* mentions theſe peculiar Graces of the *Attic* Speech among the Cauſes, that have given the Writers of the *Athenian* Comedy that vaſt Preeminence above thoſe of every other Nation: for, in his Opinion, not the Greateſt Writers of this Order, that the *Romans* ever had, are in any way to be compared with thoſe of *Athens*; not *Plautus*, nor *Caecilius*, nor even *Terence* himſelf——*Vix*, ſays he, *levem conſequimur umbram; adeo ut mihi Sermo ipſe Romanus non recipere videatur illam ſolis conceſſam Atticis Venerem, quando eam ne Graeci quidem in alio genere linguae obtinuerint.*——Vide Inſtit. Orat. L. 10. C. 1.

not to juſtifie the *Athenians* in this point. It was a vicious dangerous Exceſs, making that fatal to Virtue, which ought only to have been *intended* againſt the Baſe and Profligate. And better certainly had it been, to have wanted the humorous *Sallies* of *Ariſtophanes*, than to have purchaſed them at ſo dear a price, as the impairing of the Public Manners, and the laſting reproach of the *Athenian* People[s].—— But, whatever was the Petulancy of Comic Writers, undoubtedly it was the extreme Freedom of the Democratical Government, that rendered the *Attic* Climate ſo favourable to Genius, and raiſed every Lettered Art among them to that unrivalled Degree of Perfection.

Another Cauſe, that contributed to the Advancement of Literature at *Athens*, was *the Form of Polity*. All Matters were referred to the great Aſſembly of the People; and, as I have told you, neither Domeſtic Regulations, nor Foreign Alliances, neither Peace, nor War, could be ultimately determined on, till their Conſent had given ratification. On theſe accounts, *Perſuaſion* was among the principal Inſtruments of the *Athenian* Government: and the loweſt Citizens were accuſtomed to be addreſſed by Perſons, exerciſed in all the Arts of Speech. Now, this not only made Oratory neceſſary to thoſe, who were deſirous of appearing to advantage in the Public Councils; but alſo by theſe means the People themſelves were rendered *nice* and *critical Hearers*.——Conſider beſides, that all *Athenians* had a place in the Judicial Courts, and

[s] See the account of *Socrates*, Dial. 13. But then this was the licentious exceſs of the Old Comedy. That Liberty, which in a State ſuch as *Athens* might have been of ſingular uſe, and at the beginning was applied to excellent purpoſes, at length was abuſed of—*In Vitium Libertas excidit*—— It was this Abuſe, that brought on, or at leaſt was the pretence for bringing on, the Reſtraints that followed.

and that Cauſes, both Civil and Criminal, were tried before them; and that therefore they muſt by degrees have become expert in Argument, and enabled to unfold the intricacies of Forenſial Pleadings. With opportunities ſuch as theſe, the Culture of the Mind was an eaſy Attainment. It was ſcarcely poſſible, that they ſhould not have been an acute accompliſhed People, when even the meaneſt *Artizans* were thus inveſted daily with the reſpectable Character of Judges, and converſant in the moſt important Queſtions of State[t].

Another Cauſe was, *the beſtowing of Rewards on thoſe, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the Elegance of their Productions, and the Emulation, which this naturally gave riſe to.* For at *Athens* it was uſual[u] to diſpute the Prize of Wit; and not only the Poets Wreath, but alſo oftentimes the greateſt Honours were the Recompence of thoſe, who excelled. To this Cuſtom, in a great meaſure, we owe thoſe inimitable Performances, that graced the *Athenian* Stage; the Poet writing with a view to the higheſt Diſtinctions, and to obtain the Suffrages of an impartial, delicate, knowing People: and at the ſame time this kind of Conteſt preſerved the Public Taſte; it was from theſe refined Entertainments, that the loweſt *Athenians* learned that Reliſh for the Beauties of Compoſition, that Purity of Style, that *Fineſſe* of Ear, which Antiquity aſcribes to the Inhabitants of this Polite City.—— How ſurpriſingly they were improved, you may judge,

[t] *Una Urbs Attica,* ſays *Velleius Paterculus, pluribus annis eloquentiâ, quàm univerſa Graecia, uberiuſque floruit: adèo ut Corpora Gentis illius ſeparata ſint in alias Civitates, Ingenia vero ſolis Athenienſium muris clauſa exiſtimes*——Hiſt. Rom. L. 1. C. 18.——Vide etiam *Ciceron.* de Clar. Oratoribus.

[u] Vide *Plutarch.* in *Themiſtocle* et *Cimone.* Voyez auſſi Le Theatre des Grecs du Pere *Brumoi.*

judge, *Cleanthes*, from this ſingle Story. *Theophraſtus*, a Native of the Iſland *Lesbos*, and Diſciple to *Ariſtotle*, was one of the brighteſt Geniuſes of his Age. It was his Ambition to imitate the *Attic* Purity, and for this purpoſe he eſtabliſhed his reſidence at *Athens*, where he ſoon obtained a very great Reputation, as well on account of the Elegance of his Style, as the Excellence of his Matter. After many Years of Fame, happening to go into the Market-place, he aſked an Herb-woman ſome queſtion: ſhe knew him not; and nevertheleſs by his manner of ſpeaking ſhe diſcovered him immediately to be a Foreigner, and reproached him with it. *Theophraſtus* went off, much confounded, that, after all his pains, he was ſtill in accuracy of Speech unequal to the meaneſt of the *Athenian* People [w].

We may alſo apply to the Progreſs of Letters, what I obſerved to you of the Succeſs of the *Athenian* Arms. *This was a Time of Struggle and Endeavour*; and at ſuch a time, wherever Genius is, it always exerts itſelf, and impells us to things Great and Worthy. Look back, *Eudoxus*, to the Days of *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*——Even then, amidſt the Alarms of the *Perſian* War, *Æſchylus* flouriſhed, and *Sophocles* planned [x] his ſublime Dramas. And of them, that followed, all the moſt

[w] *Cicero* de Clar. Oratoribus.

[x] *Aeſchylus* ſerved at the Battle of *Marathon*: *Sophocles* was then a Child. However he lived, to rival *Aeſchylus*. For at the Repreſentation of the firſt Piece, that he produced in Public, he diſputed the Prize with him, and obtained it. This happened the firſt Year of the 77th Olympiad, or 8 Years after the Battle of *Salamis*: though Mr. *Dodwell* places it a Year later.—*Aeſchylus* was ſo afflicted at this Victory obtained by *Sophocles*, that he retired into *Sicily*, and, according to *Plutarch*, died there of Grief.——See *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Cimon*.

moſt Eminent were thoſe, who lived neareſt to that *Illuſtrious Age*, when *Diſtreſs* rendered *Athens* Glorious.

There is alſo another Cauſe, that made this *a Time of happy influence to Genius.* Our Souls, as it were, *catch* the Love of Glory from each other; and when we behold all around us engaged in noble Purſuits, Emulation adds vigor to our Spirit, and every Power within us is called forth to Action. Hence, among all improved Nations, has that Point of time, which has been moſt diſtinguiſhed by gallant Deeds of Arms, been alſo memorable for its producing Men of extraordinary Accompliſhments of Mind.——At *Athens* it was ſo remarkably. And, together with the moſt famed of her Laurelled Chiefs, ſhone forth her greateſt Poets, and beſt Philoſophers. Here you may ſee a *Miltiades*, a *Themiſtocles*, a *Cimon*——and there an *Æſchylus*, a *Cratinus*, a *Sophocles*——here a *Nicias*, a *Pericles*, an *Alcibiades*——and there an *Euripides*, an *Eupolis*, an *Ariſtagoras*, an *Ariſtophanes*, a *Socrates*, a *Plato.*——Arms give Life to Arts: and the Hero and the Scholar ſeem to contend, who ſhall beſt adorn their Common Country.

Eud. Do not you think, *Palaemon*, that the Cuſtom of doing Honour to the Memory of thoſe, who fell in War, whether by Funeral Orations, or Panegyric Verſe, contributed alſo greatly to the flouriſhing of Learning at *Athens?*

Pal. Your Obſervation, *Eudoxus*, is certainly juſt: and, eſpecially in thoſe Days, muſt this have proved of ſingular ſervice to Letters. For the Subjects, on which the Geniuſes of *Athens* were to diſplay their Parts, were of the higheſt Dignity. They were to write the Praiſes of thoſe Glorious Men, who died for their Country at *Marathon*, at *Salamis*, at *Plateae.* On Subjects, ſuch as theſe, it was eaſy for the Poet or the Orator to feel a kind

of

of Inſpiration, and to riſe to a Sublimity of Thought and Diction.

One Circumſtance more I muſt mention to you, which proved very advantageous to *Athens*,——*the Calamitous Condition of the* Ionian *Cities, divided, ravaged, and oppreſſed.*——*Ionia*, from the ſoftneſs of its Climate, was, in a manner, deſigned by Nature, to be the Nurſery of Arts and Sciences. Its Air was of the happieſt temperature, mild and ſerene; and all the Treaſures of the Year cloathed its blooming Fields [y]. Its Inhabitants alſo were Men of a refined Caſt, of a lively Imagination, and uncommon Reach of Thought; and a greater number of Accompliſhed Perſons had their Birth on this Shore, and on the Iſles adjacent, than any other Spot of the ſame extent through all the World can boaſt of [z]. Here, in early Days, was *Homer* born. *Cumae* [a] was the Country of *Heſiod.* And in later Ages, *Sappho*, *Alcaeus*, *Anacreon*, *Jon*, *Hecataeus*, *Theopompus*, *Herodotus*, *Pythagoras*, *Bias*, *Thales*, *Anaxagoras*, all great Names, and many more, Poets, Hiſtorians, Philoſophers, were Natives of this lovely Region.——But *Ionia* ſoon loſt her Liberties. Firſt, a number of Petty Tyrants, and then *Croeſus*, invaded it. And afterwards, when the *Lydian* Empire was overthrown, it was ranked among the Tributary Provinces of the *Perſian* Monarchy, and made to groan under the arbitrary Sway, and cruel Impoſitions of the Satraps of *Aſia* the Leſs.——At the time, of which I am ſpeaking, the Diſtreſſes of *Ionia* encreaſed, and its moſt flouriſhing States

[y] Vide *Herodot.* in Clio.
[z] See Enquiry into the Life of *Homer*.
[a] *Strabo*, Geogr. L. 13.

were given up to Slavery and Devaſtation [b]. The Muſes, you know, *Eudoxus*, always take their Flight from the Seat of Bondage and Oppreſſion to the Land of Liberty: And *Athens* ſaw herſelf inriched with the moſt valuable Spoils of the *Aſiatic* Coaſt, its Arts and Manners, its Philoſophers and Poets.

We paſs on now to the Invaſion of *Greece* by the *Perſians*.——You remember, *Cleanthes*, what was the Cauſe of this memorable War?

Clean. You told us, I think, that Reſentment againſt the Governour of *Aſia* the Leſs, on account of his eſpouſing the Intereſts of *Hippias*, moved the *Athenians* to liſten to the Sollicitations of *Ariſtagoras*, and to join in the *Ionian* League [c].

Pal. True, *Cleanthes*. But, beſides this, there are certain Particulars of the *Perſian* and *Ionian* Hiſtory, which it may be neceſſary firſt to explain to you.———You are not a Stranger to the Name of *Cyrus* the Great. He was the Founder of the *Perſian* Empire, which he eſtabliſhed, not leſs by the Excellence of his Virtues, than by the Terror of his Arms: he was the Father of thoſe he reigned over. His Succeſſor was his Son *Cambyſes*, who inherited his Father's Kingdom, without being Heir to his Virtues; he was a weak, raſh, vicious Prince, a Curſe to his own Family, and a Scourge to his unhappy People. A violent Death freed the Earth from this Monſter: and, after him, *Smerdis*, or *Oropaſtes*, as *Juſtin* calls him, one of the *Perſian* Magi, having found means to perſonate the King's Brother, who had been ſlain by the Orders of *Cambyſes*, uſurped the Throne. This

[b] *Herodot.* in Erato.
[c] See Dial. 7. P. 294.

This Impoſture was ſoon diſcovered; and ſeven *Perſian* Noblemen of the firſt Rank conſpired againſt the Uſurper, and ſlew him. No Prince of the Race of *Cyrus* now remained; and therefore it was agreed, that theſe Noble Perſons, who had vindicated the Honour of their Country, ſhould on a ſtated Day have their Horſes led forth to a certain place, and that he, whoſe Horſe had neighed firſt after the Riſing of the *Sun*, the great Divinity of the *Perſians*, ſhould be ſaluted King. By the Contrivance of a Groom the Omen declared in Favour of *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, and he was accordingly placed on the Throne of *Cyrus* [d].

After this Prince had reigned many Years proſperouſly; he determined, on ſome frivolous Pretence, to make War on the *Scythians* [e], who dwelt along the Banks of the *Danube*. They were a Nation, of whom antient Hiſtory makes the moſt honourable mention: in their Manners, ſimple, upright, reproachleſs; occupied entirely in the Culture of their Flocks, in which their whole Wealth conſiſted; and without either Cities, or fixed Habitations, but ranging about from Place to Place, as the fairneſs of the Paſturage invited them. From this method of Life, they were extremely hardy, bold, and vigorous; acquainted with the roughеſt Toils; and inured to the ſevereſt Inclemencies of the Seaſons. Againſt a People, ſuch as this, poor were the Triumphs to be expected. Nevertheleſs, *Darius* aſſembled a numerous Army, and having ſubdued the *Thracians*, and formed a Bridge over the *Danube*, he paſſed over into the *Scythian* Borders.——Nothing but a wild Waſte of Country

[d] *Herodot.* in *Thaliâ. Juſtin.* L. 1.
[e] *Herodot.* in *Melpomene. Juſtin* L. 2.

lay before him: for the *Scythians* had removed their Families and Flocks into the more Northern Parts. However, *Darius*, thinking to force them to Submiſſion, left the Bridge to the Care of the *Ionians*, who attended him in this Expedition, requiring of them, that they ſhould wait for him forty Days, and diſcharging them from their Station, if he did not return within the appointed time; and then, ſecure of Victory, marched in Purſuit of the *Scythians*. They ſoon appeared, and, ſeeming to flee before him, led him far away from the Banks of the *Danube*; when at length the *Perſians* found themſelves in the midſt of an inhoſpitable Deſart, expoſed to all the Extremities of Want, and to the Reſentment of a brave exaſperated Nation. *Darius* now ſaw, how vain had been his Hopes, and reſolved to return: but Difficulties multiplied againſt him——the poor Produce of this uncultivated Soil had been deſtroyed by his own Forces; and the badneſs of the Ways encreaſed by the Devaſtations, which the Natives had made. Beſides, he was in the midſt of Enemies, who were preparing to attack him, and *Indathyrſus* King of the *Scythians* had ſent a Meſſage, that filled the whole Army with Terror. He had ordered a *Scythian* to preſent to *Darius* in his Name——*a Bird, a Mouſe, a Frog, and five Arrows.*——You look with ſurprize, *Cleanthes*——But, odd as it may appear to you, it was a ſignificative Meſſage. *Indathyrſus* meant, that, except the *Perſians* could take Flight like *the Bird*, or hide them in the Earth like *the Mouſe*, or conceal themſelves under Water like *the Frog*, they never ſhould eſcape *the Scythian Arrows.*——You ſee the *Scythians* had their emblematical Language, as well as the politeſt Nations.

During

During theſe Tranſactions, the appointed Days elapſed, and the *Ionian* Chiefs began to deſpair of *Darius*'s Return. Among thoſe Chiefs was *Miltiades*, Son to *Cimon*, a Nobleman of *Athens*. His Uncle, who alſo was called *Miltiades*, was choſen by the *Thracian Dolonces* as their Leader, and, paſſing over to the *Cherroneſus*, reigned over them. He was ſucceeded by *Steſagoras* his Nephew, Son to *Cimon*; and, *Steſagoras* dying, this *Miltiades*, *Cimon*'s ſecond Son, got Poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty [f]: He was extremely earneſt, that the *Ionians* ſhould break down the Bridge, and leave *Darius* and his Army to the Vengeance of the *Scythians*. *By this*, ſays he, *the Liberties of* Ionia *ſhall be reſtored, and the* Perſians *completely humbled.*——The *Scythians* likewiſe urged the *Ionians* to depart, promiſing, that they would put an end to the ambitious Projects of the *Perſian*. But *Hiſtiaeus*, Tyrant of *Miletus*, ſaved the King: he repreſented to the Sovereigns of the reſt of the *Ionian* States, *that their Power depended on that of* Darius; *and that if the Dread of* Perſia *were once removed, all the* Grecian *Cities of* Aſia *would vindicate their antient Rights, and expell them.*——In an Aſſembly of Tyrants ſuch an Argument could not but have its weight. And therefore, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of *Miltiades*, it was agreed that they ſhould keep their Station, and ſecure a Retreat to *Darius*. However, to amuſe the *Scythians* they feigned to depart, and withdrew thoſe Ships, that were neareſt to the *Scythian* Territories; but the reſt of the Bridge they left entire, there determining to remain, till they ſhould receive ſome Tidings of the *Perſian* Army.

After

[f] Vide *Herodot.* in Erato. *Cornelius Nepos* has confounded this *Miltiades* with his Uncle.——*Cornel. Nep.* in *Miltiade.*

After ſome Days, *Darius* arrived on the Banks of the *Danube*, having luckily eſcaped the Ambuſhes of the *Scythians*, who waited to intercept him. It was Night, when he arrived there; and finding the Bridge broken, he judged the *Ionians* were departed, and began to deſpair of ever ſeeing *Perſia* more. In this Diſtreſs, he commanded a Perſon in his Army, who was remarkable for his Strength of Voice, to call aloud on *Hiſtiaeus* the *Mileſian*. *Hiſtiaeus* heard the Call; the Bridge was made up; and *Darius* and his Forces paſſed over.

The King was not long ignorant of the ſingular Obligations he had to the Prince of *Miletus*, and offered to reward him with whatſoever he ſhould deſire. *Hiſtiaeus* aſked only, that he ſhould have leave to Build a City on the River *Strymon* in *Thrace*, and *Darius* readily granted it. But afterwards, liſtening to the malicious Inſinuations of the Governour of *Thrace*, who pretended to fear certain dangerous Conſequences from this Eſtabliſhment, he prevailed on *Hiſtiaeus* to accompany him to *Suſa*, where, under the Shew of doing him Honour, he detained him, without ſuffering him to return to his Native Country.

Clean. So that a Splendid Slavery was all the recompence *Hiſtiacus* had for his Faith to *Darius?*

Pal. This was not the whole of his Ill Fortune.——He had left [g] his Nephew *Ariſtagoras* his Lieutenant in *Miletus*. Soon after his departure to *Suſa*, *Ariſtagoras* formed a Deſign againſt the People of *Naxos*, and applied to *Artapherneſ* [h] for aſſiſtance, engaging to ſubject not only *Naxos*, but alſo all the Iſlands of the *Egean* Sea, and

[g] *Herodot.* in *Terpſichore.*

[h] Governour of *Aſia* the Leſs, and Brother to *Darius.*

and even *Euboea* itſelf, to the *Perſian* Power. *Artaphernes* communicated the Plan to *Darius*, and, having obtained his Approbation, ſent a Fleet of two hundred Ships under the Command of *Megabates*, with Directions, that he ſhould receive his Inſtructions from *Ariſtagoras:* but the haughty *Perſian*, eſteeming it an Indignity to obey the Orders of a *Greek*, betrayed the whole Deſign to the *Naxians*, who, having prepared vigorouſly for their Defence, obliged the Enemy to raiſe the Siege. This Miſcarriage was nevertheleſs imputed to the *Mileſian* Governour, and he was required to make good the Expences of the Expedition.——This ſmall Spark ſpread the Flames of War throughout all *Ionia*. For *Ariſtagoras*, guided by his Reſentments, and fearing the Loſs of his Government, if not of his Life[i], formed the reſolution

[i] *Ariſtagoras*'s Fears were not groundleſs. The Fate of *Polycrates* ſhewed, what the Princes of *Ionia* had to expect from the *Perſian Satraps*.—The Hiſtory of this Prince is ſo remarkable, that, although it does not properly belong to the Plan of this Work, I ſhall give it a place here. He reigned in *Samos*, where he had uſurped the Supreme Power; and ſo well did he eſtabliſh himſelf in the Sovereignty, that he was ſoon accounted one of the greateſt Potentates of his Days. He had vaſt Wealth; he had formidable Fleets; his Friendſhip and Protection were courted by all the States around; and in all the Enterprizes, in which he engaged, Succeſs conſtantly attended him. Elevated with his Proſperity, he conceived the Project of ſubduing all *Ionia*, and the *Grecian* Iſlands.—*Oroetes* was then Governour of *Sardis*, under *Cambyſes* Son of *Cyrus:* he had ſome time before been treated with Indignity by *Polycrates*, and impatiently waited the Opportunity of Revenge. As ſoon therefore as he heard of the Deſigns of the Prince of *Samos*, he ſent to offer him all his Treaſures, provided he would protect him againſt *Cambyſes*, who was determined, ſaid he, according to the Intelligence he had received, to put him to Death. *Polycrates* commiſſioned a truſty Perſon to go and examine the State of *Oroetes*'s Affairs, who then

reſolution to throw off the *Perſian* Yoke. Whilſt he was thus meditating his revenge, a Meſſenger arrived from *Hiſtiaeus* [k], commanding him to revolt

then reſided at *Magneſia:* and the Meſſenger being deceived by the Artifice of *Oroetes*, who ſhewed him a number of large Bags, filled indeed with Stones, but which were covered with Pieces of Gold, he made a magnificent Report to his Maſter of the Riches the *Perſian* was poſſeſſed of. Induced by this, *Polycrates*, contrary to the Advice of all his Friends, adventured to paſs over to *Magneſia:* this was what *Oroetes* deſired; he had now in his Power the Man he hated, and immediately ordered him to be crucified. This happened towards the End of *Cambyſes*'s Reign.——The Reader will be glad to know, that the treacherous *Oroetes* was put to Death by the Orders of *Darius*, ſhortly after his Acceſſion to the Throne of *Perſia:* for beſides his black and inhuman Treatment of *Polycrates*, he had been guilty of many bloody enormous Crimes.——*Herodot.* in *Thalia.*——With the Hiſtory of *Polycrates*, that of *Pythagoras* has a near Connexion. Having left *Samos*, at the time of the Tyranny of *Polycrates*, he travelled into *Egypt*, and ſpent 22 Years in converſing with the *Egyptian* Sages: but being taken Priſoner by *Cambyſes*, who invaded that Country (Olymp. 63. An. 3. Vide *Dodwell.* Diſſer. 3. de *Cyclis* Metone *antiquioribus*, P. 138.) he was ſent to *Babylon*, where he enjoyed the Opportunity of learning the Wiſdom of the *Chaldees*, and, according to ſome Critics, was even inſtructed by the Prophet *Ezekiel.* (Vide *Selden.* de Diis *Syris.* Syntag. 2. C. 1. P. 210.) Thus rich in Knowledge, and deeply read in the Religious Myſteries of the moſt celebrated Nations, he returned to *Samos*, but finding *Syloſon* Brother to *Polycrates* in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, he retired to *Italy*, where he drew after him a prodigious number of Diſciples, and, by the means of pretended Miracles and artful Intrigues, eſtabliſhed his Doctrines, and introduced new Laws, throughout moſt of the Cities of *Magna Graecia.* At length, he was ſlain in an Inſurrection of the *Crotonians*, (ſome ſay he eſcaped to *Metapontum*) and moſt of his Diſciples were maſſacred, two only eſcaping, *Archippus* of *Tarentum* and *Lyſis*, the laſt of whom fled into *Greece*, and under his Care was *Epaminondas* educated. Vide *Jamblich.* et *Porphyr.* Vit. *Pythagor. Diog. Laert.* in *Pythagora. Selden.* et *Dodwell.* ubi ſupra.

[k] The manner, which *Hiſtiaeus* made uſe of to ſignify his Intentions to *Ariſtagoras*, is extremely remarkable. He ſhaved the

volt againſt the *Perſians*. 'Tis thought, he urged his Nephew to this, that, under pretence of reducing the Rebels, he might have an Opportunity of returning home. Be this as it may, *Hiſtiaeus*'s Meſſage determined *Ariſtagoras*. His firſt ſtep was to lay down the Sovereignty at *Miletus*; and then, taking a Progreſs through all the *Ionian* States, he compelled the ſeveral Tyrants to diveſt themſelves of their Authority.——*Liberty alone*, thought he, *could inſpirit the* Ionians *at this trying Juncture.*——This done, he paſſed over to *Lacedemon*, where you know his Suit was rejected. With the *Athenians* he had better Succeſs: their Deteſtation of Tyrants made them heedleſs of all the Conſequences, with which this War might be attended.

Clean. Where was *Miltiades*, during theſe tranſactions?

Pal. He had been obliged, before the beginning of the *Ionian* Troubles, to abandon the *Cherſoneſus*, on account of the *Scythians*, who, to revenge the Wrongs done them by the *Perſians*, broke into *Thrace* and laid it waſte. After their departure, he was re-eſtabliſhed in his Sovereignty by the *Dolonces*: and ſcarcely had he enjoyed it three Years, when, hearing that the *Phoenicians*, who were employed in the Service of *Darius*, were at *Tenedos*, he put all his Riches on Board five

 Ships,

the Head of one of his Servants, in whoſe Fidelity he moſt confided, and having imprinted the Meſſage on his Crown, kept him at *Suſa*, till his Hair was grown again. When that time was come, he diſpatched him to *Miletus*, without any other Inſtructions, than that, on his Arrival, he ſhould deſire *Ariſtagoras* to take off his Hair, and look on his Head.——There were the Characters found impreſſed, and *Ariſtagoras* was informed of the Deſigns of *Hiſtiaeus*.——*Herodot.* in *Terpſichore.*

Ships, and retired to *Athens*[l].——He would probably have been an active Friend to *Ariſtagoras*, had his ſituation at home permitted him; for he hated the *Perſian* Yoke, and had no reaſon to expect much Favour of *Darius*.

But to return to the *Ionian* Affairs.——As ſoon as the Confederate Fleets[m] of *Ionia* and *Athens* were in readineſs, they ſailed to *Epheſus*, together with five Ships of War belonging to the *Eretrians*. Here the Forces landed; and marching on to *Sardis*, before the *Perſians* could be informed of their deſtination, they took the City by Surprize, ſo that *Artaphernes* with much difficulty ſaved himſelf in the Citadel. The Houſes of the *Sardians* were moſtly built of Cane; and an *Athenian* Soldier having in the Attack thrown a lighted Torch on one of them, the Flames ſoon communicated themſelves through the whole City, and conſumed it intirely. This Outrage *Darius* bare ſo impatiently, that he ſolemnly vowed to take ſignal Vengeance of the *Athenian* People; and Hiſtorians tell us, that there was even an Officer eſpecially appointed, who was thrice every Day at a certain Hour to repeat to him theſe words, *Oh King, remember the* Athenians.——*Sardis* being deſtroyed, the Confederates were alarmed at the approach of the *Perſian* Forces, which were now aſſembled againſt them, and haſtened back to *Epheſus*. And the *Perſians*, purſuing them thither, attacked and defeated them with great Slaughter.——From that time, the *Athenians* fell off from the *Ionian* League. Some Authors think that the late ill ſucceſs determined them to this; but more probably was it owing

[l] *Herodot.* in *Erato.*
[m] *Herodot.* in *Terpſichore.*

ing to the Diviſions, which they obſerved were prevailing in the Councils of the *Ionian* Confederates.

Clean. What? this Revolt then proved fatal to *Ionia?*

Pal. It ſerved only to make their condition more calamitous. Indeed, for ſome time even after this Defeat, they had a ſhort Gleam of Succeſs, and maintained a Superiority at Sea. But in the ſixth Year of the War, the *Perſians* having got together a conſiderable Fleet under the Command of *Otanes* and *Artaphernes*, it was reſolved to attempt *Miletus*, the Chief City of the *Ionian* Confederacy: and the *Ionians*, perceiving their Intention, aſſembled their whole Maritime Force for its defence, to the number of three hundred and fifty three Ships. This formidable Navy the *Perſians* ſoon found means to weaken, by drawing off ſeveral of the Confederate Powers, ſo that, when the Engagement was, the *Ionians* had ſcarcely more than an hundred Ships, and afforded the *Perſians* an eaſy Victory. The Conſequence of this was *the taking of* Miletus, which the *Perſians*, to ſignalize their Revenge for the burning of *Sardis*, laid in Ruins, and condemned all the Inhabitants to Servitude. The other revolted Cities of *Ionia* likewiſe were treated with the utmoſt Severity; their Temples conſumed with Fire; and the choiceſt of their young Men and Maidens ſent Slaves to *Suſa*[n].——Such was the Fate of a People, who appear to have periſhed, becauſe they engaged in the Glorious Cauſe of Liberty, without having Virtue enough to bear them through it.

[n] *Herodot.* in Erato.

Eud. You have not mentioned *Hiſtiaeus* in the latter part of the *Ionian* Hiſtory——Did not he alſo fall a Victim in this War?

Pal. You know, he was at *Suſa*, when the *Ionian* War firſt broke out. Nevertheleſs, *Darius* ſuſpected his Connexion with the Malecontents, and charged him with it. The artful *Ionian* anſwered the King with the moſt ſolemn Profeſſions of Fealty and Attachment, offering to bring all the *Ionians* back to their Allegiance, if he was permitted to go among them. The King was perſuaded, and *Hiſtiaeus* came to *Sardis*, where he thought he might eaſily carry on a Correſpondence with the Confederates; but finding that his Intrigues were all known to *Artaphernes*, he went over to ſome of the *Grecian* Iſlands, and being taken in the courſe of the War, was hanged by *Artaphernes*'s Orders, and his Head ſent to *Darius*. 'Tis ſaid, that the *Satrap* was apprehenſive, the King might feel his tenderneſs revive for *Hiſtiaeus*, and that on this account he haſtened the Execution of this dangerous Rebel. And accordingly we are told, that when his Head was brought to *Suſa*, *Darius* wept over it *.——Hiſtory ſpeaks him a ſubtle Stateſman, who ſacrificed his Country to his private Views, and received the Puniſhment juſtly due to his ambitious intereſted Counſels.———As for *Ariſtagoras*, when he ſaw the Affairs of *Ionia* in a declining ſtate, he with a Party of *Mileſians* made his way into *Thrace*, in order to ſecure a Place of Refuge, and there was he ſlain.

Clean. The Reduction of *Ionia* was, I ſuppoſe, the Signal for attacking the *Athenians?*——

Pal.

* *Herodot.* in *Terpſichore*, et *Erato*.

Pal. Darius firſt ſent Embaſſadors into *Greece*, to ſummon all the *Grecians* to acknowledge his Power, and to demand *Earth* and *Water*, the uſual Form of *Submiſſion* in thoſe Days. The *Perſians* were well received by many of the *Grecian* States, particularly at *Aegina*, which, you know, induced *Cleomenes* to invade that Iſland. But at *Sparta* and *Athens* theſe Embaſſadors were treated with remarkable Indignity: they were thrown, one into a *Well*, and an other into a *Ditch*, and bid to carry to their Maſter the *Earth* and *Water* he required [p]. This Inſult greatly heightened *Darius*'s Reſentment; and *Mardonius* [q] was immediately ordered to march into *Greece*. The Choice he made of this General was due to *Favour* not to *Merit*; he was a vain young man, unacquainted with the Buſineſs of Arms: but his Riches, and Noble Birth, together with his near relation to the Royal Family, the King having given him his Daughter in marriage, obtained him this Diſtinction. It ſoon appeared, how little ſuch Advantages avail in the Field of War; for as he was on the Confines of *Macedon*, and encamping in full ſecurity, he was attacked in the Night by the *Thracians*, who plundered his Camp, and wounded *Mardonius* himſelf. About the ſame time, the *Perſian* Fleet in ſailing round the point of Mount *Athos* met with a Storm, in which three hundred Ships and above twenty thouſand Men periſhed. Theſe Diſaſters obliged *Mardonius* to retreat; and *Darius*, convinced of his Incapacity, appointed *Datis* and *Artaphernes* [r] Generals in his ſtead. Theſe two Generals ſet out from

[p] *Herodot.* in *Polymnia.*

[q] In *Erato.*

[r] Son to *Artaphernes Satrap* of *Aſia* the Leſs, and Nephew to *Darius*. —— *Herodot.* in *Erato.*

from *Aſia* with a Fleet of ſix hundred Ships and an Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand Men. With this Force they ſubdued moſt of the Iſlands of the *Egean* Sea, and ſailing to *Eretria* took it, after a Siege of ſeven Days, by the Treachery of ſome of its Inhabitants. You know, *Cleanthes*, this unhappy People had engaged in the *Ionian* Confederacy; and the *Perſians* reſolved to make their Puniſhment exemplary: they were given up to the Rage of the licentious Soldiery, their City was reduced to Aſhes, and as many of the Inhabitants, as the Sword ſpared, were ſentenced to perpetual Bondage. The *Athenians* had endeavoured to aſſiſt them, but, finding that the City was betrayed, had retired.——The *Perſians* ſhaped their courſe next into *Attica*; and *Hippias*, who led the way to the Ravagers of his Country, conducted them into the Fields of *Marathon*. Neither the Multitude of the Enemy, nor the Fate of *Eretria*, diſmayed the *Athenians*; and, firm in the Cauſe of Liberty, they ſaw undaunted this numerous Hoſt come againſt them. They had already ſollicited Succours from the neighbouring States, but the Terror of the *Perſian* Arms had poſſeſſed them all, except the *Spartans*, and thoſe of the little City of *Plateae*[s]. However, the *Spartans* deferred their march on account of an antient Superſtition, that, forbade to enter on any Expedition, till after the full Moon

[s] The *Plateans* had been Confederate with the *Athenians* ſeveral Years before this: for finding themſelves greatly oppreſſed by the *Thebans*, they applied firſt to the *Lacedemonians*, and then, on their refuſal, to thoſe of *Athens*, who generouſly aſſerted their Cauſe, and received them under their Protection. This happened in the Days of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, and according to *Dodwell* (in *Annalibus Thucydideis*) the firſt Year of the 65th Olympiad, about thirty Years before the Battle of *Marathon*.—— Vide *Herodot*. Lib. ſupra citato.——

Moon [t]; ſo that of all the Nations of *Greece* the *Plateans* alone ſhared with the *Athenians* the Dangers of this Glorious War. When they took the Field, they found their Forces extremely inconſiderable; for the *Plateans* could only furniſh a thouſand Men; and the *Athenians* had no more than ten thouſand, one thouſand out of each Tribe. They were commanded by ten Captains, among whom was that *Miltiades*, who had reigned in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, and *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles*, at this time both young Men [u]. And to theſe was added *Callimachus*, the *Polemarch* of that Year: for ſuch, ſays *Herodotus*, was the Cuſtom of the *Athenians* in thoſe Days [w]. Theſe Captains were inveſted with equal Powers, and were to have the Command, each their Day, alternately.——In the firſt Council of War it was urged, that they ſhould provide for the Defence of the City, and not hazard an Engagement: *Miltiades*, *Ariſtides*, *Themiſtocles*, and two other of the Leaders warmly maintained the contrary opinion. The caſting Voice was in the *Polemarch*; and *Miltiades*, turning to him, earneſtly preſſed him to declare for a Battle: *You have it now in your Option*, ſays he to him, *to ſave your Country from Ruin and Servitude*; *and this Vote, which you are this Day to give, may render your Name even more Illuſtrious, than that of* Harmodius *and* Ariſtogiton.——Moved by theſe words, the *Polemarch* concurred with *Miltiades*; and this Gallant Band marched on to meet the *Perſians*.

Clean. Glorious Men!

Pal.

[t] *Herodot.* ubi ſupra. *Juſtin.* L. 2. C. 9.
[u] *Plutarch.* in *Ariſtide.*
[w] See Dial. 8. P. 306.

Pal. I have told you, that the *Athenian* Captains were to command alternately. *Ariſtides* ſaw the Inconvenience of a Power thus divided, and propoſed, that they ſhould all reſign their turns in favour of *Miltiades*[x]. The Propoſal was chearfully agreed to: but nevertheleſs *Miltiades* deferred engaging, till he was Commander in his own Right[y]. In the mean time, he endeavoured to add to the ſtrength of his little Army, by chooſing advantageous Ground at the foot of a Mountain, where they could not be ſurrounded, and by flanking them with ſeveral large Trees, which he ordered to be laid down to keep off the *Perſian* Horſe[z]. At laſt the important Day came, and the *Athenians* drew out to Battle. *Datis* beheld with Contempt this handful of Men, and haſtened to fall on them, well pleaſed with the Opportunity of cutting them off, before the *Spartans* were come to their Aſſiſtance. Little did the *Perſian* know, what they could atchieve, who were prepared to abide every Extremity, rather than to live without Liberty. As ſoon as the Signal was given, the *Athenian* Wings ruſhed impetuous on the Enemy, and broke through the *Perſian* Battalia, Sword in hand. The Violence of this attack began the confuſion of the *Perſians*, who, being pent up in too narrow a ſpace, were much incommoded by their own Multitudes. The two Wings ſoon made their way through the Lines of the Enemy, and meeting together returned to the Aſſiſtance of the *Athenian* Center, where the greateſt Diſtreſs was: for *Miltiades* had drawn off the Flower

[x] *Plutarch.* in *Ariſtide.*
[y] *Herodot.* Libro ſupra dicto.
[z] *Corn. Nepos* in *Miltiade.*

Flower of the Army towards the Wings, ſo that *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles*, who commanded in this part, with much difficulty maintained their ground againſt the vaſt weight of the oppoſite Numbers. But the Succeſs of the Wings determined the Fate of the Battle; and the Enemy, ſeeing the *Athenians* bear down all before them, fled with the utmoſt precipitation: the brave *Athenians* purſued them to their Ships, and boarding thoſe, that lay neareſt to the Shore, took ſeven of them [a]. Upwards of ſix thouſand *Perſians*, ſays *Herodotus*, fell in the Engagement, and among them the baſe *Hippias*; and of the *Athenians* only one hundred and ninety two [b].——Such was the Iſſue of that memorable Day of *Marathon* *, on which was won one of the moſt ſignal Victories, that Hiſtory has recorded—eleven thouſand Men putting to flight an Army of more than an hundred thouſand, and thoſe alſo no deſpicable Soldiers, and who beſides were fluſhed with their late Victories over the *Grecian* Iſlanders, and thoſe of *Eretria*.——But, as I have already obſerved to you, *Cleanthes*, every *Athenian* fought for himſelf on this occaſion; every *Athenian* was *perſonally* concerned in the Fortune of this important Day—he fought for the Temples of his Gods, for the Sepulchres of his Fathers, for all, that the ties of Domeſtic Life can render dear—he fought for Laws and Liberties, ſuch as no

[a] Vide *Herodot. Plutarch.* et *Corn. Nepot.* ubi ſupra.

[b] *Juſtin* pretends that two hundred thouſand *Perſians* were ſlain; but then he makes their Army amount to ſix hundred thouſand. It is thought by ſome, that *Herodotus*, in the account he gives us, means only thoſe who fell in Battle, and that many more of the *Perſians* were deſtroyed in their Flight, or as they were endeavouring to get aboard their Ships.

* This Battle, as it has been already obſerved, was fought the 3d Year of the 72d Olympiad, or 489 Years before Chriſt.

Change of Government could reſtore to him; and, if he did not conquer, Death, or Slavery worſe than Death, lay before him. Accordingly, Hiſtorians tell us, that though the Diſpoſition and Conduct of the Battle was owing to *Miltiades*, yet was it difficult to ſay, to which of the *Athenians* the firſt Praiſe was due, for Intrepidity of Courage and bold Atchievements [c]. It was an Army of Heroes, and they all wrought wonderous things.

Eud. Juſtin, I remember, relates an Inſtance of that Courage, which appears to me ſcarcely credible. *Cynegyrus* [d], an Officer in the *Athenian* Army, after many extraordinary Feats, purſued the *Perſians* to the Shore, and with his right hand laid hold on one of their Ships; his hand was ſtruck off: with the other he ſeized on it again, which being ſtruck off in like manner, he held to the Veſſel with his Teeth, till his Courage and his Life forſook him together.

Pal. Herodotus alſo makes mention of him, with ſome variation in the Circumſtances: he tells us only, that *Cynegyrus* fixed his hand on the Prow of a *Perſian* Veſſel, and reſolutely kept his hold, until, his Hand being ſtruck off with an Ax, he fell.—But, *Eudoxus*, there is another Inſtance of the unconquered Spirit of the *Athenians*, which ſeems yet more amazing. A certain *Athenian* Soldier, the inſtant he ſaw the *Perſians* were defeated, detached himſelf from the Army, and ran towards *Athens*. The brave Man had already had his ſhare in all the Fatigues of the late Action; and from *Marathon* to *Athens* it was ten long Miles. Nevertheleſs,

[c] *In eo Praelio tanta virtus ſingulorum fuit, ut cujus Laus prima eſſet, difficile judicium videretur.* Juſtin.

[d] He was Brother to the Poet *Aeſchylus*, and is ſaid to have been one of the Chief Commanders.

leſs, full of the Glorious Tidings on he went, till he entered the City, and reached the Houſe of the Chief Magiſtrate, when, juſt fainting, he retained only ſtrength enough to utter theſe two words—*JOY!*——*VICTORY!*[e]——and dropped down dead.

Clean. Happy, Happy *Athens*, that had ſuch Citizens to boaſt of!

Pal. What followed after the Battle ſhews, that the ſame Ardour inſpired them all.——As ſoon as the *Perſians* were embarked, they bare away towards *Athens*. *Miltiades* judged what their Deſign was; and, leaving *Ariſtides* with his Tribe to guard the Plunder, he marched on with the reſt of the Army to ſave the Capital. Obſerve, *Cleanthes*, ſcarcely had the *Athenians* any Horſe[f]; and yet ſuch was the Alacrity of their Spirit, when the Dangers of their Country called on them, that, after the Toils of ſuch a Day, as that of *Marathon* muſt have been, they notwithſtanding arrived there before the ſetting of the Sun.——When the *Perſians* ſaw that *Miltiades* had prevented them, not daring to tempt a ſecond Engagement, they ſailed off to *Aſia*.

Clean. How did the *Athenians* behave in this Flow of Proſperity?

Pal. You may judge, *Cleanthes*, how great muſt have been the Exultations of a People, who held Liberty ſo dear, and who ſaw themſelves and their Children reſcued from Bondage. Next to their Thankſgivings to the Gods, their firſt care was to do honour to the Memory of thoſe Brave Men, who had fallen in defence of their Country. The fineſt Geniuſes of *Athens* were employed to

[e] Χαίρετε, Χαίρομεν.——*Plutarch.* de *Gloriâ Athenienſium.*

[f] They had only one hundred Horſemen in the engagement at *Marathon*. *Corn. Nep.* in Miltiade.

rehearſe their Praiſes. There were noble Monuments raiſed to them on the very Field of Battle, inſcribed with Panegyric Verſe, and with their Names, and the Names of their Tribes. And leſt the *Athenians* ſhould ſeem to uſurp the Fame, that belonged to others, the *Plateans* alſo, and even the Slaves, who fell, had diſtinct Monuments, with ſuitable Inſcriptions, erected to them [g].

Clean. But *Miltiades* and the reſt of the Army, that returned victorious, how were they rewarded?

Pal. The *Plateans*, and their Children for ever, were all admitted to the rank of *Athenian* Denizons. The like Honour was conferred on the Slaves, who had in ſo ſignal a manner approved their Faith at this time of Peril. As for the *Athenians*, there was an exquiſite Painting executed by the hand of *Polygnotus* [h], in which they were repreſented, and at their head *Miltiades*, as it were, leading them on to Victory. This curious Piece was placed in one of the Public Galleries [i], and was the only Recompence *Athens* beſtowed on her Citizens. It was eſteemed a Reward ſufficient, that they ſhould have the Glory of having ſaved their Country [k].

Eud.

[g] *Pauſan.* in *Atticis.*

[h] It is worthy of Obſervation, that this excellent Artiſt refuſed to receive payment for his Performance: the Glory of having been the Means of immortalizing the Exploits of his Countrymen, was all the Recompence he ſought for. And it is ſaid, that the *Amphictiones*, to do honour to ſo great a Man, ordained that through the ſeveral Cities of *Greece* he ſhould always be entertained at the Public Charge.——Vide *Plutarch.* in *Cimone.* Vide et *Plin.* L. 35. C. 9.——

[i] It was called *Poecile*, Ποικίλη, from the variety of Paintings with which it was adorned.

[k] Vide *Corn. Nepot.* in *Miltiade.*

Eud. Did not *Miltiades* ſoon loſe the favour of the *Athenian* People?

Pal. He did: the ill Succeſs of an Expedition, which he perſuaded the *Athenians* to undertake, proved his Ruin. He had obtained a Fleet of Seventy Ships, in order to reduce all thoſe Iſlands of the *Egean* Sea, which had declared for the *Perſians*; but having failed before *Paros*, he was accuſed of treaſonable Practices, and fined fifty Talents, which not being able to pay, he was thrown into Priſon, and died there of a Wound he had received in the Expedition.

Clean. Shameful Ingratitude!——What, the Man who ſaved *Athens?*

Pal. Miltiades was not altogether blameleſs. For we are told, that his principal View in this War was rather to revenge his own private Wrongs, than to ſerve the Commonwealth [l].——Then conſider, *Miltiades* was riſen to a towering height of Fortune: his Victory at *Marathon* had made him the firſt Man of *Greece*, almoſt too great for a Government, where all Perſons were to be equal [m].——It was alſo but too well remembered, that he had known the Poſſeſſion of Sovereign Power.——And therefore all theſe Conſiderations united could ſcarcely fail of rendering him obnoxious, eſpecially in a State, where even Eminent

[l] *Herodot.* in *Erato.*

[m] *Plutarch* has recorded a remarkable Inſtance of the jealous diſpoſition, which the *Athenians* ſhewed towards *Miltiades.* After the Battle of *Marathon*, he applied for a Crown of Olive, when immediately one *Sochares* roſe up in the Aſſembly, and made anſwer, *When thou ſhalt conquer alone*, Miltiades, *thou ſhalt triumph ſo too.* Harſh as the anſwer may ſeem, it was loudly applauded by the People, and *Miltiades*'s Suit unanimouſly rejected.——*Plutarch.* in *Cimone.*

Eminent Virtue was eſteemed dangerous to Liberty.——

But however, amidſt all the Ruins of his Public Fortune, *Miltiades* enjoyed the higheſt of Domeſtic Comforts. He had a Son, named *Cimon*. The young Man had been accuſtomed to Splendor and Diſtinction: his Mother was the Daughter of a King [n]; he himſelf was born to the hopes of Sovereignty: and even after his Family had retired to *Athens*, there was not a Station in the Commonwealth, but was within his Proſpect. Nevertheleſs, when Diſgrace had overtaken his Father, it became the whole Pride of this Young Man to obſerve him in all his Diſtreſs; he accompanied him to Priſon; he ſhared the Horrors of Confinement with him; and induſtriouſly ſtudied to ſoften the Severity of his Sufferings by an unwearied tenderneſs, and a viſible encreaſe of Affection. In ſome time *Miltiades* died. It was the Law at *Athens*, that thoſe, who had been impriſoned for a Debt to the Public, and died in Priſon, ſhould be refuſed the Rites of Sepulture, until Payment was made. Here *Cimon*'s Filial Piety ſhewed itſelf again: he beſought, that he might be admitted to redeem his Father's Corſe, at the expence of his own Liberty; and remained in Confinement, until by diſpoſing of the little Fortune he had, and by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, he was enabled to diſcharge the Mulct [o].——Your eyes

[n] His Mother was *Hegeſipyla*, Daughter to *Olones* King of *Thrace*.——*Herodot.* ubi ſupra.

[o] This laſt Circumſtance, on the Teſtimony of *Juſtin*.—— Some other Authors ſpeak of him in a leſs advantageous manner. It appears likewiſe from *Plutarch*, that in his earlier Years he laboured under much reproach, both on account of his

Eyes fill, *Cleanthes!* —— I love thoſe generous Tears: they ſpeak Sentiments of Virtue.——*Cimon* however did not ſink under theſe Calamities: Heaven rewarded his Piety; and you ſhall ſee this young Man become the Support and Glory of his Country.

Clean. Excellent *Cimon!*

Pal. But, *Cleanthes*, you forget to enquire about *Darius.*——

Clean.

his ſuppoſed Stupidity, and of his debauched Manners. No doubt but the Sumptuouſneſs and State, in which he was educated might give him a more ſoft and effeminate turn. And probably alſo the Enemies of his Family induſtriouſly ſought out every Opportunity of injuring his Reputation, and of ſinking him in the Eſteem of the People: to which the Licentiouſneſs of the Comic Writers of thoſe Days contributed not a little. But nevertheleſs, from the other parts of his Character, as *Plutarch* has tranſmitted them, it is plain that moſt of the Charges, urged againſt him, were either entirely groundleſs or much aggravated. At the time of the ſecond *Perſian* Invaſion, that is, in leſs than nine Years after the death of his Father, he was looked upon as one of the moſt promiſing of the Young *Athenian* Noblemen. He propoſed to himſelf *Ariſtides* for a Pattern, and that excellent *Athenian* honoured him with particular marks of his Favour and Affection. In all the Diſtreſſes of his Country, he acquitted himſelf as an active, faithful, brave Citizen; and, even when diſgraced, never had he aught in view but the Proſperity of *Athens*. He was generous and affable, and yet moſt upright and unblemiſhed in the Adminiſtration of Public Offices, and not to be corrupted by any Bribe. Add to this his exemplary Piety to *Miltiades*. I know *Cornelius Nepos* would have us believe that this Confinement was not matter of Choice, but of Neceſſity, the Law at *Athens* ſo requiring: but I have followed that Tradition which does moſt honour to Human Nature. And beſides *Juſtin* is expreſs in affirming that it was by a free Surrender of himſelf he redeemed the Body of his unhappy Father. *Cimon, cujus magnitudinem futuram Pietatis documenta prodiderunt. Quippe patrem ob crimen Peculatûs in carcerem conjectum, ibique defunctum, tranſlatis in ſe vinculis, ad Sepulturam redemit.* L. 2. ſub. fine.

Clean. True——with what temper of mind did he receive the heavy Tidings of the Defeat at *Marathon?*

Pal. With the utmoſt Indignation.——He reſolved to march in perſon into *Greece*, to vindicate the Honour of the *Perſian* Name; and Orders were diſpatched through all the Provinces of his Empire, that the ſeveral Nations ſubject or tributary to him ſhould be in readineſs to attend him. In the mean time *Egypt* revolted, ſo that he ſaw himſelf engaged in a double War, which he provided for with great vigor. But in the midſt of his Preparations, Death put an end to the ambitious Purpoſes of this Monarch, who probably might have appeared to much greater advantage, had he not had the Misfortune common to Deſpotic Princes, that of being corrupted by Exceſs of Power.

Eud. After him reigned *Xerxes*——did not he carry into Execution the Project, which his Father had formed againſt *Greece?*

Pal. He did, but not immediately.—This ſecond *Perſian* War was poſterior to the Battle of *Marathon* by ten Years: for *Xerxes* was in the ſixth year of his Reign, when he invaded *Greece*; and *Darius* lived four Years after the Defeat of *Datis* and *Artaphernes* [p].

This Interval was not a time of Eaſe and Inactivity to the *Athenian* People. Beſides the Expedition againſt the *Grecian* Iſlands, they were again engaged in War againſt thoſe of *Aegina.*—Within the very Walls of *Athens* alſo, nothing now was to be ſeen, but Induſtry and Labour; the whole People was employed in uſeful Arts; the

[p] *Herodot.* in *Polymnia.*

the Docks were filled with Workmen; new Ships crouded their Ports; the *Pirean* Harbour was opened [q]; and *Athens* ſeemed already aſpiring to the Empire of the Deep. It was the Genius of *Themiſtocles*, that wrought this: he foreſaw, that the Day of *Marathon* would only prove the Prelude to a ſecond Invaſion, to a War far bloodier and more hazardous; and therefore he ſtudied to encreaſe the Naval Strength of *Athens*, as the ſureſt means of ſaving his Country. Hence likewiſe it was, that he endeavoured to revive the former Jealouſies againſt the *Aeginetae*; he knew they were a People brave and formidable at Sea; and therefore he wiſely judged that this War would diſtreſs the *Athenians*, and oblige them to turn their thoughts to Maritime Affairs. And accordingly, as he expected, ſo it happened; and the *Athenians* found themſelves under a neceſſity of applying to the building of Ships thoſe Public Revenues, which aroſe from the Silver Mines of *Laurium*, and which it had hitherto been uſual to divide among the People [r]. To the ſame purpoſe, *Plato* [s] takes notice, that by his Contrivance Meſſengers arrived from *Aſia*, on the heels one of an other, with repeated Accounts of the mighty Preparations the *Perſians* were making againſt *Greece*.—— By theſe Means *Themiſtocles* diſciplined the Minds of his Countrymen; the People had the Terrors of

[q] The *Pireum* was not compleated till after the Battle of *Salamis*, but before this, the Year before *Xerxes* entered *Greece*, according to Mr. *Dodwell* (In *Annalibus Thucydideis*) that is, the laſt Year of the 74th Olympiad, *Themiſtocles* began to lay open and improve this Harbour. Mr. *Dodwell* ſuppoſes *Themiſtocles* to have been *Archon* that Year.

Vide *Dodwell.* Annal. *Thucyd.* P. 44

[r] *Plutarch.* in *Themiſtocle.*

[s] De Legibus. L. 3.

War continually beſetting them; and were daily exerciſed in Intrepidity of Soul, in Contempt of Danger, and the Uſe of Arms.

Eud. You think then, that the Glory of *Athens* was principally due to *Themiſtocles?*

Pal. He certainly was the chief Inſtrument of advancing them to Naval Power, to which alone *Athens* owed her Safety and Splendor.

Eud. But had not *Ariſtides* alſo a Share in theſe Schemes of Policy?

Pal. You may remember, *Eudoxus*, he was baniſhed ſome Years, *Plutarch* ſays, three, before the Invaſion by *Xerxes*. Beſides, it is well known, that he maintained an avowed oppoſition to all the Meaſures planned by *Themiſtocles*, of whoſe Popularity and Influence he had conceived great Suſpicions.——But ſince I have now introduced the mention of theſe two eminent Perſons, I cannot, in juſtice to you, *Cleanthes*, but dwell ſomewhat more particularly on their Characters; they make a ſhining figure in the Hiſtory of theſe Times, and it is neceſſary you ſhould know them well.

Themiſtocles was an *Athenian*, not very conſiderable either by his Extraction, or by his Riches; but his Abilities ſupplied the Place of both. He was a Perſon of the moſt extenſive Genius, and who to the Spirit and Boldneſs of the Soldier joined the Coolneſs and Foreſight of the moſt conſummate Politician. His Thirſt of Glory was remarkable from his earlieſt Years, in his Manners, in his Studies: the ſame appeared through his whole Life. And Hiſtorians tell us, that after the Battle of *Marathon*, being obſerved to have a drooping dejected Countenance, and his Friends aſking him, whence that Change, he made Anſwer, that the

the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not ſuffer him to reſt. From that time, he dedicated himſelf entirely to the Service of his Country; and the Troubles, that followed, gave him the nobleſt Opportunity of employing his Talents. You have ſeen, what pains he took to advance the Naval Power of *Athens*. When *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, he was the Soul of the *Grecian* Councils; and it were doing him wrong not to ſay, that the glorious Victory at *Salamis* was the Fruit of his Wiſdom and Courage.—In a word, in Battle he was a cool, provident Commander; though, when Danger preſſed, none more bold or enterprizing—in Debate, he was an excellent Adviſer, and of admirable Sagacity in judging of future Events. But, with all theſe great Qualities, he had his Faults alſo—he had a Spirit jealous and ambitious, and was poſſeſſed with an inſatiable Deſire of Honours and Diſtinctions: for this Purpoſe, he courted Popular Applauſe, even at the Expence of Virtue; he amaſſed Wealth by unjuſtifiable Means, that he might ſquander it in Magnificence and pompous Donatives; and even on the Tribunal of Juſtice, his Friends were ever ſure to find him a partial and favourable Judge [t].

Clean. Eudoxus, what a Pity!

Pal. Ariſtides was a Perſon of a very different turn. Without having the Parts, which diſtinguiſhed *Themiſtocles*, he had as much Courage, and infinitely more Probity and intrinſic Virtue. Though in Circumſtances, which were far from being affluent, he retained a ſerene eaſy Mind, diſdaining to acquire Riches at the Price of either

[t] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Diod. Sic.* L. 11. *Plutarch.* in *Themiſtocle* et *Ariſtide. C n. Nep.* in *Themiſtocle. Juſtin.* L. 2.

Integrity or Independance. He had the ſame Indifference to Honours; contented with deſerving, he courted them not; and, whether in Office or Diſgrace, he was never known to be either elated or dejected. Eſpecially in the Obſervation of Juſtice, both as a Private Perſon, and as the Miniſter of the Laws, he was remarkably ſtrict and blameleſs; neither Fear nor Favour could tempt him from the Right; ſo that, on account of his unſullied Probity, he was honoured with the Title of the *JUST ARISTIDES*, a Title, ſays *Plutarch*, far more glorious than thoſe ſounding ones of *Conqueror of Nations*, and *Taker of Cities*, which the Tyrants and Ravagers of Mankind array themſelves with. He thought the Government of the People too violent and licentious, and therefore, at leaſt in his earlier Days, eſpouſed the Intereſt of the Nobility; and from this Motive probably did he think himſelf called upon to oppoſe *Themiſtocles*'s Plan for encreaſing the Naval Forces of *Athens*, *becauſe*, as *Plutarch* juſtly obſerves, *Power at Sea gives Life and Strength to Popular Government.* In War alſo, he was Great, as well as in Peace: he had fought with Glory at *Marathon*; and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf again on other occaſions, not leſs important and hazardous.——Such a Man could not but be dear at *Athens*: even the People revered his Virtues: and ſo high was the general opinion concerning him, that a Poet having, in a certain Play, ſaid of one of the antient Chieftains of *Greece* [u], *He would rather be Virtuous, than appear ſo*, the whole Audience did honour to *Ariſtides*, and applied the glorious

[u] Of *Amphiaraus*, by *Aeſchylus*, in his Play of *The Seven Leaders againſt Thebes.*

rious Eulogy to him.——But nevertheleſs, *Cleanthes*——Who would think it?——this very Excellence of Virtue did *Themiſtocles* make uſe of, to ſupplant this Juſt Man. At *Athens*, I have told you, *Extraordinary Worth was a kind of Treaſon:* he therefore found means to perſuade the People that the Juſtice of *Ariſtides* rendered him dangerous, and that a Man held in ſuch Reverence might eaſily invade the Sovereign Power. The jealous *Athenians* liſtened to the Inſinuation; and *Ariſtides* was baniſhed by the Sentence of Oſtraciſm. There happened a Circumſtance on this occaſion, that may ſerve to ſhew you, how ſtrange is the Phrenſy of the miſguided Populace. Whilſt the People were giving their Votes, an ignorant mean Perſon, Inhabitant of one of the *Athenian* Boroughs, not knowing who *Ariſtides* was, came up to him, and deſired him to write *Ariſtides* on his Shell:—Why? anſwered this excellent Man, did *Ariſtides* ever injure you?—Me? No, not in the leaſt, reſumed the other, I do not even know him: but it galls me to hear him always called *the Juſt Ariſtides*——*Ariſtides*, without farther Reply, took the Shell, and wrote down his own Name.

Clean. Wonderous Calmneſs!

Pal. In the ſame temper of Mind he departed out of *Athens*; and the laſt Words, he was heard to ſay, were a Prayer for the Proſperity of his Country—that *that Day might never be, when the* Athenians *ſhould be forced to remember* Ariſtides[w].

Eud. That Day however came.——

Pal.

[w] *Diod. Sic. Plutarch*; et *Juſtin.* ubi ſupra. *Corn. Nep.* in *Ariſtide.*

Pal. Yes, *Exdoxus*, it came, and he returned to expoſe his Life in defence of thoſe, who had doomed him to Baniſhment. But to-morrow you ſhall have an Opportunity of knowing this Great Man better—You ſhall ſee him tried in many hard Inſtances, and, almoſt in every one of them, the ſame calm upright brave Man.—You ſhall ſee him unmoved from his Faith to his Country, even by the Ingratitude of his Countrymen—knowing neither Friends nor Enemies, but thoſe, who were ſuch to the Public Weal—and repaying even the Perſon, who had perſecuted him moſt, with kind and generous Offices.

Clean. Wicked Ambition, that could urge *Themiſtocles* againſt a Man ſo excellent!

DIA-

DIALOGUE THE TENTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

THE two firſt Years of the Reign of *Xerxes* were employed in reducing the *Egyptians*, who had revolted. As ſoon as this Expedition was at an End, he prepared to invade *Greece*[y], with firm Purpoſe to execute his utmoſt Vengeance on the *Spartan* and *Athenian* People. You remember, *Cleanthes*, in what Manner the Meſſengers of *Darius* had been treated by thoſe two *Grecian* States: And beſides, the *Athenians* had deſtroyed *Sardis*, and been victorious at *Marathon*. Then alſo, the Princes, that remained of the Houſe of *Piſiſtratus*, were inceſſantly ſoliciting againſt their Country; and the Poet *Onomacritus*[z], who had followed the Fortunes of that wretched Family, pretended certain Oracles, that denounced ruin unto *Greece*, and promiſed the *Perſians* Glory and Conqueſt. *Mardonius* likewiſe, who burned with Deſire of revenging his former ill Succeſs, and had a View to the Government of *Greece*, earneſtly urged on the War: He had the Ear of *Xerxes*; and

[y] *Herodot.* in *Polymnia*. *Diod. Sic.* L. 11. *Juſtin.* L. 2. *Plutarch* in *Themiſtocle* et *Ariſtide*.

[z] He is ſuppoſed to be the Author of moſt of the Orphic Works. He lived in *Athens* in the Days of *Piſiſtratus* and of his Sons, and was baniſhed by *Hipparchus*, on Account of his having interpolated certain Oracles among thoſe of *Muſaeus*. But after the Expulſion of the *Piſiſtratidae*, he engaged again in the Service of that Family, and accompanied them to *Suſa*.

and the inſinuating Arts and proud Boaſtings of this Favourite wrought but too effectually on the Mind of his vain Maſter.——Accordingly Orders were iſſued, that every Nation and Language throughout the Dominions of the Great King ſhould attend him at *Sardis*; and the whole *Perſian* Empire was called forth to Arms againſt a People, who were neither in Number nor in Extent of Territory to be compared even with the ſmalleſt of its Provinces.

Clean. Had the *Grecians* Intelligence of theſe formidable Preparations?

Pal. They had. You know, *Demaratus* King of *Sparta* had been baſely deprived of his Crown and Country: He had retired to the Court of *Suſa*, and he was now there. Grievous as his Wrongs had been, all his Affection for his native Land revived within him at this intereſting Juncture, and he diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Sparta* with Notice of the intended Invaſion. Hiſtorians mention the ſubtle Method he contrived to conceal the Purport of the Meſſage. It was the Cuſtom in thoſe Days to write on waxed Tablets; *Demaratus* ſent a Tablet of this Kind, but no Writing appeared on it: In vain had the Senate endeavoured to unfold the dark Riddle, when *Gorgo*, Wife to King *Leonidas*, a Woman much extolled for her Abilities and eminent Virtue, obſerved that the Writing muſt be hid under the Wax; purſuant to her Advice Trial was made, and Letters were found cut in the Board, which warned the *Spartans* of the Deſtruction, that was determined againſt them.

Clean. What did they do in this Emergency?

Pal. They immediately communicated to the *Athenians* the Accounts they had received, and began to provide for their Defence. The *Athenians* were not leſs active; the wiſe Counſels of *Themiſtocles*

tocles had already taught them to expect the Enemy, and, as I told you Yeſterday, ever ſince their Victory at *Marathon* had they been equipping their Fleets, and diſciplining their Forces.——The Senate of the *Amphictiones* was alſo convoked, to deliberate about the common Safety.——A ſolemn Deputation was ſent to *Delphi* to enquire of the God.——And all the States around them, even *Gelo* King of *Syracuſe*, had Application made to them for Aſſiſtance.

Clean. What did they produce?

Pal. Gelo, tho' a Prince mighty and opulent, had it not in his Power to aſſiſt them. *Xerxes* had made Alliance with the *Carthaginians*, and they were to attack the *Grecian* Colonies in *Sicily*, at the ſame Time that the *Perſians* entered *Greece*. The *Amphictionic* Council indeed promiſed well: the ſeveral States there convened bound themſelves by the moſt ſacred Oaths *to abide all the Diſtreſſes of War, and to yield up their Territories to Plunder, and utter Devaſtation, rather than to join in League with* Xerxes. You ſhall ſee how effectually theſe glorious Reſolutions were made good.——As for the *Delphic* God, his Anſwers were dreadful. *Attica* was doomed to Deſolation; *Athens* was to be overthrown; and her unhappy Sons were commanded to fly away to the fartheſt Regions of the Earth. Of the ſame Kind were the Reſponſes to all the Nations of *Greece*, that came to conſult at *Delphi* on this Occaſion, menacing and full of Terror: and ſome of them were even expreſsly forbidden to engage in War againſt the *Perſians*. It is more than probable, that the Gold of *Xerxes* had influenced the Spirit of the Propheteſs.

Eud. But were there not ſome Means found to ſoften this ill-boding *Pythian?*

Pal. Yes, *Eudoxus*; the *Athenian* Deputies perſiſted in ſoliciting a more propitious Anſwer: and either by their Importunities, or rather by the Intrigues of *Themiſtocles*, an Oracle of ſomewhat leſs dire Import was at length obtained, and Safety was promiſed to the *Athenians*, provided they had Recourſe to *Walls of Wood*. *Themiſtocles* was not at a Loſs to interpret the Oracle; theſe *Walls of Wood*, he told them, were their Ships, to which the God enjoined them to betake themſelves, and forſake their City. The *Athenians* nevertheleſs were at the firſt unwilling to ſubmit altogether to this Expedient, and it was determined that they ſhould try their Strength by Land as well as by Sea.——There were two other Propoſals made by *Themiſtocles* at this Time, not leſs to the Honour of that excellent Politician: the firſt, that whatſoever Cauſe of War *Athens* might have againſt any of the States of *Greece*, all Reſentment ſhould ceaſe immediately, and a firm Peace be concluded. ——By this an End was put to the War againſt the *AEginetae*.——The other, that all the *Athenian* Citizens, who were in Exile, ſhould have Leave to return and defend their Country. This laſt Decree was meant in Favour of *Ariſtides*. From the Moment *Athens* was in Danger, *Themiſtocles* knew no Intereſt but hers: all private Regards were abſorbed in his Concern for the Public Good.

Six Years had *Xerxes* reigned, four of which he had employed in making ready for War: and now had he aſſembled the greateſt Multitudes, that had ever appeared in Arms together, his Land Forces amounting to one Million eight hundred Thouſand Men, and his Fleet, which was compoſed of twelve hundred and ſeven Ships of three Banks of Oars, and three thouſand ſmaller Veſſels, having

having on Board five hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten Men, beſides the Train of Servants, and the Perſons that carried Proviſions. With this prodigious Fleet was the whole *Helleſpont* covered, while *Xerxes* at the Head of his Armies was marching down to *Abydus*[a], elate with his future Victories, and already enjoying his Triumphs over *Greece*. The Princes, that attended him, were but too induſtrious in encouraging theſe fond Expectations: for ſuch is the wretched Condition of Kings, *Cleanthes*, the Language of Sincerity is ſeldom ſpoken to them: and in all the Retinue of this Lord of Millions one Perſon only was there found, who would venture to adviſe him with unfeigned Affection. This was *Artabanus*, Uncle to the King. He had often endeavoured to diſſuade him from an Attempt, which he was moved to by nothing but his Ambition: *the* Grecians, ſaid he, *are a brave People; they proved it on the Day of* Marathon; *the* Athenians *alone proved it on that fatal Day; and who can tell, what* Greece *united may do againſt you?——You, pride yourſelf in the Numbers that follow you; but is not the Fate of Kingdoms weighed in Heaven? And may not the Sovereign Arbiter of Events give Victory and Power to the weakeſt, and in one Moment ſink the moſt flouriſhing Empire to the Duſt?*———Theſe ſage Remonſtrances availed nothing: the fatal Poyſon of evil Counſels had taken Poſſeſſion of this unhappy Prince.——

Mean while, the Land-Forces were preparing to paſs over into *Europe*, a Bridge of Ships having

[a] It was now the Spring of the fourth Year of the 74th Olympiad.

been laid from the *Aſiatic* Side to the *Thracian Cherroneſus*: for ſeven Days and ſeven Nights were they paſſing over; and yet, ſays *Herodotus*, all this Time were they moving on without Interruption. When *Xerxes* was arrived on the *European* Coaſt, all the Princes of *Thrace*, of *Macedonia*, and the neighbouring Parts joined him with their Forces, ſo that his Army now conſiſted of two Millions one hundred thouſand fighting Men.

Eud. How great muſt have been the Diſtreſs of *Greece*, at this dreadful Inundation of War?

Pal. The Defection of ſeveral of the *Grecian* States encreaſed alſo the Conſternation. *Xerxes* before his Departure from *Sardis* had ſent Heralds to every *Grecian* People, the *Athenians* and *Spartans* excepted, to demand Earth and Water, and many of them had ſubmitted. Some of the *Theſſalians* had long ſince been in the *Perſian* Intereſt, and moſt of the other Nations of *Theſſaly* now declared for *Xerxes*. The *Locri Ozolae*, and thoſe of Mount *Cnemis*, followed their Example. And the *Thebans*, and the Inhabitants of *Boeotia*, all but the *Theſpians* and brave *Plateans*, were ſuſpected to favour the Enemy.——In *Peloponneſus* alſo there was great Diſaffection. The People of *Argos* refuſed to take Concern in a War, the fortunate Succeſs of which could only render their domeſtic Situation more wretched, by adding to the Power and Arrogance of *Sparta*. They decreed, that none of the Nations of *Argolis* ſhould preſume to aid the *Lacedemonians*, until they had reſigned all the Territories, which they had uſurped. And there is Reaſon to believe, that many other of the *Peloponneſians*, who had long groaned under the *Spartan* Yoke, rather wiſhed the Deſtruction

of

of that haughty and inhoſpitable City. Such was the calamitous State of *Sparta* and *Athens*, their Strength inconſiderable, their Allies few and wavering; whilſt new Supplies were daily crouding in to the *Perſians*.——However, it was reſolved, that *Leonidas* ſhould march on to *Thermopylae* with four thouſand [b] Men, to ſecure that important Paſs; and that the Fleet of the Allies ſhould take its Station at *Artemiſium*, in Order to guard the Entrance into the *Euboean* Streights. The *Grecians* had before this attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſages into *Theſſaly* by Mount *Olympus*, and ten thouſand Men had been ſent thither for that Purpoſe; but *Alexander* King of *Macedon*, who, though in Friendſhip with the *Perſians*, was well affected to the *Athenian* People, having ſent them Word, that, if they remained in that Place, they muſt inevitably be trampled under Foot by the Multitudes, that were coming againſt them, it was thought expedient to retire.

Eud. The Command of the confederate Fleet, if I miſtake not, was aſſigned to *Eurybiades*.——

Pal. Yes, *Eudoxus*; to *Eurybiades* of *Sparta*,

Clean. Why I thought the *Athenians* were the firſt Maritime Power of *Greece*.——

Pal. They were the firſt, *Cleanthes*, in Skill and Naval Force; and on this very Account moſt of the Confederates envied this brave People. *Themiſtocles* therefore, who dreaded nothing more than divided Councils, urged his Countrymen to wave their Pretenſions, and to eſteem any Place a Place of Honour, ſo that they might have the Happineſs of ſaving *Greece*. The Advice of this great Patriot was

[b] *Herodotus*, in his *Polymnia*, makes the number amount to more than five Thouſand.

was complied with, and *Eurybiades* was appointed Admiral.——This Fleet had been furniſhed by the *Athenians*, the *Lacedemonians*, the *Corinthians*, the *Troezenians*, the *Epidaurians*, the *Sicyonians*, the *Megareans*, the People of *Euboea*, the *Locri* of *Opus*, and the *Chians*, and conſiſted of two hundred and ſeventy-one Ships, of which the *Athenians* had fitted out one hundred and forty ſeven [c], and the *Lacedemonians* only ten.

Clean. But where was *Xerxes* during theſe Tranſactions?

Pal. Xerxes was on his March through *Theſſaly*, his wide-ſpreading Hoſt conſuming all the Proviſions of the Country, and drying up whole Rivers, as they paſſed. And at the ſame time his Fleets had extended themſelves along the *Theſſalian* Coaſt. You know, *Eudoxus*, he had cauſed a Canal to be cut at the Foot of Mount *Athos*, and through this new Paſſage had the *Perſians* made their Way to the *Thermaic* Gulph, and were now holding on their Courſe towards *Euboea*. When *Eurybiades* had intelligence that this formidable Navy was advancing againſt him, and that the Obſervation-Ships, which he had ſtationed at the Iſland of *Scyathus*, had either fled, or fallen into the Hands of the Enemy, he ſailed away from *Artemiſium* to *Chalcis*. But Heaven watched over *Greece*. For a violent Storm ariſing, the *Perſians*, who by Reaſon of their Numbers had neither Room to work their Veſſels, nor Harbours to take Shelter in, were driven on the Promontories and Shallows of *Magneſia*, and four hundred of their Ships, with the greateſt Part of the Men on Board, periſhed. The Confederates, hearing of theſe

[c] The *Athenians* manned only 127 Ships, but they lent 20 to thoſe of *Chalcis*.——— Vide *Herodot.* in Urania.

theſe Tidings, returned to *Artemiſium*: and in ſome time after the *Perſians* alſo, having recovered from their Conſternation, moved on Southward. As the Enemy approached, *Eurybiades*'s Courage failed him again, and he would certainly have abandoned the *Euboean* Coaſt, had not the earneſt Entreaties of *Themiſtocles*, together with a ſeaſonable Bribe[a] of three Talents from the *Euboeans*, prevailed on him to abide there, and defend the *Euripus*.—— The *Perſians* were now preparing to deſtroy theſe preſuming *Greeks*, for ſuch they appeared to be in their Eyes; and, confident of Victory, had even ſent two hundred Ships round *Euboea* to intercept them in their Flight. They had alſo propoſed large Rewards to thoſe, who ſhould bring in any of the *Athenian* Ships; for theſe they held in Eſteem above all the reſt of the Confederates. Nevertheleſs theſe vaunting Expectations were ſoon fruſtrated: The *Perſians* were defeated with the Loſs of thirty Ships, and would probably have ſuffered much more, had not the coming on of the Night put an End to the Engagement. I need not tell you that this Succeſs was chiefly due to the Conduct and Valour of *Themiſtocles* and his gallant Countrymen. The Night that followed was a Night of much Horror to the *Perſians*; their Men diſmayed, their Fleet broken and diſperſed: and in the midſt of this Diſtreſs, they were ſurprized by a ſecond Storm far more violent than the firſt, accompanied with impetuous Rains, and dreadful Thunders. In this Storm, the two hundred Ships, that had been ordered to ſail round the Iſland, were all loſt. Theſe repeated Calamities ſunk the Hopes of this haughty Enemy: whilſt on the other hand the Confederates

[a] Vide *Herodot.* Lib. ſupra dicto.

Confederates, having received a Reinforcement of fifty three *Athenian* Ships, purſued the *Barbarians* even to *Aphetae*, and deſtroyed a conſiderable Squadron belonging to the *Cilicians*. Moved by this inſult, and dreading the Indignation of *Xerxes*, the *Perſian* Commanders determined at all Hazards once more to attempt the *Euboean* Streights, and having formed their Fleet in ſuch a Manner as to encloſe the *Grecians*, ſailed forth towards *Artemiſium*: neither were the Confederates fearful of the Iſſue: ſo that now followed a bloody and obſtinate Engagement; the *Perſians*, animated by the Shame of their late ill Succeſs, exerting their whole Strength to open to themſelves a Paſſage into the *Euripus*, and the *Grecians* likewiſe ſummoning forth their utmoſt Vigour, and earneſtly encouraging one another, to defend their common Country. At length *Greece* prevailed; and the *Perſians*, notwithſtanding their Superiority, were forced to retire.——But the Glory of this Day was ſoon changed into Terror and Lamentation: an Expreſs arrived with an Account that *Leonidas* and thoſe with him were ſlain at *Thermopylae*, and that *Xerxes* had forced his Way into *Phocis*.

Clean. What——*Leonidas* and all his Men!

Pal. Leonidas, I told you, marched to *Thermopylae* with four thouſand Men. Of theſe, three hundred only were *Spartans*; the reſt were from different Parts of *Peloponneſus*, excepting ſeven hundred from *Theſpiae*, and from *Thebes* four hundred: The *Thebans* were thought to be in Connection with the *Perſians*; and therefore *Leonidas* choſe, out of theſe, four hundred as Pledges of the Faith of that ſuſpected People. Hiſtorians generally agree, that *Leonidas* did not expect to return from this Expedition. The *Delphic* Prieſteſs, it ſeems, had declared, that

that unleſs a Perſon of the Royal Line of the *Heraclidae* fell in this War, *Sparta* muſt be overthrown: and this generous Prince had determined to offer himſelf the Victim for his Country, and to abide death at *Thermopylae*. You may remember, *Cleanthes*, the ſituation of this famed Streight[c]. It led the way from *Theſſaly* into the more Southern Provinces of *Greece*; and ſo narrow was it in ſome parts, that ſcarcely could a Chariot paſs through: on either ſide of it, Nature had formed vaſt formidable Encloſures; to the Weſt roſe the high and craggy Mount *Oeta*, and on the Eaſt was the *Maliac Bay*, and a Moraſs, deep and inacceſſible. The *Phocians* had formerly built a Wall with Gates acroſs this Paſs, to ſecure themſelves againſt the incurſions of the *Theſſalian* Tribes; through length of time the Wall had fallen down; but the *Grecians* now raiſed it up again: and here did *Leonidas* and his Men wait the approach of the *Perſians*.

Xerxes, until he came hither, had not met with the leaſt oppoſition: all the Nations, through which he paſſed, paying him homage, and aſſembling under his Banners. This Gleam of Succeſs added to the Vanity of this ill-fated Prince; and in his thoughts *Greece* was already in Subjection. The ſame Infatuation poſſeſſed him even at *Thermopylae*, and he promiſed to himſelf that *Leonidas* would either ſubmit or take Flight, as ſoon as he ſhould ſee what Multitudes were moving on againſt him. However, Scouts were ſent to obſerve the Appearance and Number of theſe daring *Greeks*. It happened, that the *Spartans* were that Day on Guard, at the outſide of the Wall, and ſome of them were performing their Exerciſes,

[c] See Dial. 5. P. 208

and others adjuſting their Hair; it was their Cuſtom ſo to do, when they meant to expoſe their Lives to the greateſt dangers; for you know, *Cleanthes*, the Day of Battle was the only Day of Shew and Ornament to that warlike People: the Meſſengers returned, and reported theſe things to *Xerxes*, and withal, that thoſe *Grecians* ſeemed not to take notice of thoſe that obſerved them, but ſuffered them to retire at leiſure. Surpriſed at this ſtrange account, *Xerxes* ſent for *Demaratus*, who had been obliged to acompany him in this Expedition, and required of him to ſay, what might be the purpoſe of the *Spartans: they are come*, ſaid the King, *to defend that Paſs, or to die in the attempt.*——*Ridiculous!* anſwered *Xerxes*; *what, againſt Millions?*——*whether againſt many or againſt few, it is indifferent to them*, replied *Demaratus*; *for* Spartans *never flee.* Nevertheleſs, *Xerxes* believed him not, and waited four Days, expecting they would diſperſe. On the fifth Day, finding that they ſtill held their Station, he was moved with Anger at their Inſolence, and ordered the *Medes*, together with the Sons and Brothers of thoſe, who had been ſlain at *Marathon*, to take them alive, and bring them to him. Theſe Orders of *Xerxes* were ill executed; and the brave *Grecians* repulſed the Enemy with great Slaughter: in the place of theſe, other freſh Troops ſucceeded; but all in vain; this continued encreaſe of Numbers contributed only to the Triumph and Glory of *Leonidas* and his gallant Companions. At length, the *Medes*, unable any longer to ſuſtain the Fight, drew off, and *Hydarnes* advanced at the head of the *Ten Thouſand*; theſe were the Band, which the *Perſians* called *Immortal*, and were eſteemed the flower of *Xerxes*'s Army. Their Fate was not happier

pier than that of the *Medes*; and after many vain Attempts, and grievous Loſs, they were forced to deſiſt. Hiſtorians tell us, that *Xerxes*, in anguiſh of Soul at the condition of his Men, ſtarted thrice from his Seat during the Action.——The enſuing Day, the *Perſians*, induced by the ſuppoſed weakneſs of the *Grecians*, and judging that, after ſuch a Day as the laſt, they would be ſcarcely able to make reſiſtance, renewed the attack; but the ſame unabated Courage ſtill inſpired theſe generous Men: and this mighty Hoſt, beaten back, terrified, hopeleſs, were obliged to abandon the hazardous Enterprize.

Clean. What wonderous Men, *Palaemon!*

Pal. In this doubtful State of affairs, *Xerxes* promiſed a high reward to him, who could adviſe the means of deſtroying the *Greeks:* and a Wretch was found, a *Grecian* too, of Soul baſe enough to ſell the Lives of theſe Glorious Patriots, and for vile Gold to give up *Greece* to bondage.—Hiſtory has preſerved the Name of the accurſed Traitor: he was called *Epialtes*, and was a Native of *Trachin*, a City in *Theſſaly*.

Clean. Infamous Villain!

Pal. There lay a way over the Mountains to *Thermopylae*; and by this Road the Traitor engaged to lead the *Perſians* into the very Paſs, where *Leonidas* and his Men were poſted. Accordingly, *Xerxes* commanded *Hydarnes* and the *Immortal Band* to follow him; and towards Evening they begun their march. *Leonidas* ſoon had notice of the Danger that threatened him: a *Grecian* in the Army of *Xerxes* deſerted to *Themopylae*, and brought the Intelligence. Immediately, this brave Prince called a Council of War, and ordered the Forces, that were with him, all except the three

hundred *Spartans*, and the four hundred *Thebans*, of whoſe Faith he doubted, to return to the *Iſthmus*, and reſerve themſelves for better times. *But as for me*, ſaid he to them, *here will I, and my* Spartans *with me, defend the Station appointed to us. Our Atchievements prepare you Victory.* Perſia *ſhall know from us, what the undaunted Courage of even an handful of Men can perform, againſt her boaſted Numbers. Farewell, and tell* Sparta, *that* Leonidas *dieth for her.* Judge, *Cleanthes*, what were the laſt partings of Men like theſe. Many of the Confederates requeſted earneſtly, that they might ſtay and ſhare the Fate of the *Spartans*; but *Leonidas* prevailed on them all to depart, the *Theſpians* excepted: they alone obſtinately refuſed to leave *Thermopylae*, and *Leonidas* was forced to yield to their Entreaties. When the reſt of the Confederates were thus withdrawn, he commanded his Soldiers to take ſome Refreſhment; *And*, added he, *take it chearfully; our next Meal ſhall be with the Inviſible Gods.* Their Repaſt finiſhed, and all being ready in Arms, *Leonidas* put in execution the boldeſt Scheme, that was ever conceived [d]. It was now dark, and by the next Dawn the Party, that was coming over the Mountain, might probably reach *Thermopylae.* He therefore propoſed, that they ſhould break into the *Perſian* Camp, while the Obſcurity of the Night favoured them, and, if poſſible, make their way to the Royal Pavilion, and kill *Xerxes.* No taſk could be more grateful to the eager *Greeks:* inſtantly, with *Leonidas* leading them on, they ruſhed out of the Paſs, and falling in among the Enemy made incredible Slaughter; for the *Barbarians* neither knew the number

[d] Vide *Diodor. Sic* Lib. ſupra dicto.

number of their Aſſailants, nor on what ſide to defend themſelves, and in the Confuſion many of them fell by the Hands one of the other. In the mean time, the Horror and Conſternation ſpread from place to place; and it is thought, that *Xerxes* himſelf would that Night have paid the Price of invaded *Greece*, had he not in the beginning of the Alarm fled from his Tent; for the *Spartans* ſoon forced a Paſſage to it, and put to the Sword as many as they met with. Thus it was, till Day appeared: but when the *Perſians* ſaw, how inconſiderable was the Number of thoſe, with whom they had been engaged, they began to take Courage, not daring however to approach near to them, but attacking them at a diſtance with Darts and other miſſile Weapons. Not long after, the Shouts from *Thermopylae* gave notice to the *Greeks*, that the *Perſians* were near the bottom of the Mountain: retreating back therefore to that part, where the Path was narroweſt, they here again maintained the Fight both againſt thoſe, who were behind, and againſt the others, who poured in at the Mouth of the Streight. In this unequal Conflict *Leonidas* ſoon was ſlain; and ſuch was the amazing Valour of the few ſurviving *Greeks*, that four times they reſcued his Corpſe out of the Hands of the *Perſians*. At length, they all fell, oppreſſed, not conquered, the terror of *Xerxes* even in their deaths; and as a judicious Hiſtorian [c] obſerves, to them were due moſt of the Victories that followed; from that Day the *Barbarians* were half defeated, before they engaged; they brought with them into Battle an enfeebled and deſponding Spirit, and could ſcarcely dare even to face Men,

to

[c] *Diodor. Sic.*

to whom, they well knew, no Form of Death was affrighting. It may be needleſs to tell you, that, along with the *Spartans*, all the *Theſpians* fell alſo. As for thoſe of *Thebes*, from the moment they ſaw the Victory incline to the *Perſians*, they held up their Hands, and ſubmitted.

Eud. And of the three hundred *Spartans* did not any eſcape?

Pal. One only, who had left the Army before the Engagement. It is from *Herodotus* [f] we have this Particular, and he adds ſome Circumſtances, which are worth your notice. There were two *Spartans*, who, being afflicted with a ſevere Diſtemper in the Eyes, obtained permiſſion from *Leonidas* to retire to *Alpeni*, a City in the neighbourhood of *Thermopylae*. The name of the one was *Eurytus*, of the other *Ariſtodemus*. When *Eurytus* heard that the *Perſians* were coming by the way of the Mountain, he called for his Arms, and ordered his Servant to lead him into the Field of Battle, where, ruſhing in among the thickeſt of the Enemy, he loſt his Life. The other returned ſafe to *Sparta*: but ſo baſe was he accounted for having refuſed to die at ſuch a Juncture, that none of his Fellow-Citizens would converſe with him, and he was ſtigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of *Ariſtodemus the Fugitive*.——The Man made glorious amends for this at the Battle of *Plateae*, in which he was ſlain after having performed many amazing Feats of Valour.

Clean. But, *Palaemon*, the *Grecian* Fleet—what did they do, when they received the mournful Tidings?

Pal.

[f] In *Polymnia*.

Pal. It was immediately reſolved to ſail away for *Athens.* However, *Themiſtocles*, even in this diſtracting ſituation of Affairs, deviſed an Artifice to weaken the *Perſians*, or to introduce Diſtruſt and Jealouſies among them. He ordered Inſcriptions to be made on the ſeveral Rocks, that lay along thoſe parts of the *Euboean* Coaſt, whither it was likely they would come, containing earneſt Invitations to the *Ionians*, who ſerved in the Fleets of *Xerxes.*——*What Folly, Oh* Ionians, *has poſſeſſed you?*——*to aſſiſt your Tyrants, the ſworn Enemies of your Religion and Laws; and to engage againſt your Friends, your Countrymen, the Founders of your States, the Aſſertors of your Liberties, who had not now felt the Diſtreſſes of War, had they not taken up Arms to reſcue you from Slavery and Deſtruction?*——*Forſake therefore this unnatural Alliance: or, if regard to your ſafety forbids it, at leaſt, when the Battle is joined, reſt on your Oars, and fall off from the* Perſians.——It does not appear that theſe Repreſentations produced much: *Herodotus* tells us that moſt of the *Ionians*, particularly at *Salamis*, fulfilled their Engagements faithfully.——When the Confederate Fleet arrived at *Athens*, they found all Things there in confuſion at the expected approach of the *Perſians.* The greater part of the People ſeemed nevertheleſs determined to remain and defend the City. In vain did *Themiſtocles* urge to them the impoſſibility of Succeſs —in vain did he repeat to them the Declaration of the God, that *Athens* ſhould owe her Safety to her *Walls of Wood.* This very Oracle many of them *fondly* interpreted of the *Acropolis*, which was ſurrounded with wooden Pales; and here did they reſolve to wait the promiſed Deliverance. In this Diſtreſs, he thought it neceſſary to intereſt their Superſtition;

Superſtition: the Prieſts were prevailed on to ſay, that for ſome Days the *Sacred Dragon* had refuſed to eat, that now *it* had diſappeared, and that the *Goddeſs* had certainly left the City, and taken her flight before them towards the Sea. By theſe means *Themiſtocles*'s Council prevailed; and a ſolemn Decree was paſſed, that *Athens* ſhould be recommended to the Protection of *Minerva*, that all thoſe, who were of Years to bear Arms, ſhould embark, and that all poſſible care ſhould be taken to provide for the Safety of the Old Men, the Women, the Children, and the Slaves. Thus the People marched out of *Athens*, all, except ſome few, who, obſtinately truſting in the miſtaken Oracle, retired to the *Acropolis*; all the reſt, Old and Young, went on board, amidſt mutual *tears*, and the tendereſt *Partings:* never was there ſeen a more affecting Spectacle; a whole People forſaking their antient Dwellings, the Place of their Nativity, the Temples of their Gods, the Monuments of their Anceſtors; Women holding out their helpleſs Infants to the Embraces of their Fathers, Parents bent down with Age hanging about the Necks of thoſe Sons, whom probably they were never to behold more: even the Domeſtic Animals, *Plutarch* tells us, expreſſed their mournings in various ways, and with diſmall Yellings followed down to the utmoſt Verge of the Shore the Maſters, that had nouriſhed them [g]. A melting Scene, *Cleanthes!* But what would not the *Athenians* have endured for the ſake of Liberty?

[g] *Plutarch* tells us, that a Dog belonging to *Xanthippus* ſwam by the ſide of the Galley, in which his Maſter was, all the way from *Attica* to *Salamis*, and that having expired as he reached the Shore, the *Athenians* raiſed a Monument to him.—So brave a People honouring thus the Memory even of a Brute, for its Gratitude and Affection——what an Idea it affords us of the Manners of thoſe illuſtrious *Greeks!*

berty ?——The Aged, the Women, and Children were ſent over, part of them to *Salamis*, and part to *Troezen*. At *Troezen*, the Inhabitants thought they could never ſufficiently ſignalize their Affection towards a People, who had forſaken all to fight the Battles of *Greece:* it was decreed that as many of the *Athenians* as had taken Refuge among them ſhould be maintained out of the Revenues of the State, that their Children ſhould have leave to gather Fruits, where they pleaſed, and that Maſters ſhould be appointed at the Public Charge to inſtruct them.

Clean. Honours well beſtowed! ſurely never did People deſerve them better.

Pal. In the mean time *Xerxes* was ſhaping his Courſe towards *Athens*. After the Death of *Leonidas* and his glorious Band, he had given leave to his Naval Forces at *Artemiſium* to come on Shore, and be Witneſſes of their Maſter's Victory; but that they might not know at what an Expence it had been purchaſed, Care was taken to conceal the Bodies of thoſe, that had been ſlain on the *Perſian* ſide: Hiſtorians ſay, they were not fewer than twenty thouſand [h]. He had alſo, in mean Revenge, ordered the Body of *Leonidas* to be impaled; ſo little did *Xerxes* know how to honour real Virtue. This done, he entered *Greece*, where all oppoſition ſeemed to fall before him: the *Phocians* [i] were fled to the heights of the Mountains; the *Locrians* of *Cnemis*, the Inhabitants of *Doris*, and they of *Boeotia*, had ſubmitted and joined him with their Forces; ſo that through the whole

[h] Vide *Herodot.* in *Urania.*

[i] Some of the *Phocians* were afterwards forced into the Service of *Xerxes*, but it appears from *Herodotus* that they never were much truſted by him.

Country not one Enemy appeared againſt him. Surprized at this, *Xerxes*, it is ſaid, enquired of certain *Arcadian* Deſerters, where the *Grecians* were. *They are now*, anſwered they, *celebrating the Olympic Games* [k]. *And what is the Prize they contend for*, replied *Tigranes*, a noble *Perſian*. *For nothing more than an Olive Crown*, ſaid the *Arcadians*. *Oh Mardonius*, *Tigranes* cried out, *againſt what Men have you perſuaded us to make War? they fight not for Gold or Silver, but only for Virtue.* This ſenſible Obſervation glanced pointleſs over the Heart of *Xerxes*; and on he marched, glorying in his promiſed Conqueſts. In his way, he ſpread Deſolation through all *Phocis*; he waſted their Lands; he razed their Cities; he burnt their Temples, that of *Delphi* only excepted; there, the ſuperſtitious *Pagans* tell us, the God, who had neglected other Temples *leſs wealthy*, interpoſed vowedly in Defence of this; the Arms, that were in the ſacred Arſenal, moved out ſpontaneouſly, and placed themſelves before the Temple Gates; part of the Mountain, on which the Temple ſtood, fell with dire Deſtruction, and cruſhed many of the *Barbarians*; Voices were heard, Spectres were ſeen, and even Thunder from Heaven was darted down on them; ſo that, terrified at theſe horrid Appearances, they fled away precipitately. Whatever was the Cauſe, certain it is, that the *Delphic* Temple was not pillaged [l]. From *Phocis* the *Perſians*

[k] This was the opening of the 75th Olympiad.

[l] Whoever will take the pains to examine the diſcouragng Anſwers given by the Miniſters of *Delphi*, at the time of this Invaſion, to the *Cretans*, the *Argives*, the *Spartans*, and eſpecially that dire Denunciation delivered to the *Athenians*,

Perſians entered *Boeotia*, where *Theſpiae* and *Plateae*, the two only Cities of thoſe Parts, that had not betrayed their Country, were laid in Ruins. The Road led now to *Athens*, where, you know, none remained, but the few in the *Acropolis*, moſt of them old feeble Men, and Pales of Wood their only Rampart. Nevertheleſs they boldly maintained their Ground againſt this Multitude of Enemies, even after their wooden Fortifications were in a Blaze around them: and though the *Piſiſtratidae* offered to obtain them honourable terms, if they would ſubmit, yet did theſe brave Men refuſe to purchaſe Life at a Price ſo dear, and died all, Sword in Hand. The *Perſians* wreaked their Wrath on the City, they de-

 moliſhed

Ὦ μέλεοι, τί καθῆσθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης
Δώματα, καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα—*&c.*

which muſt effectually have broken the Spirit of that People, eſpecially in thoſe Days of Superſtition, had not a Love of Liberty and of their Country, more ſtrong than even Superſtition itſelf, borne them on; I ſay, if any Perſon conſiders theſe things, he will evidently perceive that theſe treacherous Prieſts had been gained over by the *Perſians*. Hence the favour ſhewn to *Delphi*, when the other Temples of the ſame God, even *that* at *Abae*, were plundered and deſtroyed with Fire. And hence alſo this Relation of *Voices*, and *Thunders*, and *Earthquakes*. They felt, how ſtrange it muſt appear, that they alone ſhould have ſtood amidſt the general Ruin, and therefore was this Fiction framed, *of the Gods interpoſing in their Defence*. The good *Herodotus* gives us this account of the ſaving of *Delphi*, as if he religiouſly believed it, and nevertheleſs in his *Calliope* he introduces *Mardonius*, about a Year after, inſpiring Confidence into his Troops from this Conſideration, that they had not attempted the Temple of *Delphi*, for that an Oracle had pronounced Deſtruction againſt them, even before their Entrance into *Greece*, ſhould they offer Violence to that Sacred Seat. Are not theſe two Accounts ſomewhat inconſiſtent?——

Vide *Herodot.* in *Polymnia*, & *Calliope*.

moliſhed the greater part of it, and deſtroyed its Temples and the moſt ſtately of its Buildings with Fire.

When the *Grecians* on board the Fleet ſaw that *Athens* was in the power of the *Perſians*, Conſternation fell on them all, and every People began to fear for themſelves. Eſpecially the *Peloponneſian* Confederates inſiſted, that the Fleet ſhould ſail away immediately, and defend the *Iſthmus*: they had Land-Forces already aſſembled there, which had looked on the Deſolation of *Attica* without interpoſing for its Defence, and had even begun a Wall to incloſe *Peloponneſus*, and prevent the Irruption of the *Perſians*. But *Themiſtocles*, beſides his Concern for thoſe at *Salamis*, who by this meaſure were to be given up to certain Deſtruction, wiſely judged that the Diſperſion of the Fleet muſt be the Conſequence of their leaving *Salamis*; or, ſhould they be kept together, the *Grecians*, he knew, never could engage on equal terms againſt ſuch a Fleet as the *Perſians* were Maſters of, except in narrow Seas, where Induſtry and Courage might ſupply the place of Numbers. Accordingly, a Council being convened, he delivered his opinion with a becoming earneſtneſs; *Eurybiades* was againſt him, and would have enjoyned him ſilence; but warmed by the Diſtreſſes of his Country, *Themiſtocles* ſtill perſiſted, when the haughty *Spartan*, impatient of contradiction, raiſed his Staff to ſtrike him [m].

Clean. To ſtrike him!———and what did *Themiſtocles?*

Pal. He bore it.———Yes, *Cleanthes*, this brave *Athenian*, bold as he was in Arms, in the Vigour of

[m] *Herodot.* in *Urania*, et *Plut.* in *Themiſtocle.*

of Life, General for a free State, and Commander of the greateſt part of the Confederate Fleet, bore it without the leaſt violent Emotion; and by a calm ſenſible Reply, infinitely more keen than the Retortings of Paſſion, completely humbled the imperious *Lacedemonian: Strike*, ſaid he to *Eurybiades, but hear me.*——*Eurybiades*, with all his Pride, bluſhed, and dropped his Arm.

Clean. I feel my Miſtake, *Palaemon*,——that was great indeed, wonderfully great!

Pal. He then preſſed the *Grecians* by a number of convincing Reaſons not to leave *Salamis*, but to try the Fortune of a Battle. In the midſt of his Diſcourſe, he was again interrupted by *Adiamantus* Admiral of the *Corinthians: They*, ſaid he, *might be permitted to ſpeak thus, who have an Home to contend for*——*Ungenerous Reproach!* anſwered *Themiſtocles: ſhall the* Athenians *be told this, they, who have abandoned all to fight for* Greece? *But know, proud* Corinthian, *that whilſt the* Athenians *have this Power at Sea, they never can want an Home; even on the* Italic *Coaſt have we kindred Cities, where we have Homes prepared for us, and where thoſe very* Athenians, *you dare thus to inſult, might enjoy Liberty and Peace, were we not moved by the Miſeries of our Common Country.* In ſhort, the Force of *Themiſtocles*'s Words prevailed, and it was reſolved to remain at *Salamis*. However, one or two Days after, when the *Perſian* Fleet came up from *Euboea*, (for they ſtaid there ſome Days to ravage the Iſland) and the *Grecians* ſaw the Seas ſpread over with the Ships of the *Barbarians*[a], their Fears revived, and moſt of the Commanders

[a] *Herodotus* thinks that the Forces of the *Perſians*, both by Sea and Land, were now as numerous, as they were before any

Commanders ſeemed unwilling to wait a general Engagement. *Themiſtocles* dreaded the Conſequence of thoſe wavering Councils, and formed a Deſign equally artful and adventurous: he ſent a truſty Meſſenger to *Xerxes* to give him Intelligence, *that he now had an Opportunity of deſtroying at one blow the whole Naval Power of* Greece, *that the Admirals were meditating to depart each to the Defence of his own Country, and that if he did not take care to prevent their Eſcape, he would find himſelf involved in a tedious expenſive War.* It ſoon appeared how juſt were the Apprehenſions of *Themiſtocles:* the following Night, at the inſtance of the Chief Commanders, a Council was aſſembled, and the Queſtion for leaving *Salamis* was moved again with great Vehemence. During theſe Debates, the great *Ariſtides* joined the Fleet; you may remember, he owed his Baniſhment to *Themiſtocles*, and, notwithſtanding, it was to him he firſt addreſſed himſelf. *We have long*, ſaid he to him, *contended one with the other, about Authority and Place; let us put an end to this mean Conteſt, and from this Day ſtrive only, which of us ſhall perform the moſt faithful Service to his Country—You, in adviſing, like a provident able Counſellor—I, in punctually executing your Commands. Shortly, ſhall we have an Opportunity of making proof of our Zeal for the Weal of* Greece; *the Enemies are already ſurrounding us on every ſide, and with Difficulty have I made my way from* Aegina *hither.*———*Oh* Ariſtides, anſwered Themiſtocles, *how have you outdone me? this noble Cordiality of yours covers me with Confuſion: but I will not be left behind; it ſhall be the Endeavour of my whole Life to equal this glorious Step of*

any Diſaſter befel them. Such Supplies had they received from the *Greeks* that confederated with them. In *Urania.*

yours, and to cultivate the Friendſhip and Eſteem of the noble Ariſtides. He then told him, that it was by his Contrivance *Xerxes* was forcing them to an Engagement, and beſought him to go in, and inform the Council of the Poſture of the Enemy. They heard the Account with Wonder, and ſeemed ſcarcely to give Credit to it, when a Ship belonging to ſome of the *Grecian* Iſlanders came over to them from the *Perſians*, and confirmed the Report. This Neceſſity of Affairs reſtored Unanimity among the Confederates, and all made ready for Battle. Soon as Day appeared, they diſcovered the *Perſian* Fleet ranged in dreadful Shew of War, for it conſiſted of more than four thouſand Ships, and the *Grecian* had not four hundred °. The *Athenians* nevertheleſs, led on by *Themiſtocles*, bore down on them with the Reſolution of Men, who have every deareſt Concern at ſtake, and the reſt of the Fleet followed: the *Perſians* alſo at firſt exerted themſelves vigorouſly; for they were now in Preſence of their King, who had ordered a Throne to be erected for him on the *Attic* Shore, that he might enjoy the expected Victory. But the Order, the Naval Skill, and ſuperior Courage of the Confederate *Greeks*, quickly changed the Face of things: the *Barbarians*, notwithſtanding the Weight and Multitude of their Ships, found themſelves unable to withſtand the regular and intrepid Charge of the *Grecian* Fleet; and when the Confuſion was once begun, their very Numbers

*

° The *Grecian* Fleet conſiſted at this time of 378 Ships: the *Athenians* alone had furniſhed 180.—*Plutarch* mentions a Circumſtance, recorded, he tells us, by *Phanias* of *Leſbos*, that juſt before the Engagement *Themiſtocles*, at the command of the Prophet *Euphrantidas*, ſacrificed three *Perſian* Captives to the God *Bacchus*: but I have purpoſely omitted this account: ſuch a Sacrifice is entirely inconſiſtent with the *Athenian* Manners, and particularly abhorrent from the Rites of the Deity, to which it is ſaid to have been offered.

bers proved fatal to them; they wanted Sea-room, and many of their Veſſels, in the hurry of the Flight, fell foul one of the other. All this time, the *Athenians* and thoſe of *Aegina*, for they above all others diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this glorious Day, were preſſing them in cloſe Purſuit; and of all the Ships they came up with, ſcarcely were there any but were either ſunk or taken.—Judge, *Cleanthes*, what was now the Condition of the preſumptuous *Xerxes*. The firſt workings of his rage were terrible; and ſome of the *Phoenician* Commanders happening to approach him, he ordered their Heads to be ſtruck off, though they deſerved to be accounted among the beſt and faithfulleſt of his Servants. At length, *Mardonius* endeavoured to appeaſe the King; he extenuated the Loſs he had ſuſtained, he aſſured him, that, notwithſtanding his Diſgrace at Sea, *Peloponneſus* muſt ſubmit, and that his Land-Forces alone were ſufficient to ſpread Devaſtation through every part of *Greece: but if the King*, ſaid he, *would rather return to* Aſia, *let three hundred thouſand Men be intruſted to me, and my Life ſhall anſwer for the Succeſs.* This laſt Propoſal pleaſed *Xerxes*; for that unhappy Prince dreaded nothing more than the Event of an other Battle. He was alſo adviſed to accept of *Mardonius*'s Offer by *Artemiſia* [p] Queen of *Caria*, who had acquitted

[p] There is a remarkable Circumſtance recorded of this Princeſs by *Ptolemy Hephaeſtion*. After ſhe had retired into her Kingdom, wiſe as ſhe was in Council, and fearleſs in Arms, ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be ſubdued by Love, and not meeting with the wiſhed-for Return, ſhe cauſed the Eyes of the Perſon beloved to be put out. But her Paſſion was not cured by this Act of Revenge; and the ſame Author adds, that ſhe afterwards took the *Leap* off of the famed Promontory of *Leucate*, and periſhed in the Fall. Whether this Account deſerves Credit, let the Reader judge. It is mentioned by none but *Hephaeſtion*. However, Care muſt be taken to diſtinguiſh her from the other *Artemiſia*, Queen of *Caria*, who lived in the 106th. Olympiad, and whoſe Affection to her Huſband *Mauſolus*, and exceſſive

acquitted herſelf gloriouſly in the late Engagement, and was honoured by *Xerxes* above all the Monarchs that attended him. And immediately after, a Meſſenger arrived from *Themiſtocles* to deſire him to haſten away with all poſſible expedition, if he meant to ſave his Life, for that the *Grecians* were preparing to cut off his Retreat. It ſeems the *Grecian* Commanders had it in Deliberation to deſtroy the Bridge, that was over the *Helleſpont*, that *Xerxes* and all his Army might periſh: in vain had *Themiſtocles* repreſented to them, that the *Perſians* ſtill had a very formidable Force, and that Deſpair would make even Cowards brave: when he found his opinion was ſet aſide, he adviſed with *Ariſtides*, and ſent off a truſty Meſſenger to the *Perſian* King. *Xerxes* therefore, terrified at this, ſtole off with ſome few choſen Men, and fled away towards the *Helleſpont*; when he arrived there, the Bridge had been broken down by the Storms; but imagining that the *Grecians* were after him, he paſſed over, at the hazard of his Life, in a ſmall Veſſel, and hardly reached *Abydus*, not having even taken off his Garments, ſay ſome Hiſtorians, ſince the Battle of *Salamis*.—So changed was the Fortune of this mighty Emperor of *Aſia!*———*Mardonius* ſoon followed, and took up his Winter Quarters in *Theſſaly*.

Clean. How great muſt have been the Exultations of the *Greeks*, after ſo glorious a Victory!

Pal. It was their earlieſt Care to pay their ſolemn Thankſgivings to the Gods, Protectors of

ceſſive Grief at his Death have made her Name memorable.—It has been thought by ſome, that *Herodotus* has exalted too highly the Character of the firſt *Artemiſia*, in honour to his own Country; for this Hiſtorian was a Native of *Caria*, of the City of *Halicarnaſſus*.

Greece. Such, you know, was the pious Cuſtom of that generous People. Thoſe brave Men, though under the Gloom of *Paganiſm*, diſdained nor, to aſcribe to the favour of Heaven the Succeſs that crowned their Arms. The next Public Concern was to confer ſuitable Honours on thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Service of their Country. Among theſe *Themiſtocles* was the firſt. The Wiſdom of his Counſels, his Coolneſs and deliberate Conduct in the Day of Battle, his ſuperior Skill in Naval Affairs, eaſily obtained him an high degree of Preeminence. The *Spartans* themſelves, with all their natural Pride, beſtowed on him the ſame Diſtinctions, as they beſtowed on *Eurybiades*; to one they decreed the *Prize of Valour*, to the other the *Prize of Wiſdom:* they even invited him to *Sparta*, where they preſented him with a ſumptuous Chariot, and at his departure ordered him to be attended to their Frontiers by three hundred Youths of noble Birth—an Honour, ſuch as *Sparta* never paid to any but *Themiſtocles*.——— What Opinion alſo the other *Grecian* Chiefs had of his Abilities, appeared on a remarkable Occaſion. After a Naval Victory it was uſual that the Commanders ſhould aſſemble in the Temple of *Neptune* on the *Iſthmus*, and write on Billets taken from the Altar the Names of thoſe, that had fought beſt—every Captain wrote down his own Name, and next, that of *Themiſtocles*.——But the higheſt honour *Themiſtocles* enjoyed was at the enſuing Olympic Feſtival [q]: as ſoon as he appeared, the whole Croud of Spectators ſent forth the loudeſt Acclamations of joy; and inſtead of obſerving the Games, attended to nothing but *Themiſtocles*, admiring

[q] At the Celebration of the 76th. Olympiad.

miring him, and deſiring all the Strangers there to behold the *Deliverer of his Country.* It is ſaid, that *Themiſtocles* confeſſed, *this was the happieſt Day he had ever known, and that he then reaped the full Reward of all his Labours.*

Eud. But did not *Themiſtocles*, ſhortly after, diſgrace much this noble Character of his, by his Behaviour in certain of the *Grecian* Iſlands?

Pal. It is, *Eudoxus*, the unhappy Condition of Human Nature, that ſome ſhameful Stain often appears amidſt the Luſtre of the brighteſt Virtues. Thus it was with *Themiſtocles.* Wiſe as he was in Council, and brave in War, he ſcrupled not, as I told you already, any means of acquiring Wealth: and in this View, he deſired the Command of ſome Ships, under Pretence of chaſtiſing thoſe Iſlands, that had leagued with the *Perſians.* Hiſtorians generally agree that he obtained little Honour in this Expedition; they tell us, that none felt the power of his Arms, but thoſe who had not Money to purchaſe the Favour of the rapacious General.—But let us turn away from the ungrateful Topic: it is mortifying to obſerve ſuch Blemiſhes in a Character like his. And when I conſider, what a Perſon he was, the many excellent Qualities he was graced with, his calm Courage and undaunted Firmneſs in the moſt trying Perils, his unalterable Love to his Country, and, which ſeems to me the moſt difficult, that uncommon Greatneſs of Soul, with which he bore all the Indignities the Pride of *Sparta* threw out on him, it moves my wonder, how this *Meanneſs* could find a place in a Mind ſo nobly framed.

Clean. Well but, *Palaemon*; how were the *Athenians* employed after the Retreat of the *Perſians?*

Pal. They returned to *Athens*, and dwelt among the Ruins of their ravaged City. In the mean time *Mardonius* was in *Theſſaly*, preparing for the Operations of War, as ſoon as the Seaſon ſhould permit him. Nevertheleſs, he dreaded the *Athenians* greatly; and if he could only conclude a Peace with that brave People, he promiſed himſelf an eaſy Conqueſt of the reſt of *Greece*. He therefore determined to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Athens*, and for this Purpoſe made choice of *Alexander* King of *Macedon*, who, though in Amity with the *Perſians*, was of *Grecian* Extraction, and entitled to the Rights of Hoſpitality among the *Athenians*. The *Spartans* had early notice of this; and diſpatched Embaſſadors with all ſpeed to oppoſe the Intrigues of the *Macedonian*. The *Athenians* on their part, that all Suſpicion of unfair Proceedings might be prevented, appointed that the Embaſſadors, both of the *Perſians* and of *Sparta*, ſhould have Audience at the ſame time. *Alexander* ſpoke firſt: he told them, *that his ſingular Regard to them had moved him to accept of this Commiſſion; that* Xerxes *had ſent to tender them Peace, and that after all the grievous Wrongs he had received from them, this Mighty Monarch was willing to become their Benefactor and Friend: That* Mardonius *had directions to reſtore to them all that the Waſte of War had deſpoiled them of, and beſides to offer them any other Country they ſhould deſire; that thoſe Rights and Liberties, which they held ſo dear, ſhould alſo remain to them, they ſhould be governed by the ſame Laws, and enjoy the ſame Worſhip: that indeed they had bravely oppoſed the* Perſian *Arms; but was it poſſible they ſhould always oppoſe them? that the Forces of* Xerxes *were numberleſs, and his Treaſures not to be exhauſted: that if they continued the War,*

they

they muſt periſh in the end; if they made Alliance with Xerxes, *they ſhould aſſuredly be happy.*——No ſooner had *Alexander* ſaid, but the anxious *Spartans* made reply, *that the* Athenians, *from the earlieſt Date of time, had been the Aſſerters of Liberty, and eſteemed it their Glory to fight the Battles of oppreſſed Nations; and therefore that nothing could be more diſhonourable, than that they ſhould now conſent to ſubmit to Servitude: that it was their Quarrel, which had firſt brought this War on* Greece: *that with the deepeſt Concern they beheld the Devaſtation of* Attica, *and the Overthrow of ſo illuſtrious a City; but that in Compenſation, whatever length of time the War ſhould laſt, it ſhould be the peculiar Care of* Sparta *to provide for the Suſtenance of all the* Athenians, *that were not able to bear Arms: that the magnificent Promiſes of the* Perſian *were falſe enſnaring Promiſes; and that it was their utter Deſtruction he ſought under the fair Semblance of Amity and Peace.*——When the Embaſſadors had made an end of ſpeaking, *Ariſtides* anſwered in the Name of the Common-Wealth. To *Alexander* he ſaid, *that it was but a mean Proof of his Affection to the* Athenian *People to endeavour to betray them into Infamy and Bondage: that the* Athenians *were not Strangers to the Power of* Xerxes, *and the Multitude of his Forces. But Go,* added he, *and tell* Mardonius, *that the Dangers of War move us not; and as long as that Sun ſhall continue to perform its courſe, never ſhall the* Athenians *have Peace with* Xerxes, *never ſhall they forget their deſolated Country, and the Temples of their Gods conſumed to Aſhes.*——*As for you, ye Men of* Lacedemon, *how could ye imagine that there was Occaſion for a Bribe to urge us to the Defence of Liberty? or that the large Offers of the* Barbarian *could tempt us to a*

ſervile

ſervile Peace? Know then, that neither the faireſt Poſſeſſions that Xerxes *can beſtow, nor all the Treaſures this World affords, ſhall ever induce us to renounce the Glorious Cauſe we are engaged in. Remember only, that War is determined againſt us, and that* Attica *muſt once more become a Prey to thoſe Ravagers, if our Armies advance not into* Boeotia *to prevent them. Haſten therefore, and march to our Aſſiſtance: the common Proſperity of* Greece *calls upon you.*——*Ariſtides* then preferred a Decree, that the Prieſts ſhould have Orders to pronounce tremendous Execrations againſt any, who ſhould adviſe to make Alliance with the *Medes*, or to deſert the Cauſe of *Greece*[r].

Clean. What ſaid *Mardonius*, when theſe hardy Reſolutions were reported to him?

Pal. No doubt, they occaſioned to him many ill-boding Thoughts. But he had undertaken the Charge of the War, and he was obliged to abide the Iſſue of it. Accordingly, about the Beginning of Spring, he gave Orders, that the *Perſian* Forces ſhould move on towards *Athens*.——The *Spartans* notwithſtanding, regardleſs of the Fate of *Attica*, were employed in finiſhing the Wall at the *Iſthmus*, and in fortifying it with Battlements; ſo that the *Athenians*, finding that they were thus baſely forſaken, and that it were vain to make reſiſtance, abandoned their Country, and retired again to *Salamis*. When *Mardonius* had entered the *Attic* Borders, and had ſeen what the condition of the *Athenians* was, that they had neither Army to oppoſe to him, nor Friends to depend on, he ſent a ſecond Embaſſy to ſollicit them to Peace: but theſe generous Men knew not how to ſell their Liberty

[r] *Herodot.* in *Urania. Plutarch.* in *Ariſtide. Diod. Sic.* L. 11.

Liberty for a Price. One Perſon only [s] among them all propoſed in Senate that they ſhould conſider the Diſtreſſes of their Country, and put an end to this deſtructive War; and immediately all the Senators roſe up in higheſt Indignation againſt him, and ſtoned him for his infamous Counſel. The Cauſe of the Tumult being alſo divulged abroad, the *Athenian* Women crouded to his Houſe, and executed the like Vengeance on his Wife and Children. Hitherto *Mardonius* had not committed any Devaſtations; but now convinced, that neither the greateſt Perils, nor the higheſt Offers, could influence the *Athenians* to accept of Peace, he demoliſhed or ſet fire to all that remained of the Walls, the Houſes, and Temples, and made the whole City a ſmoaking Ruin. After this noble Feat, he marched off towards *Boeotia*, not daring to wait an Engagement in thoſe mountainous rugged Parts, where his Horſe could ſcarcely be of Service,

Eud. And all this time no *Spartan* Army for the Defence of *Attica!*

Pal. No *Spartan* Army, *Eudoxus.* There is even Reaſon to believe, that they beheld without much Concern the Deſtruction of this Rival City. However, Embaſſadors were commiſſioned to go to *Sparta*, and make Repreſentations; but they deluded them with various Promiſes, until the Fortifications at the *Iſthmus* were completed, and probably would have diſmiſſed them without any farther regard to their Demands, had not the other *Peloponneſians* openly declared againſt ſo ſhameful a Treachery. Particularly the *Tegeans*, though in ſtrict

[s] His Name was *Lycidas*. Vide *Herodot.* in *Calliope.*—— This ſeems to be the ſame Perſon, whom *Demoſthenes (De Coronâ)* calls *Cyrſilus.*

ſtrict connection with thoſe of *Sparta*, reproached them ſharply with their Ingratitude to that brave People: they told them *that, if not a Senſe of Honour, yet at leaſt Self-preſervation ſhould induce them to exert themſelves: that it was to no Purpoſe to hope Security, if once the* Athenians *ceaſed to oppoſe the* Perſian *Power; and that they ſoon would find, how weak a Defence their boaſted Walls afforded them, when every one of their Ports were open to the Enemy.*——Theſe Remonſtrances had their Effect; the *Spartans* ſent off privately by Night forty thouſand Men, and the enſuing Day, when the Embaſſadors according to Cuſtom urged their Suit, the *Ephori* told them with a Smile, that their Army was already on its March againſt the *Perſians*. At the Head of theſe Troops was *Pauſanias*; he was the Son of *Cleombrotus*, and was conſtituted General in the room of *Pliſtarchus* Son to *Leonidas*, who was not yet of Age. *Leotychides*, you know, was the other King; he with *Xanthippus* the *Athenian* had been ſent to command the *Grecian* Fleet, which now lay at *Delos*.——— *Ariſtides* with eight thouſand Men joined *Pauſanias*; and the other *Grecians* arriving daily, the Army was found to conſiſt of an hundred thouſand Men and upwards. *Mardonius*'s Forces were three times that Number: nevertheleſs the *Grecians* marched after him into *Boeotia*, and encamped at the Foot of Mount *Cythaeron*. Whilſt they lay here, an Occaſion offered, in which the *Athenians* obtained ſignal Honour. A detached Party of the *Barbarians* had inſulted the *Megarean*-Quarters; and the *Megareans* finding themſelves much galled, and fearing that they ſhould be overpowered by them, ſent to *Pauſanias* to demand a Reinforcement; but the reſt of the Confederates ſeeming ſomewhat unwilling

unwilling to adventure, three hundred of the *Athenians* generouſly marched forth, and both repulſed the Enemy, and ſlew *Maſiſtius*, who commanded the Detachment, a Nobleman of diſtinguiſhed Character, and highly in Eſteem both with *Xerxes* and the Army. The *Perſians* mourned for him with great Lamentations.——This Exploit performed, the *Grecians* moved off from *Cythaeron* towards *Plataea*, to a more convenient Situation, and took their Station on one ſide of the *Aſopus*; the *Barbarians* extended themſelves along the other. It appears, that the Generals of both Armies apprehended Danger in paſſing this River; and therefore, agreeably to the Humour of thoſe times, when Religion was made ſubſervient to political Purpoſes, the Diviners had declared, that the Victory was promiſed to thoſe, who ſhould forbear to attack the Enemy. For this Reaſon the two Armies obſerved each other, ſeveral Days; and though there were frequent Skirmiſhes, yet did not there any general Engagement follow. In this Interval of time, dark Treaſon was brooding in the *Grecian* Camp. Certain *Athenians*, of the beſt and nobleſt Families, who had waſted their Fortunes in the War, and ſaw themſelves fallen from that Honour and Pre-eminence, to which they might juſtly have pretended, when *Athens* had her Days of Peace, conſpired to overturn the Common-Wealth, or, if that could not be effected, to betray all into the Hands of the *Perſians*. The black Deſign was diſcovered to *Ariſtides*; and this excellent Patriot, apprehending the Conſequences of proceeding with ſtrict Severity at this perilous Juncture, choſe to let the whole Guilt be charged on eight Perſons, and of thoſe to condemn two only, and even they were by Connivance ſuf-

fered to eſcape. To the reſt, againſt whom Suſpicions were entertained, he ſaid, *that the enſuing Battle was the Tribunal, where they were to juſtify themſelves, and give Evidence, that they had never engaged in any Councils, but what were uſeful to their Country.* By this prudent Act of Diſſimulation this dangerous Conſpiracy was entirely diſſipated.——The two Armies had now remained within Sight of each other eleven Days, when *Mardonius*, who ſaw himſelf threatened with ſcarcity of proviſions, reſolved to paſs the *Aſopus* on the morrow, and attack the *Grecians*: *Pauſanias* had advice of this, and of the diſpoſition of the Enemy, and therefore determined to alter the Arrangement of his Army, and to place the *Athenians*, of whoſe Bravery and Experience he deemed the higheſt, in that part where it was likely the Battle would preſs moſt. Accordingly he prevailed on them to accept of the Command of the Right Wing, the firſt Place of Honour, and which was always aſſigned to the *Spartans*, becauſe the oppoſite Left Wing was to be Commanded by the *Perſians*, eſteemed the braveſt among the *Barbarians*, and with whoſe manner of fighting the *Athenians* were beſt acquainted. But *Mardonius*, having received an Account of this Alteration, ſent a Meſſenger to reproach the *Spartans* with deſerting their appointed Poſt, and at the ſame time changed likewiſe his Order of Battle. Theſe various Evolutions prevented the two Armies from engaging on that Day. The following Night the Confederate Chiefs, who had for ſome time been ſtraitened both for Water and Proviſions in the Place where they were encamped, as the *Perſian* Horſe continually infeſted all the Paſſes around them, agreed to move off immediately to other Ground,

Ground, diſtant about ten Stades from the *Aſopus*. The *Spartans* and *Athenians* marched in two Columns; the *Spartans* along the Hills, to avoid the Enemy's Cavalry; the *Athenians* by the way of the Plain: the reſt of the Army obſerved not any order, the greater part of them preſſing on with the utmoſt Confuſion and Precipitancy towards *Platæa*. When Day appeared, and *Mardonius* had Intelligence that the *Grecian* Camp was forſaken, he judged that the *Greeks* had fled, and commanded his Forces to purſue them vigorouſly. His Orders were readily obeyed; they ruſhed after them, as to certain Victory, with mighty Shouts, and an horrible barbarous Noiſe, and ſoon came up with the *Lacedemonians*, they having been delayed by the obſtinate Behaviour of one of their Commanders, who at firſt refuſed to obſerve the Orders of *Pauſanias*, as if he were bringing diſgrace on *Sparta*, and fleeing before the Enemy. The *Lacedemonians* had only the *Tegeans* with them: in this diſtreſs *Pauſanias* ſent off a Meſſenger to the *Athenians*, to deſire that they would haſten to his aſſiſtance. But the *Boeotians* with the reſt of the *Greeks* in *Mardonius*'s Army had already joined Battle with them, the *Boeotians* eſpecially charged the *Athenians* with exceſſive Fury, ſo that *Ariſtides* was engaged in a ſharp and doubtful Conflict. However *Pauſanias* received the *Barbarians* in good Order, and by means of that obtained infinite advantage over them, their tumultuous Numbers availing little againſt the cool and regular Defence of the *Lacedemonian* Line. The Battle nevertheleſs continued to rage, until *Mardonius* fell; as ſoon as he was fallen, and the choſen Men about him were ſlain, the whole Army diſbanded and fled back towards their Camp. And here again

began a fierce Combat; for the *Barbarians* had encompaſſed themſelves with Fortifications of Wood, and the *Lacedemonians*, who were ill ſkilled in the Art of Sieges, in vain endeavoured to force in among them; during this Conteſt the *Athenians* arrived, after having defeated their part of the Enemy; and with ſuch Vigor did they attack the Works, that in a ſhort time the Camp was taken by Storm, and a prodigious Slaughter made; none of this great Multitude eſcaping the Sword, excepting forty thouſand, that eſcaped with *Artabazus* at the beginning of the Defeat, and about three thouſand that were taken Priſoners; and what is not leſs ſurprizing, of the *Grecians* there fell only thirteen hundred and ſixty, among whom was the *Ariſtodemus* I mentioned to you; he had determined to wipe off the Blemiſh of the Day of *Thermopylae*, and driving in among the thickeſt of the Enemy fell at laſt, amidſt heaps of *Barbarians* ſlain by his Hand[t]. The Judgment given by *Sparta* on this occaſion deſerves your Notice. They refuſed to *Ariſtodemus* the Honours, which they paid to the Memory of the reſt of their Countrymen, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, becauſe he ſought to die, it was Deſpair urged him on. An other *Spartan* there alſo was, who has noble Mention made of him; his name *Callicratides*; he was mortally wounded with an Arrow, ere the Engagement began, and as they were bearing him off, *Hard Fate!* ſaid he, turning him about to one of his Fellow-Soldiers, *not that I die for* Greece, *but that I die before*

[t] This Battle was fought the 2d Year of the 75th. Olympiad, about eleven Months after that of *Salamis*.——— Vide *Dodwel.* Annal. *Thucyd.*

before I have done aught worthy of myſelf, and of my Zeal for my Country! [u]

Clean. Pray, *Palaemon*——you mentioned *Artabazus*'s eſcaping from the Battle?——did he betray *Mardonius?*

Pal. Artabazus, Cleanthes, was a noble *Perſian,* an upright, ſenſible, brave Man, and had earneſtly endeavoured to diſſuade *Mardonius* from tempting an Engagement: *there was,* he told him, *a much ſurer way of ſubduing the* Grecians, *than by Force of Arms, by corrupting their Chief Leaders, and dividing them one againſt the other.* Happily for *Greece,* the Pride of *Mardonius* would not ſuffer him to make uſe of theſe more ſubtil Arts; the vain General fondly promiſed to himſelf, that all muſt yield to his victorious Power, and that he ſhould ſoon return a Glorious Conqueror to *Aſia. Artabazus* judged with what ſucceſs theſe hopes would be attended, and had formed the reſolution to ſave from deſtruction as much of the Army as he could. Nevertheleſs on the Day of Battle no Man fought better, as long as the Fate of it was doubtful; but when once he ſaw the Confuſion begun, and *Mardonius* fall, he fled with forty thouſand Men, and by his extreme Diligence reached the *Helleſpont,* before the Event of the Battle was known through *Greece.*

Clean. So that *Greece* now ſaw herſelf delivered from her Enemies?

Pal. And yet, *Cleanthes,* you would ſcarcely imagine, that this Victory had nigh proved more fatal to her, than all the mighty Hoſts of *Xerxes.* It was the Cuſtom among the *Grecians,* after a Victory

[u] *Herodot.* in *Calliope. Plutarch.* in *Ariſtide*; *Diod. Sic.* L. 11.

Victory to aſſign the Prize of Valour, and the Right of erecting the Trophy to thoſe who had fought beſt: the *Athenians* claimed this Honour, and the *Spartans* alſo claimed it; the Jealouſy, that ſubſiſted between theſe two States, heightened the Diſpute, and they were on the point of deciding the Difference by Arms,——when ſome of the Confederate Chiefs propoſed, that both Parties ſhould wave their Pretenſions in favour of the *Plataeans*, that brave intrepid People, whoſe Power was of too little Moment to excite Envy, and who had deſerved ſo well from their Country. This happy Expedient was readily agreed to, and fourſcore Talents, out of the immenſe Booty taken, were ſet apart for them to repair their City, and rebuild the Temples of their Gods. *Ariſtides* added, that *they ſhould erect an Altar to* Jupiter *the Deliverer, that a ſolemn Feſtival and Games ſacred to Liberty ſhould be celebrated every fifth Year at* Plataea, *that a Levy ſhould be made throughout all* Greece *to carry on the War againſt the* Barbarians, *and that the* Plataeans *ſhould be exempt from all Military Service, that they might be entirely employed in offering Prayers and Sacrifices for the Safety and Weal of* Greece.

Eud. A noble Appointment this indeed!

Pal. It was a glorious Monument of the Piety and Love of Liberty of the *Grecian* People. The *Plataeans* beſides undertook to obſerve an annual Solemnity in Honour of thoſe, who had been ſlain. On the Day of this Feſtival the whole People of *Plataea* were to march in Proceſſion to the Tombs of thoſe brave Men; the Proceſſion was to begin at the firſt Dawn of Day, and was opened by a Trumpet ſounding as to Battle: then appeared ſeveral Chariots filled with Garlands and Myrtle Branches;

Branches; next a Black Bull, deſtined for the Sacrifice; and, after this, a Number of young Men *freeborn* bearing the uſual Libations; for no *Slave* was permitted to aſſiſt at a Solemnity, inſtituted in Memory of Men, who had died for the Cauſe of Liberty. Laſt of all marched the Chief Magiſtrate of *Plataea*, cloathed with a Purple Robe, and girt with a Sword, which on that Day alone he was allowed to wear. To him it belonged to perform the ſacred Rites; he was to waſh the Pillars, which ſupported the Monuments, and to rub them with ſweet Ointments; he was then to kill the Victim, and having made his Supplications to the Gods, he was, in the Concluſion of all, to pour forth a Libation of Wine to thoſe Vindicators of their Country, with theſe Words, *I offer this Bowl to thoſe brave Men, who died for the Liberty of* Greece.——*Plutarch* [w] tells us, that, even in his time, this remarkable Solemnity was celebrated.——The *Athenians* alſo gave Orders, that Panegyrics ſhould be pronounced every Year in Honour of thoſe Men, and that choſen Orators ſhould be appointed for the Purpoſe.

Clean. But was there not ſome Puniſhment inflicted on thoſe perfidious *Greeks*, who had taken part with the *Perſians?*

Pal. Immediately after the Victory at *Plataea*, *Pauſanias* and the Forces under him marched to *Thebes*, and laid Siege to it [x]. You may remember—the *Boeotians*, of which *Thebes* was the Chief City, had been extremely early and active in the Defection. The *Thebans* ſoon capitulated, and delivered up the Heads of the *Perſian* Faction, which

[w] Vide in *Ariſtide.*
[x] *Herodot.* Libro ſupra dicto.

which *Pauſanias* put to Death. The *Grecians* had the Wiſdom to content themſelves with this. A ſeverer Enquiry againſt all the Guilty might have proved the means of involving *Greece* in a dangerous domeſtic War, and of confirming in foreign Engagements thoſe States, which were now rather to be brought back to the Intereſts and Defence of their common Country.

Eud. On the Day, on which the Battle of *Plataea* was fought, did not the *Grecians* obtain an other Victory at *Mycale* in *Ionia?*

Pal. They did.

Clean. What?——the ſame Day made glorious by a ſecond Victory?

Pal. You know, *Cleanthes*, the *Grecian* Fleet lay at *Delos* under the Command of *Leotychides* and *Xanthippus*. Whilſt they were there, Deputies arrived from *Samos*, beſeeching them to free the *Aſiatic Greeks* from the Yoke of *Perſia*, and engaging to revolt, as ſoon as their Fleet ſhould appear on the *Ionian* Coaſt. Induced by theſe Promiſes, the Admirals bore away for *Aſia*. *Xerxes* had left there an Army of ſixty thouſand Men under the Command of *Tigranes*; and there was beſides a powerful Fleet, cruiſing betwen the Iſland *Samos* and the Promontory *Mycale*. But the *Perſians* knew too well, how dreadful the *Grecians* were in Naval Combat, to wait their Approach: ſoon as they were apprized of their Purpoſe, they drew all their Ships to Shore under the protection of the Land-Forces, and ſurrounded them with ſtrong Paliſadoes and deep Entrenchments. When the *Grecians* found this, they determined to make to the Continent, and attack the Enemy. This was an hazardous Attempt: a numerous Army lined the Coaſt, and though *Leotychides* had the

Precaution

precaution to ſend an Herald along the Shore, to addreſs the *Ionians* in the *Grecian* Language, and to invite them to aſſiſt the Confederates, yet was it to be feared their Faith would follow the fate of the Battle. Nevertheleſs, in contempt of all danger, they prepared to Land; and for ſome time the *Perſians* made gallant oppoſition; but at length borne down by the vigorous Onſet of this intrepid Enemy, they were forced to give way, and ſo cloſely did the *Grecians* purſue, that they entered the Entrenchments along with them. You may judge what the Sequel was. None eſcaped the Sword, but thoſe that conſulted their ſafety by Flight, and even of theſe, great Numbers fell by the Hands of the *Ionians*, who roſe againſt them on every ſide, and intercepted them, as they fled. The *Perſian* Camp and Fleet alſo were taken, the *Grecians* ſet them on fire, and deſtroyed them entirely.——When the tidings of theſe Diſaſters reached *Xerxes*, he retired precipitately from *Sardis*, where he had remained until this time, and removed to *Ecbatane* [y].

Clean. What a wonderous change was this, *Palaemon!*——that Prince, who ſo lately enjoyed in thought the utter Extirpation of the *Grecian* People, is now unable to defend his own Territories againſt them.

Pal. Obſerve, *Cleanthes*, how ſudden are the Revolutions of the greateſt Empires.——Eighteen Months [z] before, did *Xerxes* march into *Greece* with all the Kings of *Aſia* in his Train, and upwards of two Millions of Men in Arms. Two little States only were there to oppoſe him; and yet, ſuch is the ſuperior power of *Wiſdom* and *Virtue*

[y] *Diod. Sic.* et *Herodot.* ubi ſupra.
[z] Vide *Dodwell.* Loc. ſup. citato.

againſt *Pride*, *Raſhneſs*, and *Effeminacy*, this mighty Man is worſted in every Place, at *Thermopylae*, at *Artemiſium*, at *Salamis*, at *Plataea*, at *Mycale*. His evil Genius purſueth him inceſſantly, and all he obtained from this pompous Expedition, was, to have given Glory, Wealth and Greatneſs to that People, for whom he had prepared Deſtruction. As for the *Grecians*, they were at this Period, I would almoſt ſay, the greateſt People, that ever exiſted: not only they were brave, they were alſo humane, generous, compaſſionate; it was not a brutal Courage, that led them on; and thoſe very *Athenians*, who ſaved *Greece* at *Salamis*, might have been ſeen ſome few Days before indulging all the ſoft Tenderneſſes of Domeſtic Life, and melting amidſt the embraces of their Parents, their Wives, their Children. It was this very Excellence of Mind, it was this Force of virtuous Sentiments, that gave them ſtrength for Battle; they were contending for a Country made dear to them by all the tendereſt Habitudes, and moſt intereſting Connections; they were vindicating the Honour, the Liberty, the Life of all they loved, againſt the Cruelty and ſavage Luſt of outrageous *Barbarians*.——It was a Glorious Cauſe, *Cleanthes*, and juſt Heaven proſpered it accordingly.

Eud. One Queſtion I have to aſk.——The *Grecians* before the Engagement of *Mycale* were told by *Leotychides*, that the *Perſians* had been defeated at *Plataea*; yet theſe two Battles were fought the ſame Day, that of *Plataea* in the Morning, that of *Mycale* in the Afternoon. How are we to account for this extraordinary intelligence?

Pal. Undoubtedly it was the Artifice of *Leotychides*. He obſerved, Hiſtorians tell us, that his Soldiers were poſſeſſed with anxious fears for the fate

fate of their Countrymen; and therefore, to rouze them from this Dejection, he cauſed theſe joyous Tidings to be ſpread among them. When the truth of the Event was known, it is not ſtrange that the Event ſhould have been eſteemed miraculous.

Clean. Well——Did the *Grecians* purſue their ſucceſs at *Mycale?*

Pal. Their purpoſe was to ſail to the Streights of the *Helleſpont*, and to demoliſh what remained of the Bridge, which *Xerxes* had built there: but finding that, either through the Violence of Tempeſts, or the Plunderings of the Nations around, even the very Ruins of it had been borne away, the *Lacedemonians* and the reſt of the *Peloponneſians* returned home. The *Athenians* had other views; they paſſed over to the *Cherroneſus*, and laid Siege to *Seſtos*. *Seſtos* was the principal City of the *Cherroneſus*, it was a Place of conſiderable ſtrength, and was defended by a numerous Garriſon under the Command of *Artayctes*, the *Perſian* Governor in thoſe Parts. This Man had made an infamous uſe of his Power; his Manners were diſſolute, and his Government cruel and oppreſſive. The *Grecians* eſpecially he had treated with great Barbarity; and now fearing the Puniſhment he ſo juſtly deſerved, he determined to defend himſelf to the utmoſt extremity. At length, when it was found impoſſible to ſave the City, he and his Garriſon fled out of it. But the time of Vengeance was come. Moſt of the Garriſon were intercepted by the *Thracians*, who ſacrificed the Chiefs of them to their Gods, and put the reſt to the Sword: and as for *Artayctes*, he and his Son fell into the Hands of ſome *Athenian* Horſemen, who brought them back to *Seſtos*, where *Xanthippus*,

pus, notwithſtanding the large Offers he made to obtain his Life, commanded him to be impaled, and his Son to be Stoned before his Eyes [a].

This done, the *Athenians*, laden with immenſe treaſure, returned in Triumph to *Greece*.

[a] Here *Herodotus* ends his Hiſtory of the *Grecian* Affairs.

DIA-

DIALOGUE THE ELEVENTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

WELL, my *Eudoxus*, high in Spirits, I ſuppoſe——you know, in four Days your Father expects you home with him.

Clean. Why, *Palaemon*, ſome Faſcination, I believe, has taken hold on *Eudoxus:* he was wont to be all Chearfulneſs and Joy; and here, fine as the Morning is, this half-hour paſt has he been moping about in gloomy ſilence.

Pal. Eudoxus, how is this?

Eud. Shall I own the truth to you, *Palaemon?* ——It grieveth me to go.

Pal. What? to a Father, a kind tender Father, to whoſe provident Care you owe the *better Life* you now enjoy, the Heart fraught with Virtue, the Mind improved, the capacious Thought, the extenſive View——thoſe Endowments, which the other Day you were telling me of with ſuch rapture?——How different your condition from that low Herd of Men, whoſe portion is Barbarity and ſlothful Ignorance! How different from the Hind you and I were obſerving the laſt Week in one of our Evening-Walks! his the ſame human ſhape that you have, the ſame in appearance his Senſes, the ſame probably his Powers of perception. And yet you may remember, how wretched he ſeemed to you, ſcarcely better than the Kine he was driving homeward. In vain did the

the whitened Hawthorn, the harmonious Lark, the fragrant Air, the flowery Mead, invite his notice; inſenſible of that profuſion of Sweets and Beauties, he had not Eyes to eſpy the curious contexture, the admirable accordance, the ſage order and arrangement viſible in every thing around him, and trod that *way of Wonders* as little affected, as the Brutes that range the Field.——— To you *Nature* wears the lovelieſt Form; you behold *her* as the *Production* of *conſummate Wiſdom*, and *deſigning Goodneſs*. You have learned, why the *AUTHOR* of *Her* has aſſigned you a place among his Works; why he has beſtowed on you noble Faculties, and exalted Powers——*that you might find out the Path to Perfection and Happineſs*——*that you might become Wiſe and Good*—— and if *Wiſe* and *Good*, be aſſured, my *Eudoxus*, you muſt be *happy*. Your Underſtanding has been enlarged, your Reaſon directed. You can carry your view back to Ages and Nations long ſince paſſed away. You can admire their Virtues and Atchievements: you can trace their Vices and Declenſion. You can tell by what means Men are revered and honoured; and how the Infamy and Reproach, that purſue the Bad, triumph over even the towering Pyramid and the ſculptured Pile, which Flattery erects to the *wicked Great*.——— Conſider then, how deeply you ſtand indebted to that Father, who has, under Providence, been to you the Inſtrument of ſo much Good. Do not you feel a tranſport riſe within your Breaſt at the reflection, that you will now have an opportunity to expreſs to him your Gratitude and Love—— that you will gladden the Heart of that excellent Man, by ſhewing him a Son worthy of him, who may

may one Day be what *he* now is, an Ornament, a Bleſſing, to his Family, to his Country?

Eud. Oh *Palaeman*, never did Son more truly honour a Father, than I do *him*, with whom it has pleaſed Providence to bleſs me. But how can I *unmoved* quit the Scene of all my youthful delights and innocent chearfulneſſes? How ſhall I break away from the Intimates I leave behind?——Companions of my own Age——We have grown up together, engaged in ſimilar Studies, fond of the ſame recreations, our very Joys and Cares in common amongſt us.——Can I without a ſigh reflect how ſmoothly all my Days here have glided on? Inſtruction and Amuſement blended together; and even grave Truth rendered amuſing by the endearing manner in which it was conveyed, by our chearful walks, by our ſprightly converſations, by our devious wanderings through Woods and Dales, when every Object that preſented itſelf, the blade of Graſs, or feathered Songſter, the gay-clad Spring, or ruſſet Autumn, furniſhed out new matter for inſtructive Diſcourſe.——No, *Palaemon*, never ſhall my grateful Heart forget it.

Pal. But, *Eudoxus*, you are now called away to other Proſpects. Your Years will ſoon require that you ſhould mix with Mankind, and bring into *Public Life* thoſe Improvements, which you may have learned in this lonely Retirement. Only, my dear *Eudoxus*, let me conjure you——as you have done hitherto, ſo do always; give to the Culture of your Mind a place among your choſen Pleaſures. And above all, let the Reverence of *that All-excellent Being above us*, let Integrity of Heart, let your Taſte for Moral Beauty, and your Admiration of the Works of Nature, never depart from you.

you. *Learning is of uſe, only ſo far as it contributes to make Men better.* Treaſure up this important Maxim in your remembrance; and, if improved in your Faculties, and blameleſs in your Manners, you may find Happineſs even in the Buſtle of Cities, and amidſt the Pomp of Courts, as ſincere, as under the verdant ſhade, and by the murmuring rivulet.

However, what think you of an other Subject? You have not forgot in what ſituation we left yeſterday your favourite *Greeks*, *glorious* and *triumphant*. Let us now run through the ſequel of this intereſting Hiſtory. For your ſake, *Eudoxus*, I ſhall endeavour to bring the principal parts of it within the compaſs of this and two converſations more.

Culture and Peace [b] now ſucceeded to the horrors and deſolation, which had afflicted *Greece*; and *Athens* began to riſe [c] from her Ruins in far greater Splendor, than even before her Deſtruction. The *Athenians* found themſelves enriched with the *Perſian* Spoils, and determined to omit nothing, that might add to the ſtrength and beauty of their new City. This was the advice of *Themiſtocles*, whoſe favourite Paſſion was the Glory of his Country: he perſuaded them to take in a wider Circuit of Ground, and to raiſe Walls of Defence, as the beſt means of ſecuring themſelves againſt future Enemies. The *Spartans* always hated the Proſperity of *Athens*; you may judge, *Cleanthes*, how this

[b] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Diod. Sic.* L. 11. *Plut.* in *Themiſtocle*, *Ariſtide*, et *Cimone*. *Corn. Nep.* ibidem, et in *Pauſania*. *Juſtin.* L. 2.

[c] The re-building of *Athens* muſt have taken up the latter end of the *ſecond*, and a conſiderable part of the *third* Years of the 75th Olympiad.

this her Encreaſe of Power affected them. *To what might not this rival City aſpire, if enlarged and fortifyed, ſince, even when in Ruins, ſhe had wrought ſuch wonderous things?* Embaſſadors were ſent immediately to put a ſtop to the daring attempt, with directions, to pretend the moſt plauſible and inſinuating reaſons; they were to urge the Concern that *Sparta* felt for the common Proſperity, and the dangers that threatened the *Athenians* themſelves, ſhould the *Perſians* ever become poſſeſſed of a Place of ſtrength in the midſt of *Attica*. But little regard being paid to theſe *friendly* Remonſtrances, they then ſpoke without diſguiſe, and in the tone of Maſters peremptorily forbade them to carry on their Walls, under pain of the diſpleaſure of *Sparta*.

Clean. What muſt have been the indignation of this brave People, who had ſo nobly adventured all in the Cauſe of Liberty!

Pal. Themiſtocles was a wiſe Stateſman: he prevailed on them to ſmother their reſentments, and to anſwer this proud Embaſſy with gentle words. They replied, that Perſons ſhould be deputed to *Sparta*, to remove whatever umbrage they might have taken at the Conduct of the *Athenian* People. This hazardous Commiſſion *Themiſtocles* offered to execute; and having accordingly been appointed Embaſſador, in conjunction with two other Perſons, in ſome few Days he arrived at *Sparta:* but his Collegues he had artfully left behind, ſo that when he was preſſed to ſpeak, he evaded it, alledging, that he waited the arrival of the other Embaſſadors. In the mean time the *Athenians* wrought earneſtly to complete their Walls, neither Years nor Station excuſing any from this public Service. The *Spartans* had information of this, and complained to

Themiſtocles; but he with an aire of ingenuity denied the Charge, and deſired, that, if they entertained any Suſpicions, they ſhould themſelves ſend Perſons they might confide in, to inſpect the Walls, and make report. Under-hand he had given directions, that the *Spartan* Commiſſioners ſhould be detained, until proper Notice. And now, being well aſſured that the Walls were in a condition of Defence, and his Collegues being come, he deſired permiſſion to deliver his Orders, which he did with a noble firmneſs; "It was true," he told them, "*Athens* was now a walled City, and able to bid "defiance to her Enemies; that he himſelf had "been the Adviſer of this meaſure, and that he "eſteemed it his Glory to have advanced the Proſ-"perity of this County; that it was mean in them "to envy the Aggrandizement of a State, to which "*Greece* owed her Liberties; and that if they pre-"ſumed to violate the ſacred Character with which "he and his Collegues were inveſted, the *Spartan* "Miniſters, which were then at *Athens*, ſhould "anſwer for the perfidious violence". Whether through fear, or ſhame, the *Spartans* diſſembled; and *Themiſtocles* and the other Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed without injury.

The Security of *Athens* was provided for by Land; it next was the care of *Themiſtocles* to ſecure her againſt naval Invaſions. For this purpoſe he ſet about [d] completing the *Piraeus* [e]: This famed

[d] Towards the cloſe of the third Year of the 75th Olympiad.

[e] He had begun this great Work in his Archonſhip, in the third Year of the 74th Olympiad. See Dial. 9. P. 393.——It is remarkable that the learned *Meurſius* (Vide de *Piraeo*) confounds together the firſt opening of the *Piraeus* by *Themiſtocles*, previous to the Battle of *Salamis*, and his completing of it, after the overthrow of the *Perſians*. And from this miſtake

famed Port he improved with every Work, requiſite either for conveniency or ſafety; its triple Baſon was cleared, and made capable of receiving numerous Fleets; and on Shore were Places prepared for the Exerciſe of all the various Arts, which a Maritime Power renders neceſſary. It was alſo ſurrounded with Walls, ſo wide, that two Chariots might drive on them a-breaſt, and high, forty Cubits; the Walls built of ſquare Stones, bound together by Bars of Iron and molten Lead. It is ſaid that the *Spartans* would have oppoſed this great Undertaking, but through the Artifice of *Themiſtocles* [f] they were again deceived.

It was about this Time, whilſt the *Pirean* Harbour was receiving this advantageous form, that *Themiſtocles* deviſed a Project, which argueth, if not the uprighteſt Heart, at leaſt a deep political Subtilty. In an Oration to the People he told them, "that he had a *Deſign*, to which if they "would conſent, he would be anſwerable for the "execution; but that it was not of a Nature to be "communicated to a public Aſſembly". They ordered that he ſhould confer with *Ariſtides*, and *Ariſtides* having informed them, *that though nothing could be more to the advantage of the Common-wealth, than the Scheme offered by* Themiſtocles, *yet was it extremely iniquitous*, the whole Aſſembly without farther debate unanimouſly rejected it, and commanded *Themiſtocles* to deſiſt from his Purpoſe. He had purpoſed

miſtake he is much at a loſs how to account for the following Paſſage in *Thucydides*——Ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν: ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτου πρότερον ἐπὶ της ἐκείνου Ἀρχῆς, ἧς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξεν. The Syſtem here followed ſolves the whole difficulty.——Vide quoque *Dodwell.* Annal. *Thucyd.*

[f] Vide *Diod. Sic.* Lib. ſupra dicto.

poſed to burn the *Peloponneſian* Fleets then at *Gythium*[g], by which the Maritime Power of *Greece* muſt indiſputably have been in the Hands of the *Athenians*.——Obſerve, *Cleanthes*, this was not the Vote of a choſen number of grave Senators, it was the Vote of a mixed Multitude, of ſeveral thouſands of Perſons of all conditions, and yet with one Voice was the glorious reſolution paſſed. Such were the excellent Sentiments of this great People: they would not purchaſe even Empire at the expence of Virtue.

Clean. No wonder indeed, *Palaemon*, that you ſhould ſay they were at this time as great a People as ever exiſted.

Pal. I am inclined, to believe it was this Excellence of Caracter, which appears in the *Athenians* at this Juncture, that moved *Ariſtides* to propoſe a Law, directly in contradiction to his former Principles of Government. You may remember, he always had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Power of the People. Nevertheleſs, ſhortly after the return to *Attica* he had it enacted, *that the Admiſſion to Magiſtracy ſhould be open to all* Athenians *of what condition ſoever*. It is likely, the Motive of this illuſtrious Patriot was his regard to thoſe Citizens, who, though deprived of the advantages of Fortune, had approved themſelves in ſo glorious a manner. And let me add, it was juſtly due to them: they had adventured their Lives for the preſervation of their Country, and well might ſhe reward them with her higheſt Honours. Hiſtorians obſerve, that the People, ſuch was their Moderation in thoſe happy Days, made not any uſe of the

[g] So ſays *Cicero*: the Place named by *Plutarch* is *Pagaſae*, on the *Magneſian* Coaſt, *Cicero*'s account ſeems the more probable, *Gythium* being a Port of *Laconia*.

the new Privileges conceded to them; contented with the Right of pretending to the firſt Dignities, they modeſtly confined themſelves to the lower Offices of the State, and left the more important Places to be filled by thoſe of noble Birth.

Eud. But did not the *Spartans* revenge themſelves on *Themiſtocles?*

Pal. It is not certain that they knew of the Advice he had given with reſpect to the Ships at *Gythium*. But independently of this, from the time of his Embaſſy to *Sparta*, Vengeance was determined againſt him. Beſides, he had done them an other injury, which their Pride never could permit them to forgive. After the Battle at *Plataea*, in a general Aſſembly of the *Grecian* States, they had moved, that as many of the *Amphictiones*, as had confederated with the *Perſians*, ſhould be diveſted of their Privileges. A ſpecious attempt! but there were deep Deſigns concealed under it. Some of the moſt conſiderable of the *Amphictionic* Nations had unhappily engaged in the *Perſian* league, ſo that no State of any figure was exempt from the condemnation, *Sparta* and *Athens* excepted; and all the reſt of which this great Council was to be compoſed, if ſuch a reſolution took effect, were petty *Cantons*, for the moſt part under *Spartan* influence. This Conſequence did not eſcape the penetration of *Themiſtocles*, and he obtained that the Motion ſhould be rejected.——On theſe accounts had the *Spartans* marked him out for Deſtruction; juſt now you ſhall ſee how fatally they ſucceeded.

But firſt I muſt mention to you a revolution of things, that raiſed *Athens* to an high degree of Power.——Hitherto the *Grecians* had been employed in repairing the waſte, which the *Barbari-*

ans

ans had made; they now reſumed the thoughts of War; and the combined Fleets of *Sparta* and *Athens*, with the reſt of the Confederates ſet Sail for *Aſia*[h], to aſſure the Liberties and independency of the *Grecian* Cities in thoſe Parts. *Pauſanias* the *Spartan*, he of *Plataea*, had the Supreme Command; and *Ariſtides* and *Cimon* were the *Athenian* Admirals. They began their expedition by ſetting free ſeveral of the Cities of *Cyprus*, which the *Perſians* held; and thence ſhaping their Courſe to *Byzantium*, a Place ſtrong and well garriſoned, they reduced it, and made a conſiderable number of Priſoners. Theſe were promiſing beginnings, *Cleanthes*; and nevertheleſs here was the end of *Pauſanias*'s Glory. Proſperity had undone him; he was become vain and inſolent; he had even conceived the deſign of betraying *Greece* to the *Perſian*, and, by means of ſome of the Priſoners taken at *Byzantium*, entered into a Negotiation with *Xerxes*, who ſtipulated to beſtow his Daughter on him in Marriage, and to reward him with the higheſt Dignities.

Clean. Strange!——the Victor of *Plataea* betray his Country!

Pal.

[h] Towards the cloſe of the *ſecond*, and the beginning of the *third* Years of the 77th Olympiad. *Diodorus* ſuppoſes this expedition about ſeven Years earlier. But from the expreſs Teſtimony of *Iſocrates*, who (in *Panathenaic:*) ſays, that the *Athenians* held the Empire of *Greece* ſixty five Years, which is the very number of Years from the third Year of this Olympiad to the fourth Year of the 93d Olympiad, in which the *Athenians* were defeated at *Aegos-Potamos*; I ſay, from this Teſtimony of *Iſocrates*, as well as from the comparing the ſeveral Parts of the *Grecian* Hiſtory of theſe Times the one with the other, it is evident, that *Diodorus*, who often is very inaccurate in his Chronological Calculations, muſt be miſtaken in this place.—— Vide *Dodwell.* Annal. *Thucyd.* P. 60.

Pal. It is thought, it was the rich Plunder, this very Victory put him in Poſſeſſion of, that firſt corrupted him. Until that time, plainneſs of manners and Integrity of Heart was the Character of *Pauſanias*. But after the Day of *Plataea*, when he found himſelf advanced in Wealth and Glory, and numbered among the firſt Men of *Greece*, he began to entertain aſpiring Thoughts, and to hate the ſimplicity and humiliation of the *Spartan* Life. And no doubt but the new Honours, with which he was now adorned, together with the Succeſs that ſeemed to attend his Arms, haſtened the Ruin of this ambitious Man. The Officers of the Allies ſoon perceived that his deportment no longer was what it had been; that he affected much Pomp and luxurious magnificence; and demeaned himſelf towards all that approached him with intolerable haughtineſs. And though his treaſonable Practices were little more than ſuſpected, yet did this contumelious behaviour determine them to renounce all Obedience to *Sparta*. They applied to *Ariſtides*, and preſſed it on him to accept of the Command of the Confederate Fleet; but that wiſe *Athenian* refuſing to hazard the honour of his Country, until by ſome ſome overt Act they had put their ſincerity out of queſtion, ſome of the Confederates ran foul of *Pauſanias*'s Galley, and, when he threatened to chaſtiſe them, made anſwer, *that his moſt prudent method was to retire, and that he might thank Fortune for her favours at* Plataea, *for that nothing elſe reſtrained them from revenging the ill treatment they had received at his Hands.* Thus was the Empire of *Greece* transferred to the *Athenian* People. And as it was Pride and Arrogance, that threw *Sparta* out of the Seat of Power, ſo, ſay Hiſtorians, was it the Juſtice of *Ariſtides*

Ariſtides and the Candor and Affability of *Cimon*, that endeared the *Athenian* Government to all the Confederates. Nay, ſo high was the opinion had of the abilities and juſt Adminiſtration of *Ariſtides*, that the aſſociated *Greeks* conſtituted him their ſole Commiſſioner, with full powers to tax every one of their States in what proportion of Ships and Money he ſhould think proper, for the carrying on of the War againſt the *Perſians*. And this delicate truſt he adminiſtered with that ſtrict Fidelity, that in all the Cities and Iſlands, through which he paſſed in order to ſurvey and value, he was received with Acclamations, and at his Departure purſued with bleſſings; and this Tax, though the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the kind ever known in *Greece*, was collected with the greateſt eaſe, and paid with the utmoſt chearfulneſs; ſo that this Taxation obtained the remarkable Name of, *The happy Lot of Greece*. The Aſſeſſment fixed by *Ariſtides* was of four hundred and ſixty Talents, and the money was to be depoſited in *Delos*.——Fortunate *Athens*, had ſhe never forgotten thoſe gentler Arts of Uprightneſs and Clemency, which alone are the ſecurity of *Governors*, and render *Empire* amiable!

Clean. With what temper did the *Spartans* bear this diminution of honour?

Pal. At firſt they talked of aſſerting their Superiority by force of Arms, and probably would have declared War againſt the *Athenians*, had not *Metaemoridas*, one of their Senators, and a Perſon in high eſteem for Wiſdom and Integrity, adviſed them to deſiſt from ſo ruinous an attempt, and rather to remember the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and to wave all pretenſions to an Empire, which could not

not be ſupported without hazarding the Virtue and ſober Manners of the *Spartan* Citizens.

Eud. Well but *Pauſanias*——did not the Juſtice of his Country overtake him?

Pal. Not as yet. He was tried, and acquitted, ſuch proof being wanting, as the Laws of *Sparta* required. But his buſy Spirit could not reſt. He ſoon returned to the Sea-Coaſts, though without any authority from the State, and continued to carry on his correſpondence with *Artabazus*, Governour of the Maritime Parts of *Aſia Minor*, and with whom, by *Xerxes*'s appointment, he was to concert meaſures. But his Intrigues being traverſed by the *Athenian* Generals, and the *Ephori* having ſummoned him to appear at *Sparta*, and anſwer to certain new Articles of Impeachment, he was obliged a ſecond time to leave *Aſia*. His Trial nevertheleſs had a favourable iſſue; and notwithſtanding the many charges againſt him, and particularly of his having encouraged the *Helotae* to revolt, he obtained his Acquittal. The Judges, it has been ſaid, were willing to ſoften the ſeverity of the Laws in behalf of a Perſon of the Royal Blood, who was Guardian to their King, and had formerly deſerved ſo well of *Sparta*.

Clean. What——*Gratitude* and *Lenity* in *Spartan* Judges!

Pal. Why indeed, *Cleanthes*, I rather conjecture that they acted from political motives with reſpect to *Pauſanias*, and that they apprehended danger from his many Connections and the number of his Partiſans: he had engaged the Slaves to aſſiſt him, and thoſe *Sons of Deſpair*, headed by a Man like him, might probaly have ſhaken the *Spartan* State; and therefore was it judged expedient to deal mildly with him. It certainly appears,

pears, that about the very time, when he was thus ſuffered to eſcape, ſome of the moſt Warlike of the *Helotae* were cruelly put to Death even in the Sanctuary, in which they had taken refuge. However the lenity ſhewn to *Pauſanias* did not inſpire him with better Sentiments; and in purſuit of his execrable project, he contrived means to tranſmit ſeveral Letters to *Artabazus*. At length he intruſted the diſpatches to one *Argilius*, a dependent of his, and attached ſtrongly to him: but the Man being diſturbed with ill-boding Suſpicions, becauſe of all the Couriers employed in the like Commiſſion none had ever returned, he opened the Letters, where he found that *Artabazus* had inſtructions to put him to death. The ſame precaution had been taken with regard to the other Meſſengers. Affrighted at this, and exaſperated againſt his Maſter, he immediately diſcloſes the whole matter to the *Ephori*, who being tender of condemning a Perſon of *Pauſanias*'s figure, except on the ſtrongeſt evidence, directed him, to conceal his having applied to them, and to flee to ſome Sanctuary, as if he dreaded *Pauſanias*'s reſentment. As they expected, ſo it happened. For *Argilius* having taken ſanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune* at *Taenarus*, *Pauſanias* was immediately alarmed, and repaired thither. *Argilius* confeſſed to him that he had opened the Letters; and then breaking out into Expoſtulations concerning the cruel Orders of which he was to have been the Victim, gave the *Ephori*, who were concealed in an inner Room, the opportunity of hearing from *Pauſanias*'s own mouth a full confeſſion of his Treaſon. His Condemnation was now irreverſibly determined; but this unhappy Prince, conſcious of guilt, and haunted with gloomy apprehenſions, prevented

vented the Laws, and fled to the Temple of *Minerva.* It had been an inſult to Religion to have forced him thence. An other expedient was therefore made uſe of: he was immured within the ſacred Walls, and ſtarved to death, his own Mother ſhewing her Fellow-Citizens the example, and laying down the firſt ſtone at the Temple-Gate [i]. So much more powerful was the Love ſhe bore to her Country than even the feelings of maternal tenderneſs!

Eud. Doth it not appear that *Themiſtocles* was privy to *Pauſanias*'s deſigns?

Clean. How? — *Themiſtocles!*

Pal. Domeſtic Envy and the *Spartan* Hatred conſpired to involve *Themiſtocles* in the ruin of *Pauſanias*; nevertheleſs, *Eudoxus*, poſterity has acquitted him of the imputation.——You will be glad, *Cleanthes*, to hear what were the latter fortunes of this Great *Athenian:* they are connected with ſeveral tranſactions, which I omitted, to follow the thread of *Pauſanias*'s ſtory.

After the Allies had thrown off the *Spartan* Yoke, *Cimon*, who now ſaw himſelf at the head of the *Grecian* Confederacy [k], remained not inactive. He carried on the War in *Thrace*, where he reduced *Eion* [l], though garriſoned by a conſiderable body of *Perſians*, and chaſtiſed certain of the bordering *Thracians*, who had aſſiſted the Enemy. This Siege is rendered memorable by the extraordinary behaviour of the Governour; his name was *Butes*; he defended himſelf to the utmoſt extre-

[i] The 4th Year of the 77th Olympiad.

[k] *Ariſtides* was on his Progreſs through *Greece.*

[l] The City of the *Nine Ways* followed the fate of *Eion*, and fell alſo at this time into the Hands of the *Athenians.*

mity, and, when he found that the Place was not to be preſerved, built up a Pile, ſet it on fire, and conſumed his treaſures, his family, and himſelf, in the midſt of it. It was well for *Greece* there were not many *Buteſes* among *Xerxes*'s Servants. *Cimon* then paſſed over into *Seyros*, and having exterminated the *Dolopians*, a People infamous for their Piracies, who had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Iſland, he planted a Colony of *Athenians* there, and opened the trade of the *Egean* Sea. But what crowned theſe important ſervices of *Cimon*'s was his lucky diſcovery of the Bones of *Theſeus*. You know, that Prince, the firſt Founder of the *Athenian* Democracy, had ended his Days in this Iſland [m]. *Cimon* therefore, having found out the place where his bones lay, attended them to *Athens*, with extraordinary pomp, and ſhew of the higheſt reverence. At his arrival there he ordered a ſumptuous Monument to be erected for their reception, and appointed Games to be celebrated, and propoſed Prizes, both to the *Agoniſtic* Combatants, and to the Poet, who ſhould grace the Solemnity by the fineſt Dramatic performance. Several remarkable Circumſtances concurred to adorn this Poetical Conteſt. *Cimon* and the other Generals with him diſdained not to beſtow the *Wreath* with their own hands; they aſſiſted in the Theatre as Judges; and theſe Men, who by their exploits abroad had ſo nobly advanced the glory of their Country, now ſhewed (what I have already told you was the particular praiſe of this illuſtrious People) that their Delicacy of taſte in Literature was not leſs than their bravery in the Day of battle. The extraordinary merits alſo of the Diſputants did ſingular honour to the Feſtival. It was on

[m] See Dial. 3. P. 135.

on this occaſion that *Sophocles*, afterwards the great Ornament of the *Athenian* Stage, produced his firſt Drama, and carried off the prize from *Aeſchylus*, who had long reigned without a Rival. We are told, this Change of fortune deeply affected the old Poet; he immediately left *Athens*, and retiring to *Sicily* ended his Days there [n].——However, *Cleanthes*, by theſe ſplendid Entertainments ſo well adapted to the Genius of the *Athenians*, and which were conſecrated to the Memory of a Prince they held ſo dear, *Cimon* was conſulting the intereſts of his Ambition; he was eſtabliſhing himſelf in the hearts of his Countrymen, and effacing the remembrance of what *Themiſtocles* had done. Then beſides, he was of an open temper, free, and courteous. At the ſame time *Themiſtocles* was become haughty and burthenſome even to his friends; proud of his exploits, he made them his continual boaſt; and was inceſſantly claiming a reſpect, which he hardly could have miſſed of, but by claiming it. He had alſo built a Temple, near his own houſe, to *Diana* Ἀριστοβούλη, *the Inſpirer of wiſe Counſels*, and placed his Statue in it, as if he by the wiſdom of his Counſels had ſaved his Country. True——he had——but the proud *Athenians* could not bear to be upbraided with it.——*Cimon*, who had always been a ſecret Enemy of his (for by his Family-connections he was naturally engaged in the oppoſite Party) ſaw this was the opportunity for removing this formidable Competitor. The Emiſſaries of *Sparta* likewiſe exerted their

[n] According to Monſieur *Dacier* this happened the firſt Year of the 77th Olympiad, and ſo it is ſaid to be, P. 367. N. x. But upon attending more particularly to the Arguments inſiſted on by Mr. *Dodwell*, it ſeemeth probable that this return of *Cimon*'s was not until the Spring of the third Year of that Olympiad.——Vide Annal. *Thucyd.* P. 64.

their utmoſt induſtry to procure his deſtruction. Thus purſued, hated by the Nobility, forſaken by the People, was *Themiſtocles*, after all his eminent ſervices, driven into Baniſhment[o]. Such is the value of popular favour, my dear *Eudoxus*. *Plutarch* mentions a ſenſible obſervation to this purpoſe made by *Themiſtocles*'s Father to him, when he was firſt courting Political Honours: *Obſerve*, ſaid he, pointing to ſome old Galleys that lay on the Shore, *thus are Miniſters, when no longer neceſſary, rewarded by the unſtable People.* Hiſtorians take notice, to the honour of *Ariſtides*, that though often much oppoſed and injured by *Themiſtocles*, and though ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of *Cimon*, to whom he long had been a Protector and a Friend, he nevertheleſs abſolutely refuſed to engage in this ungenerous proſecution. — For ſome time our illuſtrious Exile enjoyed a peaceful retirement at *Argos*; but his Enemies, the *Spartans* eſpecially, envied him even this. They pretended to have found ſome intimation in *Pauſanias*'s Papers, that there was a correſpondence between *Pauſanias* and him; and required that he ſhould be forced away from his Place of refuge, and tried before the Tribunal of the *Amphictiones*. The truth was, *Pauſanias*, hearing of *Themiſtocles*'s diſgrace, had partly opened his deſigns to him, adviſing him to revenge himſelf on his ungrateful Country, and ſollicit the *Perſians* to War; but the noble *Athenian* rejected the Propoſal, and would have diſſuaded *Pauſanias* from his baſe purpoſe. However the *Spartans*, whether they thirſted after the blood of this obnoxious Man, or ſought to take off of themſelves the reproach of *Pauſanias*'s treaſons,

[o] About the end of the 3d or the beginning of the 4th Year of the 77th Olympiad.

treaſons, earneſtly urged the Charge. And *Themiſtocles*, not daring to truſt to the integrity of ſuch prejudiced Judges, made his eſcape out of *Argolis*[p]; and through various hazards, fleeing from place to place, to *Sicily*, to *Corcyra*, to *Epirus*, to *Macedonia*, to *Aſia Minor*, expoſed to a variety of diſtreſſes, and often obliged to conſult his ſafety by putting on mean diſguiſes[q], he at laſt[r] reached the *Perſian* Court. *Artaxerxes*[s] reigned at this time. His Father *Xerxes*, after his unhappy expedition againſt *Greece*, had confounded the peace of his Royal Houſe by the blackeſt inceſts and murders, and had at length periſhed by domeſtic treachery. *Artabanus*, one of his principal Officers of State, imbrued his hands in the blood of his Maſter, and had even projected to deſtroy the whole branch of the *Achaemenidae*, and to invade the imperial Dignity. But Providence preſerved *Artaxerxes*, and he was now ſeated on the Throne of his Fathers, when *Themiſtocles* came to *Suſa*. *Themiſtocles* contrived to obtain admittance into the King's preſence, and immediately diſcovered himſelf to him: *I am*, ſaith he, Themiſtocles *the* Athenian, *perſecuted and baniſhed by the* Greeks, *and who, after all the wrongs I have done to* Perſia, *am fled*

[p] This was in the Winter of the 4th Year of the 77th Olympiad: he remained at *Argos* until the death of *Pauſanias*.

[q] Part of his way through *A, a* he travelled in a covered Litter, as a Lady intended for the King.

[r] Four Years after his Baniſhment, or the 3d Year of the 78th Olympiad.

[s] He is known in Scripture by the name of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, or the *Long-handed*, either becauſe of the extraordinary length of his Arms, or becauſe one Arm was longer than the other. *Prideaux* ſuppoſes him the *Ahaſuerus* of Holy Scripture, and Huſband of *Eſther*: but Archbiſhop *Uſher* thinks that it rather was *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*.

[t] Vide *Thucyd.* L. 1. et etiam *Plutarch* in *Thucyd.*

fled to thee for refuge. My fate is in thy hands. But remember, if thou deſtroyeſt me, thou deſtroyeſt the Enemy of Greece: *if thou preſerveſt me, thou preſerveſt to thy ſelf an able and faithful Servant.* *Artaxerxes* could not without the utmoſt aſtoniſhment behold before him ſo great a Perſonage, whoſe very Name made all the Nations of *Aſia* tremble, now ſunk to the low Eſtate of a Suppliant. He was ordered to return the next Day. And then, *Artaxerxes* before all his Court received him with the higheſt marks of eſteem and honour; he preſented him to his Queens and Concubines; he gave him two hundred talents, the Sum offered to him, who ſhould bring *Themiſtocles* to the *Perſian* King; and beſtowed on him noble poſſeſſions, three large and opulent Cities. It is ſaid, that the King was ſo tranſported with joy at this Event, that the night after the arrival of this illuſtrious *Grecian* he was obſerved to ſtart frequently as he ſlept, and to cry out aloud, *I have* Themiſtocles *the* Athenian: and that he was oftentimes heard to pray to his God *Arimanius* [u], that he might poſſeſs all his Enemies with the like Phrenſy, to perſecute and baniſh the braveſt Men among them. The reſt of *Themiſtocles*'s fortune was proſperous, as far as Wealth and Honours could render it ſuch; and except the mortifying reflexion that he was *a Dependent in a foreign Land*, which to a Man of his exalted Soul, and who held Liberty ſo dear, muſt have ſpread a gloom over his happieſt Days, he enjoyed every thing his fondeſt wiſhes could have in

[u] *The Inſpirer of evil Counſels*, according to the *Perſian* Theology. For the *Perſians* admitted two Principles, the one Good, the other Evil, the firſt called *Ormuzd*, the latter *Abraman*, and by the *Greeks*, *Oromazdes*, and *Arimanius*.

in proſpect. He had the Love and Confidence of *Artaxerxes*, he was admitted even to his inmoſt thoughts, ſo that in after-time, when the *Satraps* would invite a *Grecian* to the *Perſian* Court, they promiſed him, that he ſhould live with the *Great King* as *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian* had lived with *Artaxerxes*. As to the manner of his death, it is recounted variouſly. Some pretend that he put an end to his own Life. But this account, ſo injurious to the memory of *Themiſtocles*, is rejected by moſt judicious Writers [w]. It is rather to be believed that he died of extreme diſtreſs of mind, his heart ſtruggling between the affection which he bore to his native Country, and his gratitude to his Royal Benefactor. For it ſeems the *Athenians* had made ſuch impreſſion on ſeveral parts of the Empire, that *Artaxerxes*, apprehenſive of what might be the iſſue, had determined to raiſe extraordinary Forces, and to ſend them with *Themiſtocles* at their head to oppoſe that formidable Enemy, The Hero of *Salamis*, even injured as he was, could not bear the thought of appearing in battle againſt his Countrymen, and the deep anguiſh he ſuffered on this occaſion is ſuppoſed to have ſhortened his Days.—— *Pauſanias* in his Antiquities of *Greece* [x] tells us that, his Bones were afterwards removed from the City of *Magneſia*, where he died, to *Athens*, and depoſited in the *Piraeus*, and that the Monument erected to him was remaining even in his time.——

Eud. Such, indeed it appears, was oftentimes the ſtrange gratitude of *Athens*, honouring thoſe, when dead, whom ſhe had unjuſtly purſued and oppreſſed when living.

[w] *Thucyd.* L. 1. *Cicero* in *Bruto.*
[x] Vide in *Atticis.*

Pal. We now return to the general affairs of *Greece.*———*Cimon*, on whom, *Themiſtocles* being removed, and *Ariſtides* advanced in Years, the whole weight of Empire reſted, ſought to ſupport his credit at home by the ſplendor of his exploits abroad. He ſailed from *Athens* with a Fleet of more than two hundred Ships of War, and entering the *Aſiatic* Seas, routed and diſperſed the *Perſians*, where ever he met them; forced into their Harbours; ſunk their Shipping; and effectually ſecured the Liberties and Tranquillity of all the *Grecian* Colonies in thoſe parts. Affrighted at the ſucceſs of the *Athenian* Arms, the *Perſian* Admirals retired to *Pamphylia*, to the mouth of the *Eurymedon*, where their Fleet, three hundred and fifty ſtrong, was ſupported by a conſiderable number of Land-Forces, encamped near the Shore. *Cimon* nevertheleſs purſues them hither, and, after a ſhort Engagement, deſtroys this whole Naval Power, taking two hundred of their Ships[y]; and then, even before his Men had wiped off the Sweat and Blood of this Action, immediately commands them to make a deſcent, and attack the Enemy on Land. A daring attempt, *Cleanthes!* For conſider, theſe were freſh Forces, they were ſuperior in number, they fought on firm ground, they had an opportunity of charging regularly; whereas the *Grecians* had already gone through the toils of one Battle, and were in danger of ſuffering from the tumult and confuſion, that naturally attend a debarkation. Soon however as the word was given, they leap on Shore, and Sword in hand ruſh on the Enemy. Never had the *Barbarians* fought better than on this occaſion; they diſputed the ground inch

[y] The 4th Year of the 77th Olympiad.

inch by inch; they charged with vigour; they rallied frequently; but all in vain; the Forces on Land had the ſame fate as thoſe on Sea, they were broken and diſſipated, and, after a prodigious ſlaughter, the Camp, with all the immenſe treaſures contained in it, fell into the Hands of the victorious *Greeks*. Thus in one Day did *Cimon* obtain two Victories, equalled by Hiſtorians to thoſe of *Plataea* and *Salamis*. And as if nothing was to be wanting to complete his triumph, ſcarcely was this over, when he had the good fortune to intercept eighty *Phoenician* Veſſels, which were to have reinforced the *Perſians*. It is ſaid, that, after this deadly blow, the *Barbarians* had neither courage nor ſtrength left to them.——And even ſuch was the terror that had taken poſſeſſion of them, that the enſuing Year when they had a Squadron of Ships on the Coaſt of *Thrace*, and their Troops had overrun the *Cherroneſus*, *Cimon*, going thither with four Galleys only, defeated them, took thirteen of their Ships, obliged them to abandon the *Peninſula*, and ſubjected the whole diſtrict to the *Athenian* Commonwealth.

Clean. What an encreaſe of Power and Riches muſt all theſe Victories have produced to *Athens*?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*, *that* at *Eurymedon* eſpecially gave much opulence and ſplendor to this illuſtrious City, moſt of the rich ſpoils taken from the *Perſians* having been laid out in noble and uſeful Works. *Cimon* likewiſe out of his portion of the plunder greatly contributed to the improvement of *Athens*: he adorned the City with fine Walks, and ſtately Porticoes; he ſet the Forum around with Palm-trees; he laid out places for Horſe-races and *Gymnaſtic* exerciſe; and the Academy alſo, which afterwards became ſo famous in the Learned

World on account of its Philoſophic School, he planted, and beautified it with Fountains. Such was the princely Spirit of this excellent *Athenian*; in his earlier days the Wreck of his domeſtic Fortune obliged him to retrench much of that bountifulneſs, to which his natural temper inclined him: but now, bleſſed with abundant Wealth, in this elegant manner did he ſhare it with his Country. His whole Plan of Life was likewiſe agreeable to this: his Gardens were all thrown open for the uſe of the People, his Table ſpread every day for the reception of the poorer Citizens; and whenever he met an *Athenian*, whoſe Garb or Countenance ſpoke diſtreſs, he took care that ſome rich preſent ſhould be privately conveyed to him. And yet, what is moſt admirable in all this, he ſought not popular favour; ſteddy in his principles of Government, he warmly ſupported the intereſts of the Nobility: it was his heart dictated to him this noble uſe of Riches; the Good Man delighted in diffuſing Joy and Happineſs.

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, did not the Flow of Wealth, which thoſe Victories brought in, impair the manners of the *Athenian* People?

Pal. No doubt, *Eudoxus*, it was the firſt means of introducing among them many deſtructive Arts. Beſides, this great Encreaſe of Treaſure, which the *Athenians* now became poſſeſſed of, received a continued ſupply from a new Political Eſtabliſhment, which *Cimon* had deviſed. According to the terms ſettled by *Ariſtides*, the Confederate States were to ſerve perſonally in the Wars againſt the *Perſians*. But *Cimon*, perceiving that they performed this ſervice with reluctance, and deſirous to aggrandize his Country, propoſed other meaſures: it was ſtipulated, that the Confederates ſhould pay additional Contributions

Contributions in lieu of the Forces they were to furniſh, and that the whole Burden of military preparations and the buſineſs of War ſhould be borne by the *Athenian* People. It is remarkable, ——ſo ſhort a way human Wiſdom reaches,—— that both the one and the other were undone by this. The *Grecian* States, who promiſed to themſelves much eaſe, and remiſſion from martial Toils, ſuffered a ſlothful inactivity to ſubdue them, their Bodies were enervated, the vigor of their Spirit loſt, and from Confederates they ſunk into mere Tributaries. The *Athenians* alſo by this illuſive Scheme, inſtead of eſtabliſhing their Empire more ſecurely, weakened it; they engaged in unneceſſary Wars, they made diſtant conqueſts, they ſent forth frequent Colonies, and by theſe they drained their *Mother-City* of her vital ſtrength: Indeed the Charge they had undertaken preſerved among them the Uſe of Arms; but then at the ſame time they forgot thoſe other Virtues, that had made them great; they forgot their mercy, their integrity, their temperance; they learned violence and oppreſſion; they exacted the payment of the Contributions with too much haughtineſs, rather as a mark of homage, than as a debt to the Public Weal; whilſt thoſe Treaſures, which were deſigned for the defence of *Greece*, were laviſhed away in Works of Shew and public Decoration, and in the end, as will always happen, in private Luxury; in a word the *Deliverers* of *Greece* became her *Ravagers*, and Envy and Hatred, the ſure attendants of power abuſed, cloſely purſued and overtook them.

Clean. What!——Difficulty and Diſtreſs rendered *Athens* illuſtrious——and muſt ſhe owe her deſtruction to Proſperity and Opulence?

Pal.

Pal. Thus, my dear *Cleanthes*, has been the fate of all the greateſt Nations of the Earth.——The *Athenians* ſoon gave proof, what a fatal truſt had been repoſed in them. The *Naxians* refuſed to pay the Tax aſſeſſed, and immediately were they treated as revolted Subjects, their Cities were ſtormed, their Iſland laid waſte, their Sons and Daughters ſold to bondage [z]. And ſoon after, they of *Thaſus* alſo felt the weight of the *Athenian* Arms; they had *inſolently* aſſumed a kind of Independency, and had *dared* to ſeize on the rich *Thracian* Mines, of which they were antiently poſſeſſed: War therefore was denounced againſt them: and notwithſtanding their numerous Fleets and their bravery in battle, though for three Years they defended themſelves with the utmoſt obſtinacy, their very Women forgetting their natural timorouſneſs, and adventuring their lives to ſave their Country from ſervitude, yet nevertheleſs at length the *Athenians* prevailed, and deprived them of their Territories, plundered their treaſures, took away their Shipping, diſmantled their places of ſtrength, and left them a weak and humbled People [a].

Clean. And who commanded in theſe wicked Expeditions?

Pal. Cimon, who though averſe from theſe violent Counſels was obliged to yield to the impetuous temper of the *Athenians*. And from theſe avowed principles of his, I am inclined to think, that it was he, or at leaſt his friends, who engaged the

[z] In the third Year of the 78th Olympiad. It was the Year that *Themiſtocles* fled to the *Aſiatic* Coaſt; for as it appears from *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, and Others, he with difficulty eſcaped the *Athenian* Fleet, then engaged at the Siege of *Naxus*.

[a] The *Thaſian* War begun in the 3d Year of the 78th Olympiad, and ended towards the cloſe of the 1ſt Year of the 79th.

the *Athenians* in an expedition to *Egypt*, undertaken about this time; for *Inarus* of *Lybia* and *Amyrtaeus* the *Egyptian* had excited a revolt againſt *Artaxerxes*, and invaded the Throne of *Egypt*, and having applied to *Athens*, two hundred Ships with a large body of Forces were ſent to their aſſiſtance [b]. Certain it is, that *Cimon* ſought every opportunity of diverting them from their domeſtic Wars, and of employing their ſtrength againſt the common Enemy. However, his intereſt began now to decline. Whilſt he was making the *Athenian* name terrible in diſtant parts, Faction and Intrigue had been at work at home, and a ſtrong Party had been formed under two popular Leaders, both of great Abilities, *Pericles* and *Ephialtes* [c]———the latter, a bold, enterprizing, violent, Man, of the ſtricteſt integrity in the adminiſtration of the public Money, and who made uſe of this very praiſe the more ſurely to effect his ambitious purpoſes.———The other, rich and noble, his Father *Xanthippus*, he who commanded the *Athenians* at *Mycale*, and his Mother of the Family of the great *Cliſthenes*; a Perſon happy in all the Endowments, that adorn and recommend, excellent parts, a Mind finely improved, a winning countenance, an inſinuating addreſs; in a word, an accompliſhed Stateſman, and a powerful Speaker beyond all that ever were in *Athens* before him; and beſides, an able General, wiſe in Council, brave in Battle. What a Patriot, what a bleſſing might this Man have been! but Ambition is a treacherous guide.—From this motive, as the Nobility ſtood with *Cimon*, *Pericles* devoted himſelf to the ſervice of the People, and he and *Ephialtes* wrought together. They began

[b] In the 2d Year of the 79th Olympiad.
[c] Vide *Plutarch.* in *Cimone* et *Pericle.*

began by corrupting the Multitude, by rendering them luxurious and venal: they propoſed, that the expence of Shews and Theatrical Entertainments ſhould be defrayed out of the public Revenues; that the Salaries ſhould be advanced to thoſe, who attended in the Judicial Courts; that the Lands of the Commonwealth ſhould be divided among the poorer Citizens. This, with a view of emulating *Cimon*'s munificence; they could not contend with him in Wealth, and therefore was the fortune of the State called in to aſſiſt their ſelfiſh purpoſes. Their next attempt was to bring the *Areopagus* into diſrepute, to traduce it as a Tribunal governed by the Nobles, and therefore dangerous to the Liberties of the People, and to diveſt thoſe venerable Senators of the Right of having Appeals brought before them; removing, from baſe private views[d], that antient Pillar of Government, on which the Commonwealth had ſo long a time reſted in ſafety. Matters now ſeemed ripe for an attack on *Cimon*, whoſe avowed oppoſition to theſe bold Schemes, and ſtrenuous endeavours to reſtore the *Areopagus*, rendered him the more obnoxious; and accordingly a formal accuſation was prepared againſt him. He had reduced *Thaſus*, and enriched his Country by the acquiſition of the *Thracian* Mines, and the Territories adjacent: nevertheleſs, as if every Nation was to bend the Knee before the *Athenian* Power, *Pericles* impeached him, becauſe, when he was on the Frontiers of *Macedon*, he had not alſo carried the War into that Kingdom, and charged him

[d] *Pericles*, as he had not been Archon, had not a ſeat in the *Areopagus*; and beſides he was juſtly apprehenſive, that this wiſe Council would make oppoſition to his ambitious projects.

him with having received Preſents from the *Macedonian* King. *Cimon*'s Anſwer was plain and honeſt. He replied, *that War unprovoked appeared to him Robbery and Oppreſſion; that the* Macedonians *were a Nation juſt—modeſt—honourable—friends to* Athens*-----and void of all artful Diſguiſes; that he was a Stranger to Corruption; but that their Virtues had reſtrained his Arms, and taught him to reſpect the Peace and Rights of that blameleſs People.* Whether it was that the Force of this Defence made Impreſſion on the People, or that *Pericles* was aſhamed of urging the iniquitous Proſecution, *Cimon* was acquitted.———Howbeit, an other Opportunity was ſoon found.

Clean. An other!———how indefatigable are the Ambitious!

Pal. Whilſt *Cimon* was abroad at *Thaſus*, the *Lacedemonians* were reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs.—An Earthquake had laid *Sparta* in Ruins [e], five Houſes only remaining; and the *Meſſenians* and *Helotae* taking advantage of the conjuncture roſe in Arms, and probably would that day have put an end to the *Spartan* Name, had not the Vigilance of King *Archidamus* ſaved his Country. He was of the Race of *Eurypontidae*, and had ſucceeded to his Grand-Father *Leotychides*, who died in Baniſhment [f]. Amidſt the general Conſternation, he ſaw what Dangers were to be apprehended in a State, where the Slaves were ſo numerous, and wretched, and who probably might be incited to revenge by the late bloody executions *,

[e] About the cloſe of the 3d or the Beginning of the 4th Year of the 78th Olympiad; for it appears from *Thucydides* that the *Thaſians* applied to *Sparta* for Aſſiſtance, and could not obtain it, the *Meſſenian* Revolt being then begun.

[f] See Dial. 7. P. 298.

* See above P. 457.

and cauſing an Alarm to be ſounded, as if an Enemy was coming on, drew out the Citizens; by this lucky Artifice, both preventing their being buried under the falling Buildings, and ſhewing to the *Helotae* a Force prepared for Battle. And the Slaves, finding this, retired to the Borders of *Meſſenia*, ſeized on *Ithome*, and fortified it. The *Spartans* were now beſet with many urging Difficulties, their Capital was no more; a formidable Revolt prevailed throughout *Laconia*; and an Enemy, hardy, and exaſperated by grievous Wrongs, had got Poſſeſſion of a place, which had, in Ages paſt, for Years baffled the *Spartan* Power. In this diſtreſs they ſent to the *Athenians* for Succours; but *Ephialtes* and his Party ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Requeſt: they repreſented the Unkindneſs of *Sparta* to *Athens* felt in many memorable Inſtances, her treacherous Leagues, and inſidious Friendſhips; and the People, who hated the *Spartan* Government, gladly approved of the ungenerous Counſel. Soon after, on *Cimon*'s Return, the *Spartans* renewed their Suit, and being ſupported by *Cimon*, for he much eſteemed their Manners, and employed in their behalf all the Influence that remained to him, they obtained that a Body of Forces ſhould march againſt *Ithome*. But ſo it happened, they who were beſieging that Place, conceiving ſome ſuſpicions of theſe new Auxiliaries, inſtead of receiving them as Friends, ſent them back diſgracefully. It matters not what was the motive to this: it ſuffices to know that the *Athenians* highly reſented the injurious Treatment. The Storm burſt on *Cimon*, who had been Advocate for the *Spartans*; him, at the Inſtigation of *Pericles*, they baniſhed. They then immediately removed to *Athens* the *Grecian* Treaſure depoſited in *Delos*, pretending that the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they now accuſed

accuſed of the worſt Deſigns, would plunder that Iſland. This *Removal*, it ſeems, was expreſsly contrary to the original Stipulation, ſworn to in the Name of the *Athenians* by *Ariſtides* in the moſt ſolemn manner, with dire Imprecations on thoſe who ſhould violate it. And we are told, that, this being urged, *Ariſtides* returned this memorable Anſwer, *Let the Curſe then light on* Ariſtides, *and let* Athens *proſper*. A ſhameful frivolous Evaſion! But, *Cleanthes*, ſuch were the notions of Virtue of even the uprighteſt Man of *Greece*. He, who would not have done wrong to have purchaſed to himſelf the Riches of *Artaxerxes*, was capable of committing the moſt flagrant Injuſtice from a miſtaken Zeal for his Country. Soon after *Ariſtides* died, and (a proof of his Integrity) ſo poor, that he did not even leave enough to defray the charges of his Interment.———However, the Reſentment of the *Athenians* ſtopped not here; to ſhew their Hatred of the *Spartans* in a manner yet more deciſive, they engaged in alliance with thoſe of *Argos*, the inveterate Enemies of the *Spartan* State, who, availing themſelves of the Confuſion of Affairs, had laid Siege to *Mycenae*, and razed it to the ground. Some Days ago I mentioned to you [g] what it was brought on the Ruin of this antient City. At the time of the *Perſian* Invaſion, when the States of *Argolis* refuſed to make oppoſition to the *Barbarians*, the *Myceneans* alone leagued with *Sparta*, and in a ſignal manner exerted themſelves in defence of the Liberties of *Greece*; therefore had the *Argives* ſworn their Deſtruction. And ſurely it may be well accounted one, not the leaſt of the Evils, that attended theſe wicked domeſtic Wars,

[g] See Dial. 5. P. 160.

that a City of ſuch Dignity, renowned from the earlieſt Days of *Greece*, and which had ſo nobly approved her Faith and Virtue at a Seaſon of utmoſt Peril, ſhould on an account ſuch as this, which ought rather to have obtained to her Protection and laſting Honour, be ſuffered to fall a Victim to the cruel vengeance of an unjuſt Neighbour.

Clean. Poor *Mycenae!*——but *Ithome* and the remains of the *Meſſenian* Nation——they, I hope, *Palaemon*, had better Fate.

Pal. Why, *Cleanthes*, the ſame Courage as formerly ſtill animated that brave People: for ten Years [h] did they defend themſelves againſt the *Spartans* and moſt of the *Peloponneſian* Powers confederate with them, and at length, what may indeed rather be called a Deliverance than a Misfortune, were obliged to depart out of the *Spartan* Territories, and by the favour of *Athens* obtained a Settlement in an other part of *Greece*, under the happy Auſpices of Liberty. But ere this was, many other Tranſactions intervened. The *Spartans*, though taken up with an inteſtine War, kept *Athens* in their view, and endeavoured to excite againſt her the Suſpicions and Jealouſies of the reſt of *Greece*; the *Athenians* alſo, irritated againſt *Sparta*, took every opportunity of humbling her and her Confederates: ſo that State was now divided againſt State, ſome new Commotion inceſſantly breaking out, and every ſlight Surmiſe affording excuſe for Hoſtilities. Firſt, the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians* [i] ventured to contend with *Athens* in Naval Combat, and in one Engagement they obtained ſome Advantage; but this Succeſs was of ſhort Continuance, an other Engagement

[h] The *Meſſenian* War ended towards the cloſe of the 1ſt Year of the 81ſt Olympiad.

[i] In the third Year of the 80th Olympiad.

gagement followed, and they were totally defeated. The *Athenians* then invaded thoſe of *Aegina*, whom they ſuſpected of having aſſiſted the *Corinthians:* thoſe Iſlanders had at this time a conſiderable Maritime Force, and confiding in their Strength refuſed to humble themſelves; this proved their Ruin; their Fleets were deſtroyed, and they were compelled to receive whatever Yoke the Conquerors were pleaſed to impoſe on them. The *Corinthians* ſoon renewed the War by attacking the *Megareans*, who were in Amity with *Athens*, and were defeated again: all theſe attempts to check the *Athenian* power contributed only to encreaſe it. And yet at this time the *Athenians* had only a divided Strength; part of their Armies and Fleets being ſtill abroad in *Egypt* [k]. More important Events now ſucceeded. The *Lacedemonians* and their Confederates, mortified to ſee that the Fortune of the *Athenians* was every where triumphant, endeavoured to render themſelves conſiderable; they marched an Army out of *Peloponneſus* to ſupport the *Dorians* againſt the People of *Phocis*; the *Athenians* likewiſe, having fitted out fifty Galleys, ſailed to the *Iſthmus*, and landing fourteen thouſand Men, ſeized the Paſs, with intent to cut off the Retreat of the *Spartan* Force [l]. This rendered a Battle inevitable; it was fought at *Tanagra* a City of *Boeotia*, where the *Athenians* were beaten, the *Theſſalian* Horſe having deſerted them, as the Engagement began. A remarkable Circumſtance there happened on this occaſion, that may ſhew you, my *Cleanthes*,

[k] The *Athenians* were not forced to abandon the *Egyptian* War, until the end of the 4th Year of the 80th or the Beginning of the 1ſt Year of the 81ſt Olympiad.

[l] Theſe Tranſactions ſeem to have been in the Spring, before the 3d Year of the 80th Olympiad was cloſed.

Cleanthes, how unhappy to a State is the Spirit of Faction and Diſcord. *Cimon*, though an Exile, could not know there was Danger to his Country without ſharing it; on the Day of Battle he took his place, completely armed, among thoſe of his Tribe: but the oppoſite Party having raiſed a Clamour, and pretending that a Man, whoſe Heart was for *Sparta*, muſt not be truſted, *Cimon* thought it more expedient to retire, having nevertheleſs firſt addreſſed himſelf to his Companions, in number about an hundred, and beſought them, that they would on that Day behave in ſuch a manner, as to wipe off the unkind Aſperſion, and prove to *Athens* that there was neither Treachery in *Cimon* nor in his Friends. They replied by requeſting that, ſince he was not permitted to lead them the way to Victory, he would at leaſt leave his Armour with them; which having placed in the midſt of their little Body, they charged among the thickeſt of the Enemy, and, after many ſignal Exploits, were all ſlain.

Clean. What gallant Men, dear *Eudoxus!* *Cimon* now ſurely ſtood acquitted.

Pal. Pericles ſoon perceived that the Tide of popular Humour bore no longer againſt him, that they began to compaſſionate his Misfortunes, and ſpoke of his Loyalty with Rapture; and therefore, to make a ſhew of his own Candour, he affected to become his Advocate, and ſome time after drew up himſelf an Act for reverſing the Decree of Baniſhment.———But we forget *Tanagra.* That Victory was to the *Spartans* the cauſe of much exultation, and encouraged them to vindicate ſome portion of that Sovereignty, from which they were fallen; they therefore received the *Thebans* under their Protection; and, that there might be a Power without

without the *Iſthmus* able to make head againſt *Athens*, they inveſted *Thebes* with all the Privileges, which ſhe had forfeited on account of her infamous Defection to the *Perſians*, reſtored her to her antient Dignity, and appointed her the Preeminence over all the *Boeotian* States. An Inſult of this nature the *Athenians* could not bear; they immediately aſſembled together what Army they could, marched into *Boeotia*, attacked the *Thebans* and their Allies, though ſuperior far in Strength, and obtained an entire Victory [m]. This is ſpoken of by ſome Hiſtorians as one of the moſt glorious the *Athenians* ever obtained. *Myronides*, who commanded on this occaſion, knew how to make a proper uſe of his Succeſs; he ſtormed *Tanagra*, and laid it in Ruins, as if it had been a Crime in that City even to have been Witneſs of the Defeat of his Countrymen; he ravaged all *Boeotia*, and beat a ſecond Army which the *Boeotians* brought together; obliged the *Locri* of *Opus*, to give him Hoſtages; and then, entering *Theſſaly*, ſeverely chaſtiſed the Inhabitants for their perfidious Deſertion.

This courſe of Proſperity, you may judge, did not leſſen the Ambition and Pride of the *Athenian* People; the following Year *Tolmides* offered, with a ſmall force to invade even *Laconia* itſelf. The Propoſal was accepted; and he accordingly, after having made Deſcents on ſeveral parts, and committed much Devaſtation, took alſo *Gythium*, and burnt it, with all the Shipping and Naval Stores that were in it. He then reduced *Zacynthus*; and paſſing over from thence to *Naupactus*, ejected the *Locri Ozolae*, whoſe it was, and ſettled the exiled *Meſſenians* in their ſtead.

Secondly

[m] In the 4th Year of the 80th Olympiad.

Scarcely had *Tolmides* left the *Peloponneſian* Coaſt, when *Pericles* [n] with an other Fleet and freſh Troops continued to ravage the deſolated Country, taking, plundering, and burning whatever Places he attempted. Nor indeed did the *Spartans* make oppoſition. Continual Loſſes and a long waſting War had broken their Spirit; and they did not even dare to appear before an Enemy, under whoſe Banners *Victory* ſeemed now to have taken up her Abode.

Clean. How terrible you ſpeak the *Athenians* at this juncture?

Pal. Cimon, that excellent Man, beheld with deep concern theſe fatal Triumphs, which gave preſent Empire to *Athens*, but at the ſame time brought Deſolation and Weakneſs on *Greece* in general. He endeavoured to inſpire his Fellow-Citizens with better Thoughts, and to put an end to theſe ruinous Invaſions. At length his Remonſtrances had effect; he was ſo happy as to conclude a Five-Years Truce [o] between *Athens* and *Sparta*, and to engage the *Athenians* rather to ſeek glory by weakening the common Enemy of *Greece*. Purſuant to this Advice, it was determined to attack the *Barbarians*; and for this Purpoſe was a powerful Force with a Fleet of two hundred Galleys appointed, under the Command of *Cimon*. Part of theſe he immediately ordered to *Egypt*, where the *Athenian* Fortune had undergone a ſtrange Revolution. In the Beginning their Succeſs had been great: they had defeated all that appeared againſt them; and, in one Battle only, had ſlain an

[n] *Tolmides* was on his expedition in the end of the firſt and beginning of the ſecond Years of the 81ſt Olympiad; the following Spring *Pericles* ſet out.——It appears from *Plutarch* that *Sophocles* the Poet was joined in commiſſion with *Pericles*.

[o] The 2d Year of the 82d Olympiad, Vide *Dodwell*.

an hundred thouſand of the *Barbarians* with *Achaemenides* Brother to the Great King, and his General in thoſe Parts: ſo that the total loſs of *Egypt* ſeemed to follow; and ſuch were the apprehenſions of *Artaxerxes*, that he even ſollicited the *Spartans* with the offer of immenſe Wealth, to invade the *Attic* Territories, and oblige that enterpriſing people to abandon *Egypt*. Indeed their circumſtances at home did not permit them to comply at this time, the *Meſſenian* revolt diſtreſſing them ſorely [p]. However the *Egyptian* affairs had ſoon an other aſpect: abler Commanders with more numerous Forces were ſent in the room of *Achaemenides*, the *Athenians* were preſſed, their Ships deſtroyed, their Troops waſted, and, in a word, the remains of this once victorious Army were moſt of them diſperſed and loſt in the *Lybian* Wilds, through which they endeavoured to make their way back to *Greece*. *Inarus*, who had encouraged the Rebellion, was alſo taken, and crucified. *Amyrtaeus* eſcaped; he fled to the *Fens*, to the Iſland of *Elbo* [q], where he ſtill maintained a ſhew of Sovereignty, and a languid kind of War. And part of his Ships did *Cimon* now ſend to his aſſiſtance [r]. With the remainder he ſailed to *Cyprus*, and took *Malus*, and *Citium*; from thence he went in ſearch of the *Phoenician* Fleet, and having defeated them, makes to the Coaſt of *Cilicia*, lands his Men, engages, and beats the Army

[p] It is certain, that the *Spartans* did not attempt a War againſt the *Athenians* at this time; but it is as certain, that they urged the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians* to attempt it. May it not be ſuppoſed that the *Perſian* was not entirely unſucceſsful?

[q] Vide *Herodot.* in *Euterpe*.

[r] Towards the beginning of the 3d Year of the 82d Olympiad.

under *Megabyzus*, that was encamped there; and ſailing back to *Cyprus*, lays ſiege to the Capital of the Iſland. Thus attacked on every ſide, in *Cilicia*, in *Cyprus*, in *Egypt*, by Sea, by Land, and that by a People, whoſe very name had terror in it, and led on by a General, whoſe former exploits were but too well remembered, the humbled *Perſian* at length ſued for Peace. The death of *Themiſtocles*, which alſo happened at this time, on whom was *Artaxerxes*'s whole dependence, contributed not a little to confirm him in this thought; he gave directions to his Lieutenants to conclude it on any conditions; and accordingly they were ſuch, as ſufficiently ſhew what the *Athenians* were in thoſe glorious days. *The* Greek *Cities of* Aſia, *were all declared free, and independent. The* Perſians *were not to preſume to ſend an armed Force within three days journey of the ſea: Nor were any of their Ships of War to ſail from the* Cyanean *rocks at the entrance of the Black ſea, to the* Chelidonian *Iſlands, which lay off the* Pamphylian *coaſt.* And on theſe conditions did the *Athenians* ſtipulate that, *neither would they invade any of the Provinces of that Empire.* From thoſe days, never did the *Perſians* attempt more to ſubdue *Greece* by Arms; they found out a method leſs hazardous; they employed intrigue and golden bribes; they encouraged jealouſy and contention among the ſeveral States, and, by aſſiſting one againſt the other, waſted the ſtrength of all. Whilſt this treaty was concluding, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, as it were, in the arms of Victory[s]. When he found his end approaching, he called the principal Commanders, and made it his

[s] This memorable Peace was concluded, and *Cimon* died, the 4th Year of the 82d Olympiad.

his laſt requeſt, that they ſhould conceal his death, and ſail homeward, leſt, if known to the Enemy at that juncture, it might prove prejudicial to his Country.——

I think, *Cleanthes*, I need not enlarge much on the character of this excellent Man; you have ſeen him in War, in Peace; in the one, a faithful upright Miniſter, and, except that unhappy proſeſution of *Themiſtocles*, in which he had too great a ſhare, a ſtranger to all the mean arts, in which Ambition is converſant. And what moſt deſerveth our admiration, never did man love his Country with more ſincere affection; he loved her for her own ſake; he loved her, with a view not to make *himſelf* great, but in order to make *her* proſperous and happy; he oppoſed her vanity, he blamed her oppreſſions, he thwarted her froward humours, even at the expence of his own ſafety; and, to the utmoſt of his power, ſaved her from the guilt and ſtain of domeſtic blood. In War likewiſe, he had all the abilities, calmneſs, and reſolution, that denominate the Heroe: never did Man fight more ſucceſsfully, never did Man make a better uſe of ſucceſs. And with all this, the nobler feelings of the heart were his; he had every virtue, of which his Piety to his Father had given an early preſage; merciful, generous, melting at the diſtreſſes of his Fellow-Creature, and happy in the Goods of fortune, only becauſe they gave him an opportunity of making others happy.

Clean. What a Man!——how did *Athens* repair the loſs of this extraordinary Perſon?

Pal. Repair it, *Cleanthes!*——the misfortunes that followed prove abundantly, that ſuch a loſs was not ſo eaſily to be repaired. The *Athenians* no longer remembered the affectionate Counſel he

had often given to them, *not to oppreſs and deſtroy, but to heal and unite: Pericles*, whom I mentioned to you, choſe another plan of Government. He was a Man, tho' in Arms as great as *Cimon*, and as to brightneſs of parts and fine improvements of mind far greater, yet in moſt other reſpects the reverſe of him; ſacrificing his Country to his ambition, laviſhing away the riches of the State to obtain the ſuffrages of the multitude, ſeeking to eſtabliſh his power even on the ruins of the Public Weal, and ſcheming deſtructive Wars that he might avail himſelf of the confuſion. The fatal influence of this kind of ſpirit was ſoon felt. The *Phocians* had made ſacrilegious attempts on thoſe of *Delphi*, and had ſeized on the *Pythian* temple; and the *Lacedemonians* ſupported the *Delphians*, and had marched to their relief; this was cauſe ſufficient to call the *Athenians* forth to arms; they immediately declared themſelves the friends of *Phocis*, and aſſiſted in oppreſſing the *Delphic* people[t]: and this, the five-years truce ſtill ſubſiſting; but both they of *Sparta* and they of *Athens* diſavowed their being Principals in the War, and ſo, by a cobweb-diſtinction, was the Compact of peace ſuppoſed entire. This is known by the name of *the ſecond Sacred War*. Other wrongs, and other expeditions now followed, as it were, on the heels one of an other. *Boeotia* was again invaded, but with ill ſucceſs; for *Tolmides* having raſhly adventured was ſlain, and his Army routed, nor did the *Athenians* recover their Priſoners, until they had ſolemnly renounced all Sovereignty over the *Boeotian* Cities[u]. The revolt of *Euboea* brought on

[t] Olymp. 83d. 1ſt. Year.
[u] Olymp. 83d. 2d. Year.

on new troubles; and juſt as *Pericles* had paſſed over into that Iſland, the news of the defection of the *Megareans* obliged him to haſten back to the defence of *Attica*. It ſeems the *Megareans*, impatient of the inſolence and oppreſſion, with which the *Athenians* treated their confederates, had abandoned that alliance, and joined in friendſhip with *Sparta*. And the *Spartans*, the truce being now expired, openly eſpouſed the cauſe of *Megara* [w], and were on their march under the command of *Pliſtoanax* towards the *Attic* frontiers.——This *Pliſtoanax* I had not hitherto occaſion to mention to you: he was ſon to the famed *Pauſanias*, and had ſucceeded to the Throne, in the room of his couſin *Pliſtarchus*, who died without iſſue.——Such a ſtate of affairs might have diſtreſſed a leſs able Stateſman; but *Pericles* was ingenious in finding out reſources; by a preſent properly applied he checked the martial ardor of the young King, and the *Spartans* were made to retreat without fighting. It is ſaid that ten talents effected this.

Clean. What then,——the *Spartans* were to be corrupted?

Pal. This is not the only inſtance to be met with. *Leotychides*, *Pauſanias*, and many others, ſhew us, that the luſt of riches had wrought its way into *Sparta*, notwithſtanding the ſtrong ramparts *Lycurgus* had raiſed againſt it. However, *Pliſtoanax* was baniſhed. The receſs of the *Spartans* left *Pericles* at leiſure to purſue the *Euboean* War, which he did with great vigour; ſo that having in a ſhort time reduced the whole Iſland, he modelled the Government anew, eſtabliſhed a Democracy,

[w] Olymp. 83d. 3d. Year.

Democracy, and entirely ejected the People of *Hiſtiaea*, who had been foremoſt in the defection. Soon after a truce was concluded with *Sparta* for thirty years.

Pericles was now raiſed to that high ſummit, which his ambitious hopes had long had in proſpect: *Athens* was become the terror and admiration of all the Nations around; her Dominion reached from the *Euxine* to the *Cretan* Sea, and from the Coaſts of *Aſia* to the *Ionian* Gulph; mighty Potentates courted her friendſhip; ſhe numbered ſcarcely leſs than an hundred States among her tributaries; and this ſplendor of Empire he enjoyed; he was ſole at the head of this powerful Commonwealth; and all the perſons, who could either have ſhared his honours, or counter-acted his deſigns, were no more; *Tolmides*, *Myronides*, were dead; *Ephialtes*, that uſeful friend of his, had been aſſaſſinated by the contrary party; the Nobles were all humbled, and *Thucydides*, the laſt of them that durſt ſtand againſt him, had been baniſhed by ſentence of Oſtraciſm, and had obtained leave to return, only on condition that he ſhould no longer oppoſe his meaſures. The People likewiſe, that haughty high-ſpirited People, he had charmed into ſubjection. His irreſiſtible eloquence, his gratifying them by leading out frequent colonies of the pooreſt, and aſſigning them rich poſſeſſions; his largeſſes out of the treaſury; the ſumptuous ſhews, the muſical and ſcenical entertainments of all kinds, which he exhibited to them; the ſplendid ornaments, with which he enriched their City, Temples, Baths, Porticoes, Theatres, Statues, Paintings; all theſe, though at the ſame time the very ſubſtance and vitals of the State were laviſhed out for the execution of them, gained him the love of a People,

a People, too much addicted to Pomp and Elegance, and extreme admirers of Works of taſte and delicacy. Then beſides, this public magnificence was imitated by private perſons; the houſes of *Athens* were become Palaces; and her Citizens, Princes; every where was profuſeneſs gaining ground, in their dreſs, in their feaſts, in their furniture, in their equipages; theſe vicious Manners were uſeful to *Pericles*, they rendered the *Athenians* needy, and dependent, and thoſe of higheſt birth, inſteed of forming intrigues againſt him, were rather employed in finding out means for luxury. Indeed it muſt be acknowledged, in ſome things, he had the real ſtrength of *Athens* in view; the Walls, five miles in length, which joined the *Pirean* Harbour to the City, were raiſed by him; and to his Glory is it recorded that he incloſed the whole *Thracian Cherroneſus* by ſtupendous Works, which effectually ſecured the *Athenian* Colonies that were ſeated there, againſt the inroads of the bordering Nations; nevertheleſs, for the moſt part, little elſe did he conſult beſides ſhew and ornament[x]. 'Tis hardly to be conceived what vaſt Sums he expended in this manner during his Adminiſtration, that is, within the compaſs of fifteen Years[y], for ſo long a time did he govern ſolely; and what various Works he planned and completed, all of them, ſay Hiſtorians, of exquiſite deſign and finiſhed beauty: ſo that, if *Plutarch* may be believed, all the Ornaments and Structures of *Rome*, to the time of the *Caeſars*, had nothing to compare, in greatneſs either of Deſign or of Expence,

[x] Vide *Plat.* in *Gorg.* et *Alcibiad.* Et *Ciceron.* de Officiis, L. 2.

[y] He was forty Years in the adminiſtration, but only during fifteen of theſe was he in the full enjoyment of power.

Expence, with the luſtre of thoſe, which *Pericles* only erected at *Athens*.

Eud. Hiſtory, I thought, made more honourable mention of him——Is he not ſpoken of by ſeveral writers as a Man of great virtue, and integrity unblemiſhed?

Pal. True, *Eudoxus*; and in ſome meaſure, deſervedly: his own Manners were frugal, ſtrict, reſerved; his hands uncontanimated by iniquitous gains; and of all that immenſe wealth, which he adminiſtred, none of it was he ever known to apply to the encreaſe of his private fortune, or to the ſupport of his private exceſſes. Thus far he ſtands unimpeached. But then, his guilt was of an other nature: he ſought to govern *Athens*; for this purpoſe he opened the Exchequer to the craving multitude, he gratified their paſſions, he fed their voluptuouſneſs, he multiplied their wants. He had not avarice, he had not luxury, but, what proved far worſe, he had Ambition. The very Virtues, which he had, undid his Country. It was his Coolneſs of judgment improved by temperate living, it was his Brightneſs of parts cultivated by Philoſophy and Retirement, that rendered him the more dangerous; and by theſe Arts he raiſed himſelf to Power. How great it was, judge from the following inſtance. *Pſammeticus* of *Egypt* had ſent a preſent of Corn to the *Athenian* People, when *Pericles*, to indulge his reſentment againſt *Cimon*'s Family, whoſe Children were by an *Arcadian* Woman, preferred a law, whereby all thoſe, who were not of *Athenian* blood both by father and mother, ſhould be disfranchiſed. This cruel Ordinance had he the hardineſs to propoſe, and the People the ſervility and tameneſs to ſubmit to. It is ſaid, that under colour of this Law near five thouſand were adjudged

adjudged Slaves. One curious particular has been delivered down to us by means of this memorable ordinance, and that is, that the *Athenian* Citizens, polled on this occaſion, amounted to no more than fourteen thouſand and forty [z].——So ſmall a People, and riſen to ſuch an height of Empire——what a prodigy, *Eudoxus!*

Clean. But, *Palaemon*, muſt not the introducing of theſe luxurious Arts have relaxed the martial temper of the *Athenians*, and encouraged the States around to attempt their deſtruction?

Pal. Pericles knew well the fatal tendency, and was too wiſe a Politician not to provide againſt it. Every year he equipped a fleet of eighty Galleys, manned with the choſen youths of *Athens*, and theſe he ſent to cruize in the *Grecian* Seas; to awe the tributary States; to viſit the *Athenian* Colonies, and protect them againſt the attempts of foreign Powers [a]; to make ſhew of the *Athenian* Strength; and to impreſs terror and reverence on diſtant Nations; ſo that, by theſe means, even in the midſt of ſplendor and opulence, were military order and naval ſkill preſerved. The *Athenians* ſoon had occaſion to exert both.

Clean. What——new Wars?

Pal. Near the *Aſiatic* coaſt was *Samos*, a rich fertile Iſland, and inhabited by one of the moſt powerful Nations in thoſe parts. A War broke out between the *Samians* and thoſe of *Miletus* concerning the City of *Priene* [b]; and the *Mileſians* being worſted applied to *Athens* for aſſiſtance, and

[z] Vide *Plutarch.* in *Pericle.*

[a] It was in one of theſe expeditions, that he cauſed the *Cherroneſus* to be incloſed.

[b] In the 4th Year of the 84th Olympiad; and the *ſixth* of the Truce with *Sparta.*

with them, certain of the *Samians* alſo, who diſliked the *Ariſtocratical* government, then eſtabliſhed at *Samos*. Both theſe States, were under the protection of *Athens*: the *Athenians* therefore commanded them to deſiſt from all farther hoſtilities, and wait their deciſion. But the *Samians*, who were already victorious, refuſing to obey, War was immediately denounced againſt them, and *Pericles* had orders to chaſtiſe the rebellious *Iſlanders*. He performed this without much difficulty; their chief Cities were taken, their Laws abrogated, a Democracy introduced, a Garriſon ſet over them, and fifty Perſons of diſtinction with as many children of noble Birth delivered to him as hoſtages. It appears that the *Samians* omitted no means to ſoften the mercileſs Conqueror; they humbled themſelves, they entreated, they offered large ſums; even *Piſsuthnes* Governor of *Sardis* interceded in their behalf, and would have paid ten thouſand pieces to have obtained their pardon — but all to no purpoſe—*Pericles* was inexorable. Theſe violent proceedings had the effect which violent proceedings always have; *Pericles* being departed, the oppreſſed Party roſe in arms, ejected the *Athenian* Soldiers, recovered their hoſtages, and reeſtabliſhed their antient government. The news of this ſoon reached *Pericles*, and ſcarcely had this revolution taken place, when he appeared again before *Samos*, which he beſieged by ſea and land. They nevertheleſs defended themſelves vigorouſly; and *Pericles* having been obliged to ſail away with part of his fleet, in order to fight the *Phoenicians*, who were coming to the aid of the *Samians*, they took the opportunity of his abſence, and, ſallying out, defeated the Forces he had left behind. But this was only a gleam of ſucceſs: he returned

turned victorious; and the unhappy *Samians*, deprived of all hopes of ſuccour, were after a nine months ſiege obliged to ſurrender; their Walls were demoliſhed, their Shipping taken away, and a ſevere fine, equal to the expence which the *Athenians* had ſuſtained, impoſed on them.

The ſucceſs of this War ſo fatal to a State, in might and martial virtue accounted equal almoſt to *Athens* herſelf, contributed only to render the *Athenians* more haughty, and more envied.——— The confederate Nations beheld with horror *that City*, which was once the Protectrice of Liberty and the Champion of *Greece*, threatening devaſtation to all, who durſt refuſe obedience to her commands.

Clean. And were the *Athenians* ſo loſt to all the generous ſentiments, for which they were celebrated of old?

Pal. Why, my *Cleanthes*, it is wonderous, how much *luxury* ſpoils the heart. But however, ſome there were in *Athens*, eſpecially after this Cataſtrophe of the *Samian* State, who openly avowed their deteſtation of theſe violent meaſures. And *Plutarch* tells us, that on the very day, on which *Pericles*, according to the ſolemn cuſtom, pronounced the Oration in honour of thoſe, who had fallen in this war, as he was deſcending from the Orator's place, amidſt the acclamations of multitudes, numbers even of the *Athenian* Ladies crouding about him and crowning him with garlands, *Elpinice* ſiſter to *Cimon* had the reſolution publicly to reproach him with his deſtructive victories, *obtained*, ſaid ſhe, *not againſt the natural enemies of our Country, in wars ſuch as my brother* Cimon *waged, but againſt a City in alliance with us, inha-*

bited by a People, ſprung from the ſame ſtock, and ſpeaking the ſame language.

Nevertheleſs, the ſplendor of theſe conqueſts, a *ſplendor*, in which indeed every People is but too apt to place their Glory, ſtill preſerved to *Pericles* much favour and admiration; and he continued as before, adding to the domeſtic magnificence of *Athens*, and rendering her reſpected and feared abroad. Thus affairs went on, till at length the growing vanity, the haughtineſs, and ambition of the *Athenians*, on the one hand, and the envy and various reſentments of the *Grecian* States, on the other, brought on a war, which tried the ſtrength of this ſpecious *Fabric*, and has left to ſucceeding Ages this inſtructive leſſon, that *there is not any Empire can be laſting, but what is founded in Moderation, Juſtice, and Virtue.* The *Peloponneſian War* I mean, one of the moſt intereſting we read of, whether we conſider the *duration*, or the *iſſue* of it, whether the *reputation* and *martial ſkill* of the Nations that contended, or the *earneſt ſtruggle*, with which the victory was contended for.—— Favour me with your attention ſome minutes longer, and you ſhall hear a detail of the Events, that opened the way to this revolution of things.

In *Illyricum* on the *Ionian* Gulph, you may remember, was *Epidamnus*, a City founded by the *Corcyreans* [c]. Some civil diſſentions having involved the *Epidamnians* in an inteſtine war, the weaker party addreſſed themſelves in ſuppliant manner to thoſe of *Corcyra*, and afterwards, the *Corcyreans* not regarding their ſuit, to *Corinth*, the Foundreſs of the *Corcyrean* people. The *Corinthians*, in conſequence of the rights uſually claimed by a Parent-State

[c] See Dial. 5. P. 214.

State over its ſeveral Colonies, received the Suppliants under their protection, vindicated *Epidamnus* from the inſults of the oppoſite faction, and ſent thither a new ſupply of inhabitants. This ſeemed a grievous indignity to the *Corcyreans*, who, encreaſed in power, had long ſince diſdained any *filial* dependance on *Corinth*: they immediately laid ſiege to *Epidamnus*; and at the ſame time appointed an Embaſſy to the *Corinthians*, to require, that they ſhould withdraw all protection from a City, in the government of which they had no concern. But the *Corinthians* refuſing to comply, and ordering a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Beſieged, the *Corcyreans* met them off the Promontory of *Actium*, defeated them [d], forced *Epidamnus* to ſurrender, put to the ſword all the *Epidamnians* that were found in it, and made the *Corinthians* priſoners of war; and being now maſters at ſea, infeſted, ravaged, and burnt ſeveral Colonies and Confederate Cities of *Corinth*, that lay on the *Ionian* Gulph. Exaſperated by theſe injuries, not leſs than by the wrongs done to the oppreſſed *Epidamnians*, the *Corinthians* renewed their preparations, raiſed troops in divers parts of *Greece*, and equipped a Navy much more powerful than the former. Theſe formidable Armaments obliged the *Corcyreans* to deviſe new means of defence; they deputed Embaſſadors to *Athens* to ſollicit an Alliance, and to demand aid. Nor were the *Corinthians* idle ſpectators of this important attempt; their

[d] This happened in the eleventh year of the truce between *Athens* and *Sparta*, the 2d of the 86th Olympiad. The two following years were ſpent in preparations for War, ſo that the Engagement, in which the *Athenians* had ſhare, was not until the 4th Year of the above Olympiad,——or about the opening of the 87th.

their Embaſſadors followed thoſe of *Corcyra*, and employed their utmoſt induſtry to traverſe the negotiation, urging, that there was peace between *Athens* and *Corinth*, and that the *Athenians* could not make a league with *Corcyra*, without departing from the terms of the treaty then ſubſiſting. And at firſt the Plea of *Corinth* was favourably received; but afterwards, political conſiderations intervening, it was determined to conclude an alliance with the *Corcyreans*, by which both States engaged, in caſe either was attacked, mutually to defend each other. The conſequence of this was a *Corinthian* War. For a Squadron of *Athenian* Ships having joined the *Corcyrean* Fleet, and an engagement enſuing between the *Corcyreans* and *Corinthians*, they of *Athens* not only aſſiſted the *Corcyreans*, as the battle preſſed hard on them, but alſo *officiouſly* ſought out and aſſailed the *Corinthians*. And ſoon after were orders alſo ſent from *Athens* to *Potidaea*, a tributary City of theirs on the *Thermaic* Gulph, whoſe faith they ſuſpected, becauſe it was originally a *Corinthian* Colony, and annually received its Magiſtrates from *Corinth*, to demoliſh their walls on the ſide towards *Pallene*, to eject their Magiſtrates, and give hoſtages. The *Potidaeans* endeavoured much to deprecate this rigorous ſentence; but finding that entreaties were ineffectual, they reſolved to diſavow all ſubmiſſion to *Athens*, and to abide any hazards, rather than to be thus deſpoiled of their liberties. *Perdiccas* of *Macedonia*, it is ſaid, who was extremely jealous of the *Athenian* power, and who complained of many wrongs ſuffered by him, encouraged the defection of the *Potidaeans*.——This, you may judge, brought on a war alſo in thoſe parts;

parts; the *Athenians* aſſerted their right of Dominion, and *Potidaea* was inveſted.

Such bold attempts alarmed moſt of the *Grecian* States——*Corinth*, the barrier of *Peloponneſus*, and its only protection by ſea, attacked——*Potidaea* beſieged——*Macedonia* threatened —— and what was yet far worſe, *Athens*, already ſo formidable, ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the *Corcyreans*, a People, brave, and mighty in naval force——all theſe things were thought to have a dark lowering aſpect. A general Aſſembly therefore of the ſeveral States, that apprehended danger to themſelves, the *Boeotians*, the *Megareans*, the *Locri Ozolae*, and *they* of *Opus*, the people of *Ambracia*, and *Leucate* and *Anactorium*, the *Arcadians*, the *Eleans*, the *Pellenians*, was held at *Sparta*, where the *Corinthians* in the moſt pathetic manner repreſented, *how dreadful the power of* Athens *was*, *how daring and active her Genius*, *how unjuſt and oppreſſive her dominion*; *the dependance and bondage with which* Greece *was menaced*; *and the neceſſity all the States there convened were under*, *of uniting forthwith in war againſt that haughty aſpiring people*, *whoſe ambition knew no bounds*, *and who fought and conquered*, *only with a view of tempting other enterprizes*, *and acquiring other conqueſts* [e]. This diſcourſe inflamed the minds of men, already prepared for angry counſels. And though certain *Athenians*, who happened to be then at *Sparta* in a public character, deſired to be heard in juſtification of what their Commonwealth had done, and with great energy ſet forth *the ſervices and exploits of the* Athenian *People*, *how gloriouſly they had obtained Empire*, *and how*

[e] See this Speech at length in *Thucydides*: nothing can give an higher Idea of the Power and Spirit of the *Athenian* People; and yet, we are told, an Enemy ſpoke this.

how juſt it was they ſhould endeavour to preſerve it; yet notwithſtanding, were their words little regarded: and ſcarcely was any thing to be ſeen in the Aſſembly, but *reſentment* and *indignation* and *defiance*. *Archidamus* alone, ſhewed himſelf prudent and diſpaſſionate; he was deſirous of moderating the heats, that prevailed among them, and would have brought them back to milder diſpoſitions. But to no purpoſe. It was the *Voice* both of the Council of the *Spartans*, and of the aſſembled States, *that the* Athenians *had violated the peace*; and Embaſſadors were ordered, in the name of the Confederated Powers to charge them with the infraction, and demand juſtice. The firſt that went —for, as you ſhall ſee; there were different Embaſſies—required, *that the Poſterity of thoſe, who had been execrated for pollution of Sanctuary in the days of* Cylon, *ſhould be baniſhed*. This was deſigned againſt *Pericles*, who, as I told you, by the maternal line was of the family of the *Alcmaeonidae* [f]. To this the *Athenians* anſwered by way of recrimination, challenging the *Spartans* to baniſh thoſe, who murdered the [g] *Helotae*, when they had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Neptune* at *Taenarus*; and to make atonement for the pollution of the temple of *Minerva*, in which *Pauſanias* had taken refuge. Other Embaſſadors followed after theſe, to injoyn them, *to raiſe the ſiege of*

[f] See above, P. 471. See alſo, concerning the Hiſtory of *Cylon*, and the *Alcmaeonidae*, Dial. 8. P. 308 and 353.

[g] Theſe *Helotae* were thoſe ſuſpected of having liſtened to the inſinuations of *Pauſanias*. See above P. 457 and 458. We learn from *Thucydides*, that the *Spartans* themſelves believed it was this Murder brought on them the Viſitation of the Earthquake, which laid *Sparta* in ruins—So cruel and heinous did it appear even in their eyes.

of Potidaea, *to reſtore the* Aeginetae *to their liberties, and to reſcind the decree againſt the* Megareans. For the *Megareans* having cut down a conſecrated Grove, and profaned the hallowed ground, the *Athenians* ſent an Herald to remonſtrate againſt the ſacrilege, who dying on his way thither, the *Megareans* were accuſed of having aſſaſſinated him: and on this account had it been decreed, that whoſoever of the *Megareans* was found in the territories of *Attica*, he ſhould be put to death; and every year was it given in commiſſion to the *Athenian* Generals, that they ſhould, twice, during the time of their command, make an inroad into the *Megarean* borders. Theſe Embaſſadors had not better ſucceſs than the former. And after theſe came a third Embaſſy, commanding them *to diſſolve the Empire they had uſurped, and to permit all the* Grecian *States to be governed according to their own Laws.*———Think, *Cleanthes*, with what temper of mind the *Athenians* received theſe inſulting Embaſſies. However, an aſſembly being convoked, there were ſome who propoſed making certain conceſſions: but *Pericles* by an Oration extremely artful and well-digeſted ſoon put an end to all thoughts of this kind. He ſhewed them, *what were the views of the* Peloponneſian *Confederates*; *that they intended not equal Government, but the humiliation and ruin of the* Athenian *power*; *that therefore it was neither the juſtice of the Decree againſt* Megara, *nor the ſubjection of the* Aeginetae, *they were now to contend for, but for the whole of their Authority and Dominion, which their Enemies were ſeeking to undermine gradually, and that from any conceſſion to their preſent demands they would only take occaſion to demand more.* At the ſame time he conjured them *not to lay blame on him, when they ſhould find themſelves*

ſelves involved in the calamities of war [h]; *he fore-warned them of the diſtreſſes, which* that *now approaching would naturally bring on, the Ravaging of* Attica, *and the Devaſtation of their Lands and Villas; but theſe,* he told them, *were poſſeſſions of ſmall concernment; whilſt the Seas were theirs, whilſt the Iſlands and Continents of* Thrace *and* Aſia *were open to them, whilſt they could at will ſpread deſolation through the Enemy's Borders, who, not having the ſame reſources, muſt feel infinitely more miſery, ſtill muſt the advantage be on the ſide of* Athens; *and that conſequently their wiſdom was to avoid a battle, for that the waſte of lands or houſes might eaſily be repaired, but that the loſs and deſtruction of men was utterly irreparable.* He then concluded, that *this Anſwer* ſhould be returned to the *Spartan* Deputies, *that the* Megareans *ſhould have admiſſion into the Ports and Markets of* Athens, *when the* Spartans *alſo conſented to admit into their Cities the* Athenians *and their Friends: that the Cities ſubject to* Athens, *which were free when the Peace was made, ſhould be diſcharged from all ſubjection, provided* Sparta *led the way, and reſtored all the States, which ſhe had inſlaved, to the full enjoyment of their Laws and Liberties: that the Conduct of the* Athenians *would by the ſtricteſt examination be found perfectly to conſiſt with the articles ſtipulated; and that as to the War, they neither ſought, nor feared it, but were ready to revenge the inſult on thoſe, who ſhould firſt dare to offer it.*——With this final anſwer the Embaſſadors

[h] This Speech is ſo exactly deſcriptive of the Calamities, which this War brought on *Attica*, that one is almoſt tempted to ſuſpect, that the Hiſtorian lent his aſſiſtance to the Orator. If *Pericles* really ſpoke the ſubſtance of what *Thucydides* has delivered, never did Politician judge more truly.

Embaſſadors departed; and military preparations were carried on throughout *Greece.*

Eud. But might not this War have been prevented on eaſy terms? There are Hiſtorians who ſay, that the *Peloponneſian* Powers would have been contented with much leſs, than their Embaſſadors were commiſſioned to demand.

Pal. So ſome have thought. Though indeed the jealouſies of moſt of the confederating States had long ſince, like fire pent up, been working for vent, and ſeeking to burſt out into a flame.—— However, no doubt but the *Athenians* were led on by ambitious views. Such, *Thucydides* himſelf tells us, were their motives for engaging in alliance with the *Corcyreans*; *the Fleets of* Corcyra *were to be a conſiderable addition to their maritime force*; *they were apprehenſive, leſt the* Corinthians *ſhould become too powerful by the reduction of ſuch a People*; *and they expected, that by ſupporting thoſe of* Corcyra *againſt them, they would have an opportunity of conſuming the vigor of* Corinth, *and ſinking her into a ſtate of ſubjection.* Then beſides, *that Iſland was conveniently ſituated for the conqueſt of* Sicily. For this vain fantaſtical hope did they pleaſe themſelves with. And great as their dominion already was, beyond what their natural ſtrength could well compaſs, yet a greater extent of dominion, and ſcarcely leſs than Univerſal Monarchy had they in proſpect.——*Pericles* alſo earneſtly urged on the War. 'Tis true, he was averſe from any attempt on *Sicily*: he was too wiſe a Politician to encourage the plan of diſtant conqueſts. But nevertheleſs, a War was become neceſſary to him. His Enemies were gaining ground. And he had already ſuffered deeply in the perſons of his Intimates and Friends, ſeveral of whom had fallen victims to the reſent-

ments of the adverſe faction. *Damon*, one of his moſt faithful Counſellors, a man of uncommon abilities, who under the profeſſion of *Muſic Maſter* to *Pericles* concealed the *Elegant Scholar* and *accompliſhed Stateſman*, had been baniſhed. His tutor *Anaxagoras*, an eminent Perſon as was in *Greece*, who, on account of his exalted notions concerning *the Supreme Former of the Univerſe*, obtained the name of *Anaxagoras the Intelligence* [i], was obliged to depart out of *Attica*. It ſeems, his opinion of the Heavenly Bodies did not agree with the ſuperſtitions of the Vulgar, and thence was a pretext taken for accuſing him of *Atheiſtical* tenets. Even *Phidias*, to whoſe happy Genius and maſterly hand *Athens* owed her nobleſt ornaments, and by whom the Statue of *Minerva*, one of the moſt celebrated works of Antiquity, had been executed, was impeached for defrauding the Public, and conſpiring againſt the liberties of his Country. The truth was, he had preſumed to introduce the Figure of *Pericles* among the Perſonages, which he had portrayed on the Shield of the Goddeſs. And ſome ſay, his enemies purſued him unto death, though it is more generally believed, that he was only ſentenced to baniſhment. But what wounded *Pericles* moſt ſenſibly, was the attack made on *Aſpaſia* of *Miletus*. *Aſpaſia*, *Cleanthes*, was the favourite Miſtreſs of *Pericles*, a Lady poſſeſſed of every power of pleaſing, and in whom, though accounted the fineſt Woman of her time, Beauty was the meaneſt accompliſhment: a quick lively apprehenſion, a ſurprizing depth of judgment, the moſt captivating eloquence, were hers; and theſe, improved by ſtudy, by philoſophical reſearches, by diſcourſing with

[i] *Anaxagoras* Νοῦς. See Dial. 2. P. 21. N. t.

with the beſt and wiſeſt men of *Athens*; ſo that *Pericles* had in her not only a Miſtreſs, he had a Counſellor, a Companion, a Friend, he adviſed with her in his moſt preſſing difficulties, and even when he was to harangue the People, ſkilled as he was in the arts of ſpeech, he was not aſhamed of taking inſtructions from the fair *Aſpaſia*. The oppoſite Party therefore made trial of their ſtrength by attacking her; they charged her with impiety, a charge, which it is likely her frequent converſations with the Philoſopher *Anaxagoras* rendered the more credible. This diſtreſſed *Pericles* beyond anything that had ever yet befallen him; he employed all his influence; he pleaded her cauſe; he in the moſt earneſt manner beſought himſelf the Judges in her behalf; and with difficulty ſaved her from condemnation.

His adverſaries now took courage, and a motion was made, that *Pericles* ſhould produce his accounts, and lay the ſtate of the Exchequer before the proper judges. This he was by no means prepared to do: for, though he never had appropriated to himſelf the Public Wealth, yet had he laviſhed away one third part of the funds [k] in wanton vain expences, in purchaſing the favour and applauſe of the Multitude. Uneaſy at theſe attempts, and doubtful of the conſequence, *Pericles* therefore determined

[k] It appears from *Thucydides* that there had been at one time in the *Acropolis* nine thouſand ſeven hundred talents, a Sum equal to one million eight hundred and ſeventy nine thouſand three hundred and ſeventy five Pounds Sterling; and that at the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War there remained only ſix thouſand talents, ſo that beſides the annual revenue of the State, none of which was laid up, *Pericles* had expended three thouſand ſeven hundred talents, including the charges of the ſiege of *Potidaea*, a Sum equal to ſeven hundred and ſixteen thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy five Pounds.——See *Arbuthnot*'s tables.

termined to plunge his Country into confuſion. 'Tis ſaid, that on a certain day as he was muſing concerning theſe matters, *Alcibiades*, then a Youth, and Ward to *Pericles*, aſked him, *Why ſo penſive?* and being anſwered by him, that he was ſtudying how to give in his accounts, *Rather*, replied the ſprightly young man, *ſtudy not to give in any account at all:* and it appears this was the advice *Pericles* followed. He flattered himſelf, that the complaints raiſed againſt him would ſcarcely be heard amidſt the din of War; and that his ſuperior abilities would then oblige the *Athenians* to follow and obey him; whilſt thoſe, who oppoſed him at preſent, and during the ſun-ſhine of peace aſſumed to themſelves the Character of important Leaders, would ſink into their former inſignificancy, as ſoon as the Day of danger came on.

DIA-

DIALOGUE THE TWELFTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

THE Hiſtory of *Athens* is an inſtructive leſſon to mankind. Never had the *Athenians* a more formidable ſhew of power, than at the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War. All the *Greeks* of *Aſia* from *Caria* to the *Helleſpont*, with the numerous Iſlands of the *Egean* Sea [1], were ſubject to them; a conſiderable part of the *Thracian* coaſt was theirs; and in *Greece*, the *Theſſalians*, the *Acarnanians*, the *Meſſenians* of *Naupactus*, the *Euboeans*, and *Corcyreans*, were joined with them in firm Alliance. No nation could compare with them in naval ſtrength. Their Wealth alſo was encreaſed greatly; and beſides what the culture of *Attica*, what their extenſive Commerce, and the tribute of the confederate States produced, they had alſo the rich mines of *Thrace* in their poſſeſſion [m]. Nothing was to be ſeen within the *Athenian* Walls but ornament and ſplendor; all the refined Arts flouriſhing

[1] *Melos* and *Thera* excepted.

[m] *Thucydides* (Vide Lib. 2.) ſays that the tribute from the confederate States amounted to ſix hundred Talents, or one hundred and ſixteen thouſand two hundred and fifty Pounds: in the days of *Ariſtides*, it amounted only to four hundred and ſixty Talents, or eighty nine thouſand one hundred and twenty five Pounds. And it appears from a paſſage in the *Veſpae* of *Ariſtophanes* that the whole annual Revenue of *Athens* was two thouſand Talents, or three hundred and eighty ſeven thouſand five hundred Pounds——See *Arbuthnot*'s tables.

ing in high perfection, Sculpture and Painting, Muſic and Poetry, Learning and Eloquence; and every day numbers arriving from every part of the earth to learn elegance and taſte from this improved People.——Who would think that the *Athenians* were now leſs great, than in the Days of *Miltiades?*——You remember, what their condition then was: the rugged barren ſoil of *Attica* was the extent of their territory; they were neither rich in Treaſure, nor ſtrong in Alliances; and a dreadful menacing War impended over them. And yet thoſe, *Cleanthes*, were her days of glory. Her Manners then were unbroken, and her Sons virtuous; they were an induſtrious, hardy, frugal Race, incapable of purchaſing even Life itſelf at the expence of Liberty and Honour, and placing their higheſt happineſs in the proſperity of their Country; therefore were they victorious. Whereas now, abundant Wealth and Exceſs of Power had corrupted them: they were become—abroad, imperious and arrogant,—at home, devoted to Pleaſures and idle Entertainments, and impatient of controll and ſage advice; their ambitious hopes compaſſing the Empire of the World, and their Leaders forgetting the Common Good for the ſake of private advantage. Theſe were the Evils that brought on the *Peloponneſian* War, and made it fatal to them.

Clean. But did the *Lacedemonians* in their oppoſition to *Athens* really intend the Weal of *Greece?*

Pal. The Weal of *Greece*, *Cleanthes!*——No—whatever they might pretend, it was the advancement of their own Empire, which they ſought. *Thucydides*, a moſt judicious and obſerving Hiſtorian, and who was himſelf a witneſs of the tranſactions

actions of those Days, tells us, that they had long beheld with envious eyes the Glory of the *Athenian* People, and gladly seized the opportunity of humbling this powerful Neighbour. The same Observation holds good as to all those engaged in this confederacy: the Faults of the *Athenians* furnished the excuse, but their own Jealousy and Ambition were the real incitements. The *Corinthians* were grieved at the naval strength of *Athens*. The *Boeotians* hated *her* reputation and exalted Character; *her* very Manners and Laws, the sprightly parts and delicacy of Genius for which *her* inhabitants were renowned, *her* generous Courage and Love of Liberty—all these were pain to them: they saw their own Country obscured by the comparison, and the *Theban* name rendered the meaner and more contemptible. And probably also the Gold of *Artaxerxes* was not wanting to bribe over to his interest the leading men in those several States, and engage their suffrages for a War. *Athens* was the Power he dreaded most, and if weakened, his Throne was the more firmly established. But nevertheless, had not the *Athenians* destroyed themselves by their domestic Follies and ill-digested Counsels: had they comported themselves towards their Confederates with that humanity and gentleness, which adorned the government of *Aristides* and *Cimon*; and had every Individual of them, like *Themistocles*, held his view steddy to the Public Good; neither would the Ambition of *Sparta*, nor the Jealousy of *Corinth*, neither the *Boeotian* hatred, nor the *Persian* gifts, have availed aught against them.

The War in *Greece* begun by an attempt on *Plateae*; the *Thebans* endeavoured to surprize

it [n]. You know, *Cleanthes*, how this brave People diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and what ſignal honours were decreed to them by the general voice of *Greece*. On this account the *Thebans* had long ſince ſought the deſtruction of this loyal City. The opportunity was now favourable: their cloſe amity with the *Athenians* offered a plauſible pretence; and certain of the *Plateans* themſelves, moved by ſome private diſcontent, had promiſed their aſſiſtance. A Party of the *Thebans* therefore entered *Plateae* by night; but the Citizens running to Arms, and defending themſelves with great reſolution, they diſappointed the purpoſes of the Enemy, took ſeveral of them Priſoners, whom they put to death, and obliged the reſt to conſult their ſafety by an ignominious flight. This happened the firſt year of the eighty-ſeventh Olympiad [o], and the fifteenth year from the concluſion of the peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*.———Soon as the *Athenians* had advice of this, troops were ſent to protect thoſe of *Plateae*, and the Women and Children were removed to *Athens*.

Clean. And was not this baſe attempt diſavowed by the Confederates?

Pal.

[n] It may ſuffice to take notice here, once for all, that throughout this Dialogue the *Plan of the Hiſtory* is taken chiefly from *Thucydides*, and, where he breaks off, from *Xenophon*; and the *Obſervations on Perſons* chiefly from *Plutarch*. To theſe have been added, as occaſion offered, *Plato*, *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, *Cicero*, *Juſtin*, *Cornelius Nepos*.

[o] It is to be obſerved that the Years of the *Peloponneſian* War are dated from Spring, or the firſt opening of Summer; and therefore take in the Cloſe of one and the beginning of the other Olympic Year. For the Olympic Year terminated at the Summer Solſtice, and it appears from *Thucydides* that the Attempt on *Plateae* was made on the laſt Day of the Month *Munychion*, which anſwers to our eighteenth Day of *May*.

Pal. On the contrary; the concern, which the *Athenians* ſhewed for their antient Allies, was interpreted as an inſult to *Sparta* and her friends; and orders were given to the *Spartan* King, forthwith to invade *Attica.*

Eud. Archidamus, I ſuppoſe, is the King you mean.———

Pal. Yes, *Archidamus*——he, who at the beginning had endeavoured to diſſuade his Countrymen from violent meaſures. He had ſtill the ſame unaltered zeal for the proſperity of *Greece*; and before he would commit hoſtilities, he diſpatched a meſſenger to try, whether a Negotiation could be ſet on foot, and this deſtructive War prevented. But *Pericles* preferred the intereſts of his Ambition to thoſe of his Country, and even refuſed audience to the *Spartan.* It is ſaid, that this Meſſenger being conducted out of *Attica* by certain Perſons, whom *Pericles* had appointed, in order that no man ſhoul confer with him, when he came to the limits, uttered theſe remarkable words, *This day is the beginning of much evil unto the* Grecians: and ſo departed. *Archidamus* with the Forces under him, amounting to ſixty thouſand men, marched on now towards the *Attic* Frontiers.

Clean. And could *Pericles* preſume to meet in battle ſuch a formidable enemy?

Pal. He acted with better policy. He obliged all thoſe, in the Villages, to leave the Country, and retire within the walls of *Athens:* the moſt valuable of their effects alſo, and moſt of their cattle were ſent off to the Iſland of *Euboea.*——Do you not perceive, *Cleanthes*, the reaſon of this conduct?——A battle, even if attended with victory, muſt have thinned his numbers, which were already but inconſiderable; and if loſt, moſt of the

confederates of the *Athenian* People would probably have fallen away from them.

Clean. What meaſures then did *Archidamus* purſue?

Pal. He laid waſte all the noble Improvements and fair *Villas*, with which ſo many years of opulence and peace had adorned *Attica*: the lands of *Pericles* only were left untouched. The *Spartan* General had given theſe directions, that he might bring into queſtion the faith of *Pericles*, and undermine the credit of that powerful Stateſman.

Clean. And did the Artifice ſucceed?

Pal. Pericles had early apprehenſions that ſome ſuch Stratagem might be employed againſt him; and to defeat the purpoſes of the *Spartan*, he had made known his conjectures to the People, and had given up his Eſtate to them. This happy precaution ſcreened him from all ſuſpicion of treachery.——But nevertheleſs it was not without great murmuring, that the *Athenians* beheld the devaſtation which their Country was expoſed to: fifty years had now elapſed, ſince *Attica* had felt the waſte of War; and they, who had ſo long been accuſtomed to ſecurity and eaſe, could but ill brook theſe domeſtic calamities, the flight of their families, the ravaging of their lands, the ruin of their coſtly Seats. Beſides, the City ſcarcely could contain the multitudes, that had crouded into it: not only the Porticoes, but even the Streets and Temples were filled with numbers, that had fled from before the enemy; ſo that the wretchedneſs of the proſpect from without was heightened by the diſtreſs within. In circumſtances ſuch as theſe, you may judge how little *Pericles* was ſpared, who remained *ſeemingly* an idle ſpectator of all this miſery,

ry, and ſuffered the *Spartans* to range about *triumphant* and *unmoleſted.*

Clean. And did not all this move *Pericles* to action?

Pal. The opportunity he waited for ſoon offered. He had equipped a Fleet of an hundred ſail; and when the Enemy, after much depredation committed, were preparing to return homeward, vain of their ſucceſs, and vaunting themſelves in the inactivity of the *Athenians*, he ordered his Galleys to make to the *Peloponneſian* coaſt, and ſpread fire and deſolation, where-ever they came. This method of repaying unto the *Spartans* the evils, they had done to *Attica*, juſtified *Pericles* in the opinion of his Countrymen.——Other vigorous ſchemes were now alſo put in execution. A ſecond Fleet was ſent into the *Euboean* Streights, and the coaſts of *Opuntian Locris* were laid waſte. *Aegina* was attacked, all the Inhabitants, men, women, and children, deprived of their native ſoil, and their lands aſſigned to a Colony of *Athenians*. And after this were the *Megareans* alſo invaded, and all their Country ravaged. Nor were theſe Expeditions the only means *Pericles* made uſe of to invigorate the *Athenian* Spirit; he had other Arts not leſs effectual. When the operations of the year were ended, he appointed Obſequies, ſuch as I mentioned to you yeſterday after the reduction of *Samos*, to be performed in honour of thoſe who had fallen in this War: and it appears from *Thucydides*, that every thing was put in practice, that might add to the dignity of the ſolemnity.——You will be glad, *Cleanthes* to hear what was the Form peculiar to this kind of Obſervance. For three Days were the Bones of the Dead laid out in a Tent or Pavilion prepared for the purpoſe, during which time flowers,

flowers, rich perfumes, and various offerings were ſtrewed over them. On the day of burial they were removed into *Cypreſs*-Coffins, one belonging to each tribe, and carried along in Hearſes with much gravity and awful pomp, to the *Ceramicum*, the faireſt of the *Athenian* Suburbs; for here, in a public Monument, were depoſited the Bones of thoſe, who had died in the defence of their Country [p]. The whole City from the higheſt to the loweſt attended the proceſſion; and at the Place of Interment was a commemorative Oration pronounced by ſome Perſon, whoſe Quality and known Abilities rendered him worthy of the important Office. On this occaſion the charge was aſſigned to *Pericles*. He was, I have told you, the moſt powerful Speaker of his time; but on this day he diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond what he ever had done, in ſuch a wonderful manner, that he entirely drew off the attention of the *Athenians* from the miſeries they had ſuffered, and made them find cauſe of exultation and triumph even in the loſs of their Brethren, their Kindred, their Friends. So admirably well did this great Politician underſtand how to touch the fineſt movements of the Soul; the *Athenians* themſelves, that nice delicate People, were ſubdued by the power of his Eloquence.

Eud. But did not the *Spartans* ſoon return?

Pal. They returned the enſuing Summer [q]. And *Pericles*, regardleſs of all that his Enemies could urge againſt him, purſued the ſame plan of abandoning the Country to the devaſtation of the Enemy.

[p] Thoſe excepted, who fell on the Day of *Marathon*: they had the ſingular honour of having Monuments erected to them on the very field of battle.

[q] Olymp. 87. 2.

my, and of ſparing the lives of his Soldiers, *which*, you know, t'was his Maxim, *were not to be reſtored again.* But beſides the War, the *Athenians* were this year afflicted with an other Evil far more dreadful. A Peſtilence, which had made its way from *Ethiopia* through *Egypt* and moſt parts of *Aſia*, reached *Athens*, where, aſſiſted by a fatal combination of cauſes, it ſoon roſe to ſuch an height as to baffle all remedies. For, in the firſt place, it was a ſultry ſeaſon, and the weather remarkably cloſe and ſuffocating: Then, the City was crouded with inhabitants, moſt of whom, accuſtomed to breathe the free rural air, were now confined in narrow unhealthy habitations: And beſides, the Waters were corrupted; the Proviſions ſcanty and indifferent: ſo that, all theſe things adding ſtrength to the infection, never was there deeper miſery, than this wretched City now experienced. Numbers tumbled one on the other, as they paſſed along; the public ways, the Porticoes, the very Temples, were filled with the *dying* and the *dead*; a putrid vapour exhaled from the tainted bodies, and poyſoned all that approached them; the offices of humanity were intermitted; the Maſter was avoided by his Domeſtics; the Parent left forlorn by his Children; the Friend forſaken by his Friend; and if any, more compaſſionate, indulged the tender ſervice, they ſoon caught the infection, and periſhed. The virulence alſo of the diſtemper was moſt uncommon. They, whom it ſeized, not only were racked with the acuteſt pains, they likewiſe laboured under a dejection of mind, which took away all ſoundneſs of judgment, and after ſome days they died in horror and extreme anguiſh: and of thoſe, who ſurvived it, ſcarcely were there any who had not ſome of their limbs diſabled, and their underſtandings impaired, the

diſtemper

diſtemper oftentimes leaving ſuch a tincture of its malignancy behind, as entirely effaced the traces and memory of all former occurrences.

Clean. Dreadful indeed!

Eud. Was it not on this occaſion that the famed *Hippocrates* came to *Athens?*

Pal. It was. This excellent perſon, *Cleanthes*, was a native of the Iſland of *Cos*, and for his ſuperior knowledge in medicine was juſtly eſteemed one of the greateſt men of his Days. *Artaxerxes* therefore, when firſt the Plague viſited his Dominions, ſent an invitation to him to paſs over to the *Perſian* Court, promiſing to reward him with much wealth and the higheſt honours. But the generous *Grecian*, to whom recompences ſuch as theſe were of little price, made anſwer, *that he owed his ſervices to his Country, and not to* Barbarians, *the avowed Enemies of* Greece. The *Perſian* Monarch bore impatiently this refuſal, and changed his tempting offers into outrageous menaces, which met with as little ſucceſs. In the mean time Meſſengers from *Athens* came to *Hippocrates*, who as ſoon as he heard of the diſtreſſes of *that City, the favourite Seat of Science and Arts*, haſtened thither. It were hardly poſſible to deſcribe to you with what ſignal humanity and affection he exerted his ſkill in favour of this afflicted People; he ſpared no labour; he omitted no office; neither the deadly Air, nor the diſguſting circumſtances of the infected, diſcouraged him. And to render his ſkill the more effectual, many were inſtructed by him in the means the moſt likely to reſtore the public health, and diſperſed through the different Quarters of the City[r].

Clean.

[r] *Hippocra.* de Epid.

Clean. What a bleſſing are great Abilities, when employed for ſuch glorious purpoſes!

Pal. The *Athenians* were not inſenſible of the benefit; they made him a Denizen of *Athens*, an honour which they had ſometimes refuſed even to Princes; they beſtowed on him a Golden Crown, and a Penſion for life; and it was decreed that thenceforth all the Natives of the Iſland, which had given birth to a man ſo great and good, ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges, as if *Athenians*--born.

Clean. Whilſt the Plague was raging thus, did not the *Lacedemonians* take advantage of the calamitous ſtate of the *Athenian* Affairs?

Pal. Why; you know they had entered *Attica*, but the dread of the Peſtilence obliged them to haſten homeward.

Eud. Was not *Pericles* however ſtill earneſt in the proſecution of the War?

Pal. Yes——amidſt all theſe domeſtic ſufferings was he buſied in martial preparations, probably to divert the attention of the People from the numerous Ills, that preſſed on them. Accordingly he equipped a large fleet, and ſailed away to *Epidaurus*; but the ſickneſs, that waſted his men, forced him to return in a ſhort time. Recruits alſo were ſent to the Army before *Potidaea*, and to as little purpoſe; for inſtead of encreaſing their numbers, they communicated the infection to the Camp, ſo that in the ſpace of forty days they loſt upwards of a thouſand men.

Clean. How could the *Athenians* bear up againſt this weight of misfortunes?

Pal. At length they began to ſink into doubts and diſpiritedneſs; and it was reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors to *Sparta* to ſue for peace.

Clean. The *Spartans*, I hope, embraced the opportunity.———

Pal. No, *Cleanthes:* they purpoſed the utter ruin of this envied City; and therefore was this rather an occaſion of triumph to them.

Clean. And poor *Athens?*———

Pal. The *Athenians* turned their vengeance on thoſe, who had engaged them in theſe deſtructive meaſures, and *Pericles* was called to an account. Hitherto his Eloquence had always brought him off victorious, it now proved too weak againſt the rage of a diſtracted People; he was deprived of his honours, and amerced fifty talents [s].

Clean. Did the removal of *Pericles* reſtore *Athens* to her Proſperity?

Pal. No---The Peſtilence was not yet abated, and the waſting war ſtill continued. However, towards the end of this year *Potidaea* ſurrendered. The Inhabitants had ſuffered themſelves to be reduced to extreme want, ſo as even to eat one the other, in expectation of ſuccours from *Sparta*; but, no ſuccours appearing, they at laſt offered to ſubmit on certain honourable conditions, with which the *Athenian* Commanders readily complied; they were glad to put an end to a ſiege, which had been attended with ſo much expence of Men and Treaſure.——Before this City was taken, there happened an incident which fully ſheweth, how inveterate was the enmity between the *Athenians* and *Spartans*. The *Spartans* had ſent Embaſſadors to *Artaxerxes* to ſollicit a ſupply of money for the ſupport of the War, and had given them inſtructions to make their way through *Thrace*, and to ſound the diſpoſitions of *Sitalces*, a Prince in alliance with the *Athenians*, and

[s] Or 9687. 10.

and endeavour to draw him off from their intereſts. There were at the ſame time Embaſſadors from *Athens* reſident at the Court of *Sitalces*, who, having found what the views of the *Spartans* were, obtained that they ſhould be delivered into their hands, and ſent them to *Athens*, where they were immediately put to death without even permitting them to ſpeak in their defence, and their bodies deprived of the Rites of ſepulture.

Clean. What a change in the minds of that humane People ? And how greatly were the *Spartans* alſo degenerated ! they, who in the days of *Leonidas* had bid defiance to all the Powers of *Perſia*, were now become fawning Suiters to the *Perſian* King, and Dependents on his Bounty.——

Pal. Such were the unnatural ſentiments this inteſtine War inſpired. The *Athenians*, it ſhould ſeem, muſt now have been much exhauſted by the tedious ſiege of *Potidaea*, as well as weakened by their calamities at home, nevertheleſs it appears that ere the year was ended, they engaged in new expeditions in divers parts of *Greece*. They ſent a fleet into the *Criſſean* Gulph to block up the *Corinthians*. They had alſo an Army in *Acarnania* to chaſtiſe the *Ambraciots*, who had attacked the *Acarnanians* the Allies of *Athens*. But theſe and ſuch like incidental operations I ſhall not dwell on ; the principal Events of the War are ſufficient to employ our attention.

At the beginning of the third year [t] was formed the memorable Siege of *Plateae* ; *Archidamus* marched againſt it, at the head of a powerful Army. In vain did that excellent People remonſtrate againſt the injuſtice of this : *they had been proclaim-*

[t] Olymp. 87. 3.

ed a free People by Pauſanias *the* Lacedemonian; *the Sacrifices to be offered for the common proſperity of* Greece *had been intruſted to them; their very territories had been declared ſacred to Liberty.* But theſe were weak reaſons to a Soldiery fired with civil rage, and who ſaw Victory courting them on; and *Archidamus* made anſwer, that they were not to expect mercy, except they would renounce all alliance with the *Athenians*, and give up their City and all their poſſeſſions to *Sparta*, until the War was at an end. Theſe terms the generous *Plateans* never could agree to: they looked on *Athens* as the Patroneſs of their Liberties; they had been inſeparably joined with her through all the dangers of the preceding War; and now were they determined to ſtand or fall along with her. Nevertheleſs, they diſpatched Meſſengers to *Athens* to know how they ſhould act; and the *Athenians* encouraged them to defend themſelves, and promiſed them aſſiſtance. When the *Spartans* found that the *Plateans* were determined to abide all hazards, rather than forſake their *Athenian* friends, they reſolved to ſignalize their vengeance againſt them, and earneſtly preſſed on the ſiege, attempting even to reduce the City to aſhes. Whilſt the Beſieged on their part fought with dauntleſs reſolution, and made uſe of every ſtratagem to defeat the purpoſe of their enemies. This behaviour of theirs obliged *Archidamus*, at the approach of Winter, to change the ſiege into a blockade; and having left ſome troops to guard the lines, he returned to *Sparta*.

Clean. But *Pericles*——is there to be no more remembrance of him?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*, his latter fortunes are not leſs intereſting than his former may have been. You have ſeen him fall from that *giddy* Height, to which his

his ambition had raiſed him; you have ſeen him purſued; mulcted; condemned to that, which his Soul of all things hated moſt, to a Life of diſgrace and obſcurity. And yet was this ruin of his Public Eſtate light in compariſon of the domeſtic Calamities, that overtook him. His eldeſt Son *Xanthippus* was carried off by the Plague, which ſtill ravaged *Athens*. However the loſs of him was not much to be deplored. He was an ill-diſpoſed young man, who had long ſince thrown off the band of filial duty, and was wont to treat even his father in the moſt opprobious manner, becauſe he would not furniſh means to his vicious deſires. But after him, the reſt of *Pericles*'s Family felt alſo the violence of the Diſtemper: he loſt his Siſter, his relations, his friends; and laſt of all, his Son *Paralus* died alſo, a youth of great hopes, and the only one that remained to him of all his lawful Iſſue. Hitherto, *Pericles* had borne all his adverſities with wonderous firmneſs; for he was a man, who affected an unconcern under the ſevereſt Ills: but this laſt Shock triumphed over his boaſted reſolution, and forced him to confeſs the feelings of human nature, inſomuch that when he attended the Obſequies of this darling Son, and was, according to cuſtom, to crown the pale Corſe with a Chaplet, in the midſt of the ſolemnity he burſt out into a flood of tears, and poured forth the bittereſt lamentations.

Clean. Affecting indeed!

Pal. So affecting, that it melted the very enemies of *Pericles*, and changed their reſentments into the tendereſt compaſſion. *Alcibiades* adviſed him to improve this friendly opportunity, and to engage again in public life, as the moſt effectual means of diſſipating the griefs, that hung over him.

Pericles

Pericles tried the experiment, and began to frequent the Aſſemblies of the People, who became now as urgent to re-eſtabliſh him in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, as they had been before to remove him from it.

Eud. Did they not alſo make a Law in favour of his illegitimate Offspring?

Pal. They did; or rather, they abrogated the Edict, which *Pericles* himſelf had made. You remember, how in the Days of his Proſperity [u], in order to indulge his hatred againſt the houſe of *Cimon*, he had procured a Law, by which, all Perſons, whoſe Parents were not both of *Athenian* blood, were declared *Aliens*; and how heavy this had fallen on many families. Obſerve, *Cleanthes*, what a warning is here to the vain and arrogant. *Pericles* was now obliged to ſollicit the repeal of a Law which left him childleſs: and by the ſuffrages of the People leave was given to him, to inſcribe among the Citizens of his tribe a Son, whom he had by a ſtrange Woman. Soon after this, *Pericles* died of the Peſtilence; and it was obſerved that this fatal diſtemper deſtroyed him in a manner different from all others; it was not a ſickneſs of ſome few days; but it conſumed him by a lingering ſlow decay. *Plutarch* alſo tells us that as it preyed upon his body, ſo likewiſe were the Powers of his mind waſted by it, this intrepid General and ſubtil Stateſman being at length transformed into a weak childiſh ſuperſtitious Bigot. The ſame Author however has recorded one remarkable circumſtance of his laſt moments, which ſhews, that he had at leaſt ſome lucid intervals. As he was drawing near his end, his friends, who aſſiſted around his bed, were numbering

[u] See Dial. 11th P. 488.

numbering up the many glorious events of his life, the Honours he had enjoyed, and the Victories he had won; when raiſing himſelf on a ſudden, "Strange," ſays he, "that you ſhould praiſe me "for things, in which fortune has had ſo large a "ſhare, and which many others have in common "with me, and that you ſhould forget that which "has been my peculiar happineſs, and which I "have by far the greateſt reaſon to glory in; *Never* "*did I give an* Athenian *cauſe to put on mourning.*

Clean. Truly, a noble boaſt!—but had *Pericles* juſt reaſon to ſpeak thus?

Pal. Undoubtedly, few men have made a ſoberer uſe of power; he had none of that ſuſpicious cruelty, from which Tyrants uſually ſeek their protection; the only Inſtruments he employed to ſupport himſelf were his Courteouſneſs; his Elegance; his Power of Perſuaſion; and he almoſt ſanctified his uſurpation by the gentleneſs and eaſe of his Government. But nevertheleſs I cannot ~~command~~ commend a man, who, though amiable in his private life, and great in his abilities, urged on the public ruin a man, who broke the Manners of the People—who taught them Luxury——and who alienated the affections of the Allies, by laviſhing away the common treaſure in advancing the pride and ornament of one City —— and, what is yet far more unpardonable, who, from ſelfiſh views, weakened the authority of the awful Court of *Areopagus*, and gave up the Commonwealth to the impetuous unthinking multitude —— who, rather than part with power, involved his Country in a domeſtic War, and ſuffered the *Grecians*, who were to be preſerved free, only by being united, to weaken and deſtroy one the other.——And nevertheleſs, as we yeſterday

terday obſerved [w], he is praiſed highly by ſeveral *Grecian* Writers.———But, my dear *Eudoxus*, is this ſurpriſing? Is it ſurpriſing, that they eſpecially, who lived near the times of *Pericles*, ſhould have ſpoken of him with admiration?——The Magnificence and Splendor, to which *Athens* had been advanced by him—his Perſonal Qualities---his Moderation---his Contempt of Wealth---his munificent Encouragement of the Arts, his Readineſs to reward, his Diſcernment in rewarding---his Endowments, ſo bright, ſo various; the *Philoſopher*, the *Stateſman*, the *Orator*, the *General*, combining in him——all theſe contributed to diffuſe a Glory around this eminent Perſonage. It was impoſſible, that they, who ſaw him in this advantageous light, ſhould not have admired him.——Then look on and ſee, what kind of Generals and Stateſmen ſucceeded, when he was no more----Is it ſtrange, that *Pericles* ſhould be praiſed and lamented, when compared with men like theſe?---who, however they might equal him in ambition, had---few of them his Integrity, ſcarcely any of them his Abilities, not one of them his Abilities and Integrity united: ſo that, the faults he committed being continued and rendered more dangerous by the Vices and Weakneſs of thoſe that came after, the Deſtruction of the State ſeemed not ſo much owing to the Schemes he had introduced, as to his not being ſtill alive to govern.

Clean. Who were theſe, who ſucceeded to *Pericles?*

Pal. The Perſons, who had the principal management of Affairs, whether Civil or Military, were *Nicias*, *Cleon*, *Diodotus*, *Demoſthenes*, *Paches*, *Lamachus*,

[w] See Dial. 11th as above.

Lamachus, all of them in Capacity far inferior to *Pericles*. We ſhall have occaſion to obſerve the particular Characters of moſt of them, as we go on. But the Perſon, who was thought to bear the ſtrongeſt reſemblance to *Pericles*, and ſeemed the moſt likely to engage the public attention, was *Alcibiades*, he, whom I already mentioned to you—a young Nobleman of an aſpiring Soul and excellent Endowments, and who to the advantage of an immenſe fortune added a grace and lovelineſs of Form, hardly to be equalled. Beſides, he was nearly related to *Pericles*, and had been educated in his houſe; and, more than this, he had the happineſs of being known to the great *Socrates*, who loved him affectionately, and had employed his utmoſt care to render his Qualifications of real ſervice to the Common-Weal.——You ſhall ſee, how theſe fair appearances were all darkened by his inconſiderate purſuits and impetuous paſſions, and had their end in the ruin of himſelf and the miſery of his Country.

Eud. And the War ſtill continued?

Pal. Yes, and probably the *Spartans* entertained the more lively hopes of ſucceſs, now that *Pericles* was no more. The Year [x] after his death, the plague being abated, *Archidamus* entered *Attica* again, where he committed great ravages, cutting down and deſtroying even the green Corn, and making deſolate every place, that had the appearance of culture.——This year alſo, the Inhabitants of *Leſbos*, thoſe of *Methymna* excepted, formed the reſolution of revolting from the *Athenians*. *Leſbos*, you know, was an Iſland in the *Aegean* ſea, large, fertile, and adorned with ſeveral wealthy Cities;

[x] Olymp. 87. 4.

terday obſerved [w], he is praiſed highly by ſeveral *Grecian* Writers.———But, my dear *Eudoxus*, is this ſurpriſing? Is it ſurpriſing, that they eſpecially, who lived near the times of *Pericles*, ſhould have ſpoken of him with admiration?——The Magnificence and Splendor, to which *Athens* had been advanced by him—his Perſonal Qualities---his Moderation---his Contempt of Wealth---his munificent Encouragement of the Arts, his Readineſs to reward, his Diſcernment in rewarding---his Endowments, ſo bright, ſo various; the *Philoſopher*, the *Stateſman*, the *Orator*, the *General*, combining in him——all theſe contributed to diffuſe a Glory around this eminent Perſonage. It was impoſſible, that they, who ſaw him in this advantageous light, ſhould not have admired him.——Then look on and ſee, what kind of Generals and Stateſmen ſucceeded, when he was no more----Is it ſtrange, that *Pericles* ſhould be praiſed and lamented, when compared with men like theſe?---who, however they might equal him in ambition, had---few of them his Integrity, ſcarcely any of them his Abilities, not one of them his Abilities and Integrity united: ſo that, the faults he committed being continued and rendered more dangerous by the Vices and Weakneſs of thoſe that came after, the Deſtruction of the State ſeemed not ſo much owing to the Schemes he had introduced, as to his not being ſtill alive to govern.

Clean. Who were theſe, who ſucceeded to *Pericles*?

Pal. The Perſons, who had the principal management of Affairs, whether Civil or Military, were *Nicias*, *Cleon*, *Diodotus*, *Demoſthenes*, *Paches*, *Lamachus*,

[w] See Dial. 11th as above.

Lamachus, all of them in Capacity far inferior to *Pericles*. We ſhall have occaſion to obſerve the particular Characters of moſt of them, as we go on. But the Perſon, who was thought to bear the ſtrongeſt reſemblance to *Pericles*, and ſeemed the moſt likely to engage the public attention, was *Alcibiades*, he, whom I already mentioned to you—a young Nobleman of an aſpiring Soul and excellent Endowments, and who to the advantage of an immenſe fortune added a grace and lovelineſs of Form, hardly to be equalled. Beſides, he was nearly related to *Pericles*, and had been educated in his houſe; and, more than this, he had the happineſs of being known to the great *Socrates*, who loved him affectionately, and had employed his utmoſt care to render his Qualifications of real ſervice to the Common-Weal.——You ſhall ſee, how theſe fair appearances were all darkened by his inconſiderate purſuits and impetuous paſſions, and had their end in the ruin of himſelf and the miſery of his Country.

Eud. And the War ſtill continued?

Pal. Yes, and probably the *Spartans* entertained the more lively hopes of ſucceſs, now that *Pericles* was no more. The Year [x] after his death, the plague being abated, *Archidamus* entered *Attica* again, where he committed great ravages, cutting down and deſtroying even the green Corn, and making deſolate every place, that had the appearance of culture.——This year alſo, the Inhabitants of *Leſbos*, thoſe of *Methymna* excepted, formed the reſolution of revolting from the *Athenians*. *Leſbos*, you know, was an Iſland in the *Aegean* ſea, large, fertile, and adorned with ſeveral wealthy Cities;

[x] Olymp. 87. 4.

its People, of *Aeolian* extraction; and an Alliance had ſubſiſted between the *Athenians* and them, from what time the *Grecian* Iſlands had thrown off the *Spartan* yoke in the days of *Pauſanias*. But now, the afflicted condition of *Athens*, together with the ſollicitations of *Sparta*, tempted them from their faith, of which as ſoon as the *Athenians* had advice from their friends at *Methymna*, they ordered *Paches* to ſail thither with a Fleet of forty Galleys, and to lay ſiege to *Mitylene* the Capital of the Iſland. Theſe active meaſures obliged the *Mityleneans* to ſue for a truce; but their Embaſſadors, whom they had ſent to *Athens* for that purpoſe, not having been able to prevail, they applied to *Sparta*, and at the deſire of the *Spartans* went on to *Olympia*, to be preſent at the enſuing Solemnity; for, this year, were the *Olympic* Games [y] to be celebrated. There, in the general Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Greece*, the *Leſbians* ſet forth the many complaints they had againſt the *Athenians*, the injuſtice and cruelty of that deſigning People, and in the moſt earneſt manner beſought the convened Powers to compaſſionate and aſſiſt them. Such an application, ſupported by the *Spartan* intereſt, hardly could fail of its effect: it was reſolved to ſuccour the *Mityleneans*, and to attack the *Athenians* by ſea and land. The *Athenians* were not diſmayed: they reinforced the Army before *Mitylene*; they appointed a fleet of an hundred Galleys to guard *Attica*; and ordered an other of equal ſtrength to infeſt the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*. In the mean time, the *Spartans*, after having in vain expected the arrival of the allied troops, which were to join them at the *Iſthmus*, were obliged to haſten home to

[y] Olymp. 88.

to the defence of their own territories. However early the next *ſpring* the *Spartans* invaded *Attica*; and forty two Ships of War were ſent to the aſſiſtance of thoſe of *Mitylene*. But the Ships did little ſervice: for *Paches* met them out at ſea, and chaſed them away far from *Leſbos*. Diſappointed of theſe ſuccours, the *Mityleneans* were reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting, and the only conditions they could obtain were, that the Inhabitants ſhould not be proceeded againſt, till the *Athenian* People had determined concerning them. Accordingly a Meſſenger was diſpatched to *Athens*, together with ſome of the Chief of the *Mityleneans*, and *Salaethus* Embaſſador from *Sparta*, who had ſtolen ſecretly into *Mitylene*, and was found in it, when it was taken. The *Athenians* had been greatly incenſed at the revolt of *Leſbos*; as ſoon therefore as they received the expreſs, they ordered *Salaethus* to execution, and inſtructions were ſent to *Paches* to put to death all the Men of *Mitylene*, and to ſell the Women and Children to bondage. Theſe ſevere Reſolutions were partly the work of *Cleon*, whoſe violent Speeches had greatly inflamed the reſentments of the People. The day following, the *Athenians* began to repent them of their extreme ſeverity, and, a new Aſſembly being convoked, *Diodotus* a cool conſiderate man, who had already oppoſed *Cleon*, pleaded ſo forcibly in behalf of the *Myteleneans*, that he procured a mitigation of the dreadful ſentence. The preceding Evening, had a Galley ſet out for *Mitylene* with orders for a general Maſſacre. And now an other was haſtened away, with large promiſes to the Rowers, if they arrived ſoon enough to ſave the *Mityleneans*. Nevertheleſs, the bloody Decree reached there firſt, and had certainly taken place, had it not been for the humane General, who read it with the deepeſt concern, and allowed the unhappy Peo-

ple one Day's reſpite. In this dreadful ſituation were they, all hope excluded, and nothing but wailing and lamentation to be heard throughout the City, when the ſecond Veſſel entered the Port. Immediately the joyous news ſpread abroad, and the People were called together to have the Sentence of Mercy pronounced to them. Howbeit, all thoſe, who had been Leaders in the revolt, were put to death; the Walls of the City were levelled with the ground; and all the lands of the *Mitylenеans* were divided among them of *Athens*, the antient Proprietors being only permitted to hold them at a certain rent [z].

Eud. But how could the *Athenians* ſuffice to the expence of theſe mighty Armaments?

Pal. Theſe laſt efforts almoſt emptied their treaſury, and from henceforth they were obliged to tax themſelves for the ſupport of the War.——The ſucceſs at *Mitylene* was ballanced by the loſs of *Plateae*, which was taken this Summer, after a ſiege of about two Years. All this time had this brave People defended themſelves againſt a force infinitely ſuperior to them; and for many months had the City been blocked up by Walls and Mounds, which the Beſiegers had raiſed againſt it. The preceding winter about two hundred and twenty of the Beſieged had formed the reſolution to force their way over all theſe works, and to paſs on to *Athens:* the Project was executed with wonderous bravery, and two hundred and twelve eſcaped. This obliged the Confederates to keep ſtricter watch; ſo that the unhappy *Plateans*, preſſed with every kind of want, and ſeeing no proſpect of deliverance, agreed to ſurrender, on condition, that they ſhould be admitted

[z] This took up the latter end of the 1ſt and the beginning of the 2d Year of the 88th Olympiad.

mitted to a fair trial. Their requeſt was complied with, and Commiſſaries were deputed from *Sparta* for this purpoſe. Perhaps you imagine, *Cleanthes*, that this Apparatus promiſes a favourable determination; but 'twas all a vain parade, and already was the ruin of the *Plateans* reſolved on. The Commiſſaries examined them only to one ſingle point, *What ſervices they had performed for* Sparta *and her Allies, in the courſe of this War?* The *Priſoners* eaſily perceived the tendency of this captious Queſtion, and would have ſoftened their Judges, by repreſenting to them---*what the* Plateans *had ever been---their zeal for the proſperity of* Greece---*the noble ſtand they had made in defence of Liberty* ——*Ye yourſelves*, ſaid they, *have a near intereſt in the preſervation of this State: and if our Country is laid in ruins, the Monuments of your Fame---the Sepulchres of your Anceſtors, of thoſe brave men who fell on the Day of* Plateae-- *the temples of the Gods, the Conſervators of* Greece, *who crowned our Arms with victory--muſt alſo be laid in ruins.* They were ſuffered to ſay on without interruption; and when they had made an end of ſpeaking, the ſame Queſtion was again put to each of them ſingly, *What ſervices he had performed to* Sparta *and her Allies in the courſe of this War?*—they, every one of them, returned the ſame anſwer, *No ſervices*, and were diſpatched inſtantly. Thus did the *Spartans* baſely ſacrifice this excellent People to the envy and reſentments of their *Theban* Confederates. There were ſlain on this occaſion two hundred *Plateans*, and twenty five *Athenians*; and as many Women and Children, as were found in the place, were condemned to Slavery.

Clean. Thoſe brave *Plateans!* what a deplorable Cataſtrophe!——But why did not the *Athenians* march to the relief of this loyal City?

Pal.

Pal. No doubt, they had not Land-Forces ſufficient, both to guard *Athens*, and to join battle with the Confederates. They did, what their ſtrength permitted them. Their Navies were ſent out to infeſt the *Peloponneſian* Coaſts; and probably they expected, that theſe invaſions would oblige *Sparta* and her Friends to abandon this tedious ſiege, and rather to provide for their own ſecurity.——The ſucceeding year, the *Spartans* razed *Plateae* [a]; but it was rebuilt by *Alexander the Great* in honour to the memory of theſe Champions of Liberty.

Eud. Do not Hiſtorians make mention of an Expedition to *Sicily*, undertaken by the *Athenians* about this time?

Clean. What? to *Sicily?*

Pal. Would you have thought it, *Cleanthes*—that, notwithſtanding the difficult burden they had to ſuſtain at home, and the low ſtate of their Finances, they ſhould nevertheleſs, when the enemy was in a manner at their Gates, extend their views to diſtant conqueſts. Indeed, as I told you, the conqueſt of *Sicily* had long ſince been their darling folly; and unluckily at this time an Embaſſy from the *Leontines* opened anew the pleaſing proſpect. *Sicily*, you muſt know, was divided into two Parties, the *Doric*, the moſt conſiderable of which were the wealthy *Syracuſans*, and the *Ionian*, headed by thoſe of *Leontium*. The latter, finding themſelves inferior in ſtrength, ſollicited aſſiſtance from the *Athenians*, who gladly complied with the requeſt, and ſent immediately a Fleet, and ſoon after a ſecond, to ſupport them. However, this Expedition produced not any thing conſiderable. In about the ſpace of two years, the *Sicilians* wiſely made peace among

[a] It appears from *Diodor.* (L. 15) that *Plateae* was repaired before the Days of *Alexander*; but it was razed again by the *Thebans* in the 3d Year of the 101ſt Olympiad.

among themſelves, and the *Athenians*, after much treaſure expended, were obliged to leave *Sicily*.

In the midſt of theſe adventurous attempts, *Athens* had an encreaſe of Ills to ſtruggle with. The *Peloponneſian* intrigues had excited a dreadful inſurrection in the Iſland of *Corcyra*, ſo that the *Athenians* were in danger of loſing the very People, on whoſe account they had taken up arms. The occaſion of theſe tumults is worthy your notice. At the beginning of the War, ſome of the principal men of *Corcyra* had been made Priſoners, and ſent to *Corinth*, where, inſtead of the ſevere uſage ſuch Perſons might have expected, they were treated with much humanity, and after ſome years reſtored to Liberty. This was a political Act of Mercy. In that ſpace of time had theſe men been won over to the ſide of the Confederates; and every art had been employed to poſſeſs them with an hatred of the Democratical Conſtitution, and diſpoſe them to endeavour a change of Government in their own Country. When they returned home, they but too punctually executed what had been enjoyned them, and having ſtrengthened themſelves with conſiderable numbers, fell on thoſe who were attached to the Popular Government, and barbarouſly butchered many of them. Soon as the *Athenians* received the tidings, a powerful Force was ſent to the aſſiſtance of their oppreſſed friends, by which means the Democracy again prevailed, and the *Peloponneſian* faction was purſued with the ſame relentleſs cruelty, they had ſhewn to others; neither the Reverence of years, nor the ties of Affinity, were attended to; even thoſe, who fled to the Altars, were dragged away from thence, and ſacrificed to the fury of the people. Thus was the State rent aſunder by the violence of contending parties, and

Corcyra

Corcyra was drenched in the blood of her wretched Sons.——You ſhall ſoon ſee the ſame fatal conteſt diſtract moſt of the *Grecian* Cities.

Clean. Unhappy *Greece*——her humane Manners, her generous Courage, whither are they fled!

Pal. Beſides foreign concerns, *Athens* had alſo her domeſtic misfortunes. The Plague began to rage once more with redoubled fury, and took off upwards of fourteen thouſand Perſons, a prodigious loſs to a People, already thinned by ſuch frequent returns of the Peſtilence and a ſix years War.

The ſucceeding Year [b] the *Spartans* were preparing to invade *Attica*, when, as if the whole *Natural Conſtitution* of *Greece* was convulſed, as well as the *Political*, ſuch dreadful Earthquakes were felt almoſt in every part of it, that the affrighted *Spartans* haſtened homeward. However, the next *Spring* they again viſited the *Athenian* territories, under the command of *Agis*, Son and Succeſſor to *Archidamus*; and the *Athenians*, according to the plan *Pericles* had laid down, ordered away their fleets to the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*. *Demoſthenes*, one of the Admirals, did ſignal ſervice on this occaſion; for having obſerved *Pylus*, the *Meſſenian Pylus* I mean, to be a place of advantageous ſituation, and which might afford the *Athenians* frequent opportunity of infeſting *Laconia*, he landed part of his troops, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it. Immediately the *Spartans* repaired thither, and having poſted a choſen body of Men in *Sphacteria*, a little Iſland oppoſite to *Pylus*, they entered the *Pylian* Harbour, and attacked the *Athenians*. *Demoſthenes*

[b] Olymp. 88. 3d Year.

nes was a brave man, and was defending himſelf gallantly; when behold, forty Ships belonging to the *Athenians* appeared before *Pylus*: the deſign was, to draw off the *Lacedemonians* to an engagement; but ſeeing that they declined it, the *Athenians* boldly ſailed into the Harbour, ſhattered and ſunk moſt of their fleet, and laid ſiege to the Iſland. This Diſaſter threw the *Spartans* into ſuch conſternation, that they deſired a truce from *Demoſthenes*, and deputed an Embaſſy to *Athens* to propoſe peace. But the *Athenians*, always elate and inſolent in proſperous fortune, inſtead of conſulting the Public Good, and reſtoring peace to their deſolated Country, inſiſted on unreaſonable terms, and even treated the Embaſſadors with inſult. 'Twas the clamorous violent *Cleon*, that was again the Adviſer in this matter. To theſe impolitic proceedings the *Athenians* added an unpardonable breach of faith. At the concluſion of the truce, the *Spartans* had given up their Ships, on condition they ſhould be reſtored to them, if the Pacification did not take place; the *Athenians* made light of the Promiſe, and refuſed to deliver them. Nevertheleſs, under all theſe diſadvantages the *Spartans* carried on the ſiege of *Pylus* with great earneſtneſs, and at the ſame time omitted no means to ſupply their Country-men, who were ſhut up in *Sphacteria*. The *Athenians* therefore began to doubt the ſucceſs; and the winter drawing near, it was apprehended their Fleet muſt ſoon be obliged to retire. Theſe ill-boding appearances occaſioned much murmuring among the People, and they now repented of their not having cloſed with the Offers of *Sparta*. *Cleon* on the contrary inſiſted, that this delay was owing to remiſs meaſures; and that if the new General, whom they were now to

ſend, would act with vigour, *Sphacteria* muſt ſhortly ſurrender. This new General was *Nicias*: he made anſwer, *that he would gladly reſign the command to a Perſon of* Cleon's *Abilities*; *and that* he *could not do a more important ſervice to his Country than by accepting of it, ſince* he *thought* he *could atchieve ſuch mighty things.* The unexpected turn ſurpriſed *Cleon*, who was better accuſtomed to make ſhew of his courage in a Popular Aſſembly, than in the Field of Battle. But the People, pleaſed at *Nicias*'s propoſal, urged it on the Orator; upon which, *Cleon*, finding himſelf caught, had recourſe to bluſtering, and declared, that he would not only accept of the command, but alſo that he would engage in twenty days to bring the *Spartans* in *Sphacteria* Priſoners to *Athens*—or periſh in the attempt. This proud boaſt excited only laughter among the People.——Howbeit, *Cleon* got ready his Forces, and ſet out on the expedition.

Clean. And I fear, with little ſucceſs.

Pal. Indeed, the abilities of the General preſaged ill; but the Event was much happier: his character and fortune were now at ſtake, and the near proſpect of danger ſobered him. He began his operations with great prudence, and having, in conjunction with *Demoſthenes*, made a deſcent on the Iſland, he reduced the *Spartans* to extremity, and ſummoned them to ſurrender. There were left of them only two hundred and ninety, and it was impoſſible they ſhould eſcape alive: they ſubmitted therefore on the terms offered them, and were all conducted Priſoners to *Athens* within the time *Cleon* had mentioned.——This year died *Artaxerxes*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Xerxes*, who

[c] Olymp. 88. 4th Year.

who was ſoon after murdered by *Sogdianus*, his natural Brother: *Darius*, an other of *Artaxerxes*'s ſpurious offspring, revenged the death of *Xerxes*, and aſcended the throne of *Perſia*; he is known in Hiſtory by the name of *Darius Nothus*.

Eud. Was there not ſome Embaſſy, during the courſe of this War, from *Athens* to *Artaxerxes*?

Pal. There was. Certain *Athenians*, who had been commiſſioned to ſollicit money from the *Grecian* Cities in *Aſia*, in their way thither, met with *Artaphernes*, who was on an Embaſſy from *Artaxerxes* to the *Spartan* State; and thinking it might be of ſpecial ſervice to their Country, they had him arreſted, and ſent to *Athens*. But the *Athenians*, having found that his Commiſſion related to matters foreign to them, releaſed him, and appointed Embaſſadors to attend him back to *Suſa*, and to wait on the *Great King* in the name of the *Athenian* People. For the fury of Civil War had extinguiſhed every noble Sentiment, and *Athens* herſelf was now willing to court even the friendſhip of the *Perſian*, rather than not to trample on the Liberties of *Greece*. Nevertheleſs this Embaſſy was without effect; for the Embaſſadors, having had account at *Epheſus* of *Artaxerxes*'s death, proceeded no farther.

The next year the War continued to rage in *Greece* with unabated fury; and moſt of the *Grecian* States, beſides the dangers from abroad, had alſo dark Deſigns and Inſurrections at home to guard againſt. This was the caſe particularly among the *Boeotians* and them of *Megara*; thoſe in the intereſts of *Athens* conſpiring to introduce a Republican Government, and the favourers of *Sparta* contending for the *Ariſtocracy*. Theſe conteſts brought on a battle near *Delium*, whither the

Athenians had marched to ſupport their *Boeotian* friends: after a bloody engagement the *Athenians* were obliged to retire, and as many of the *Boeotians*, as had connections with them, were forced to forſake their Country. At this battle *Socrates* was preſent, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his firm undaunted behaviour; and we may believe *Plato*, when he ſays, that, had all the *Athenians* fought like him, they had doubtleſs obtained the victory.

Clean. But did not *Attica* ſtill ſuffer from the incurſions of the *Spartans?*

Pal. No——the Scene of their Operations were principally in *Thrace*, which they made choice of on many accounts.——They had received earneſt ſollicitations from thoſe parts; *Perdiccas* of *Macedonia*, and ſeveral of the *Thracian* Nations, having made them large offers.——Then, this was a rich Country, abounding in mines, and the chief ſource of the *Athenian* wealth.——Beſides, the *Athenians* held the Iſland of *Cythera*, which, you may remember, lay near the Promontory of *Taenarus*; and they had alſo poſſeſſion of *Pylus*; ſo that the territories of *Laconia* were entirely expoſed to their devaſtations; and yet the *Spartans* did not dare to make any diverſion in *Attica*; for it had been decreed at *Athens*, that the Priſoners taken in *Sphacteria* ſhould have their lives, ſo long only, as the Forces of *Lacedemon* ſhould abſtain from the *Attic* borders: and theſe Priſoners were *Spartans* of the firſt diſtinction. The beſt reſource, they had left to them, was therefore to carry the war into *Thrace*, a Country, in the fate of which *Athens* was too deeply intereſted to be careleſs of its defence——Hiſtorians add an other motive, which reflects indelible reproach on the *Spartan* name: the *Helotae* were become formidable, and they

ſought

ſought the occaſion of ſending abroad a number of them. Lately had two thouſand of them been taken off[d], becauſe their ſervices to the State had rendered them too conſiderable: and this diſtant War was looked upon as a convenient opportunity of ſacrificing more of them to the Public Jealouſy.

Clean. 'Tis wonderous, they ſhould have kept any faith with ſuch mercileſs ungrateful Maſters.

Pal. The *Spartans* committed the care of this expedition to *Braſidas*, a man of approved abilities and courage, and, what was of as great moment, moderate in the exerciſe of power, and a ſtrict Obſerver of juſtice towards the Confederates. Theſe amiable diſpoſitions advanced his progreſs, not leſs than the force of Arms. *Acanthus*, *Stagyra*, and ſome other Cities, ſubmitted to him: and, ſhortly after, he ſat down before *Amphipolis*[e], the moſt important place in thoſe parts, from whence the *Athenians* were moſtly ſupplied with ſhip-timber, and in the neighbourhood of which were the Golden mines. This Settlement had already coſt dear to the *Athenians*, it had been attended with various misfortunes, and twice had the Colonies, which were ſent to it, been entirely cut off by the neighbouring *Barbarians*. Its name, you know, originally was the *Nine Ways*. *Agnon*, the Leader of the laſt Colony, was he who had given it the name of *Amphipolis*. The Inhabitants immediately ſent advice of their danger to *Thucydides*, one of the *Athenian* Generals, then in the Iſland *Thaſus*. But before he could get thither, the City was given up to *Braſidas*; the advantageous terms he had offered them occaſioned this early ſurrender;

[d] See Dial. the 6th P. 234.
[e] Olymp. 89. 1ſt Year.

ſurrender; and all that *Thucydides* could do was to provide for the ſecurity of *Eion*, in which were repoſited the naval ſtores of the *Amphipolitans*: notwithſtanding, though he was entirely guiltleſs of the loſs of *Amphipolis*, the impatient *Athenians* condemned him to baniſhment. During this retirement from public buſineſs he compiled his Hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* War, that admirable work, which ſheweth that he was poſſeſſed of all the finer talents of the Stateſman, as well as a complete Maſter of the military Art.

The reduction of *Amphipolis* did not content *Braſidas*; he attempted ſeveral other places; and moſt of the Cities on the *Thracian* coaſt were prepared to open their Gates to him: for his Declaration to them all was, *that he was come thither with no other view than to reſtore them to their Liberties.* This ſituation of affairs greatly diſtreſſed the *Athenians*, and diſpoſed them to agree to a truce, which the *Spartans* alſo long ſince wiſhed for: and indeed all, that the War had produced to them both, was, *Expence*, and *Weakneſs*, the *Loſs of their braveſt men*, and the *devaſtation of their Country.* A truce therefore was concluded, for one year, to the great joy of all thoſe of *Athens* and *Sparta*, *Braſidas* and *Cleon* excepted. *Braſidas* ſaw himſelf deprived of a train of conqueſts, which were now opening on him: and *Cleon*, who loved tumult and confuſion, dreaded that inactivity, to which the approaching peace ſeemed to condemn him. However, *Braſidas* ſhewed not much regard to the truce; he was ignorant, or pretended to be ignorant, of its being concluded, and by his intrigues drew over many Cities from the *Athenians*, even after the time appointed for its commencement. *Cleon* on the other hand moved the People to revenge thoſe

Wrongs

Wrongs with immediate War; and an Army was ſent to reduce the places, which *Braſidas* had made to revolt. The next year [f], this ill-obſerved truce expired; and *Cleon* was choſen to command in *Thrace:* his ſucceſs at *Sphacteria* had greatly added to his natural inſolence of temper, and he promiſed to himſelf, that no enemy would dare to take the field againſt him. *Braſidas* was not a ſtranger to his Character; he indulged the vanity of the giddy General, and affecting to retire before him, ſhut himſelf up in *Amphipolis.* This artifice proved the deſtruction of *Cleon.* He aſcribed the conduct of the *Spartan* to fear, and in defiance of him made it his pride to march frequently even under the walls of the City, with his Forces careleſs and in looſe array. *Braſidas* waited his opportunity; and on a certain day, when *Cleon* leaſt expected it, ſallied out, and charging his left Wing, routed it without much difficulty; the right Wing fought well; but at length was worſted alſo. This had been an uſeful victory to *Sparta,* had it not coſt her the life of the brave *Braſidas.*

Clean. But what became of *Cleon?*

Pal. That *bold man* fled, as ſoon as he ſaw the Armies engaged, and was ſlain by a common Soldier. This Battle brought on a Peace between *Athens* and *Sparta:* their two Champions were now dead, and *Nicias,* who was of a leſs martial diſpoſition, and was unwilling to expoſe to hazard the good fortune he had hitherto had, laboured earneſtly in conjuction with *Pliſtoanax* King of *Lacedemon* to put an end to the War. *Pliſtoanax,* you know, had been baniſhed: nineteen years he remained in Baniſhment; and ſome time before this had

[f] Olymp. 89. 2d Year.

had he been reſtored by means of the *Delphic* Prieſteſs, who, being ſuborned, feigned an Oracle, by which the *Spartans* were enjoined to recall him. His Enemies ſuſpected the Deceit; and whatever diſtreſs the War occaſioned to *Sparta, it was*, they pretended, *a Viſitation for this inſult offered to Religion and the Laws of their Country.* Hence was *Pliſtoanax* alſo a zealous promoter of the Peace: and accordingly it was ſworn to for fifty years, after the War had continued ten years complete[g].

Eud. But neither was this Peace effectual, if I remember rightly.

Pal. No——the gladdening proſpect was ſoon clouded over. In the firſt place ſeveral of the *Peloponneſian* States had objections to the Treaty, *which*, ſaid they, *threatened much danger to their common liberties*; for by one of the Articles it was provided, *that it ſhould be lawful to add unto, or take away from the ſame, whatſoever ſhould ſeem good to the* Lacedemonians *and* Athenians; *and by a ſubſequent Agreement* Athens *and* Sparta *engaged, mutually to ſupport each other againſt all Powers whatſoever:* on theſe accounts a new Confederacy was formed between the *Argives*, the *Mantineans*, the *Eleans*, the *Corinthians*, and *Boeotians*. Beſides *Sparta* did not religiouſly perform the terms ſtipulated: the Convention was, *that all Places and Priſoners, that had been taken on either ſide, ſhould be reſtored*; and nevertheleſs, there were ſome Places not delivered up to the *Athenians*, and others delivered up only after they had been diſmantled. Such manifeſt infractions obliged the *Athenians* to keep Garriſon in *Pylus*; and the old Animoſities were

[g] The Peace was concluded the third year of the 89th Olympiad.

were reviving between theſe two rival States. Theſe diſcontents were alſo heightened by the intrigues of *Alcibiades*, who affected now to take the lead in the Public Councils, and, either to ſink the credit of *Nicias*, or with the view of appearing to advantage, if there was a War, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the peace. *Socrates*, I have told you, endeavoured to reſtrain this dangerous young man; and it is certain *Alcibiades* reſpected him highly, and gladly liſtened to his inſtructions: but his natural vivacity, the torrent of his paſſions, the various diſſipations which his Riches expoſed him to, the ſeduction of Flatterers, ſoon effaced the impreſſions which *Socrates*'s words had made; and Ambition and the Love of pleaſure reſumed him entirely. What a pity, *Cleanthes*, that thoſe very advantages, Wit, Eloquence, Gracefulneſs of Form, Affluence of Fortune, that might render men moſt amiable and praiſe-worthy, ſhould ever contribute to make them miſerable? *Alcibiades*'s firſt eſſay in Politics betrayed his envy and deceitfulneſs. *Nicias* was endeavouring to compoſe all differences between the two Common-wealths; and Embaſſadors from *Sparta* were actually in *Athens* with *full powers* to adjuſt all matters in diſpute: they had applied to him, for the Peace was looked upon to be his work, and he had introduced them into the Senate, where they had declared the purport of the Embaſſy, and the extent of their Commiſſion. This preference, which the *Spartans* ſhewed to *Nicias*, mortified *Alcibiades*, and he reſolved to confound their meaſures: the night, before they were to appear in the *Aſſembly of the People*, by whom, you may remember, all matters were to be ultimately determined, he invited them to his houſe, and under the guiſe of friendſhip adviſed them, to be more ſparing of their

Offers on the morrow, and not to own what *powers* they were inveſted with, as that would tempt *the People* to impoſe on them many conditions hard and unreaſonable. The plauſible Counſel pleaſed the ſimple men, and the following day, when they were aſked in the *General Aſſembly*, whether they were impowered finally to ſettle all matters, they denied what they had before acknowledged in the *Senate of Five hundred.* Imagine, what the amazement of *Nicias* was; but how much greater do you think was *that* of the Embaſſadors, when they heard the falſe *Alcibiades* reproach them with want of ſincerity, and charge the *Spartans* as a deſigning faithleſs people, who *one day* affirmed, what they the *next* denied. This wicked Artifice widened the breach between the two States, both complaining highly of injuries: and ſhortly after, the *Athenians* by the management of *Alcibiades* made alliance with the *Argives*, the *Mantineans*, and thoſe of *Elis.*

Clean. So that, through the dark ſubtilty of one ambitious Citizen, *Athens* ſaw herſelf plunged again into the miſeries of War.——

Pal. The fourth year of the Eighty-ninth Olympiad, which was the twelfth from the beginning of the War, there were military preparations through moſt parts of *Greece*, but no Action enſued. The *Grecians*, faint and languid, after the many waſting toils they had endured, ſhewed no longer that Spirit which they exerted at the firſt. Neither did the three or four Campaigns, that followed, produce any thing very remarkable; their Summers were moſtly ſpent in fruitleſs marches, or in forming intrigues in the ſeveral States, and bringing about revolutions of Government: thus *Argos*, it appears, in the ſpace of two years changed her Political

Political Form not leſs than three times, and—dreadful to think of!—every Revolution was deeply marked with blood; the prevailing Party ſignalizing its revenge, by the moſt ſavage cruelties. But it ſeems, the long uſe of War had ſteeled their hearts againſt all the tender feelings of Mercy; and we find that the *Athenians* themſelves were become bloody and relentleſs. There are recorded ſeveral affecting inſtances of this, which happened about this very time. One, with relation to *Scione*, a City of *Thrace*. It had received *Braſidas*, and after the peace concluded with *Sparta*, the *Athenians* recovered it: to puniſh therefore the *Scioneans* for their defection, they put to the ſword all the men without diſtinction, and all the Women and Children were condemned to ſervitude. Their treatment of the *Melians* was yet more barbarous. *Melos* was an Iſland in the *Egean* Sea, and had always preſerved her faith to *Sparta* inviolate. In the ſixteenth year of the War it was beſieged by a Fleet from *Athens*; and after a gallant defence the *Melians* were obliged to ſubmit at diſcretion: nevertheleſs the *Athenians* maſſacred all thoſe, who were able to bear Arms, and made Slaves of all the reſt.——Time was, when ſuch brave men would have met with more kindneſs at the hands of the *Athenian* People.——But what moſt of all ſheweth, how degenerate and inhuman the *Athenians* now were, is a *Reſolution*, not ſuddenly made, in the hurry and heat of Battle, but framed deliberately, in the Senate of *Athens*—it was decreed that, *As many, as they ſhould take alive in naval Combat, ſhould have their right hands cut off*[h].

[h] Ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, την δεξιὰν χειρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων.

Xenoph. Hiſt. Graec. L. 2.

Eud. Strange, how cruel are *domeſtic* Hatreds.—

Pal. The year [1] after the expedition to *Melos*, the War began to have a more important appearance, and to threaten many other nations beſides thoſe of *Greece*. The People of *Egeſta*, a City of *Sicily*, had ſent Embaſſadors to *Athens* to ſollicit ſuccours againſt their Neighbours the People of *Selinus*, who had attacked them in conjunction with the *Syracuſians*. I often have told you, how deſireable the *Athenians* eſteemed the poſſeſſion of that fruitful Iſland. *Alcibiades* alſo, fond of adventurous projects, laboured much to engage them in an expedition, which, he told them, would certainly be attended with unlimited Conqueſt, Wealth, and Glory. The treaſures of *Sicily* were but a poor reward for them to have in proſpect; they were from thence to paſs over into *Africa*, and take *Carthage*; then *Italy* was to feel the power of their Arms; till at length their Empire was extended over all the World.——Such were the wild dreams the aſpiring *Alcibiades* indulged himſelf in.

Clean. And were the *Athenians* to be led away by theſe airy Phantaſies?

Pal. They were vain enough to hope any thing. Beſides, the magnificent way of living *Alcibiades* affected, his largeſſes, his engaging eloquence, gave ſtrength and plauſibility to whatever he ſaid; ſo that, though *Nicias* and the wiſeſt men of the State oppoſed the enterprize, yet did the People ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded by him, and it was decreed to ſend an Army into *Sicily*. —— *Nicias* and *Lamachus* were joined in the command with *Alcibiades*; probably this at the inſtance of the ſoberer

[1] Olymp. 91ſt. 1ſt. Year.

ſoberer *Athenians*, in order to temper the violence of his daring Spirit.

Eud. But did not *Alcibiades* ſoon decline in the favour of the people?

Pal. He did: but whether through his own folly, or the contrivance of his enemies, Hiſtorians ſeem to leave it a queſtion. The *Athenians*, *Cleanthes*, were extremely ſuperſtitious, and held the many Deities, with which their City abounded, in the higheſt reverence. It happened, when every thing was in readineſs for the departure of the Fleet, that on a certain night all the Statues of *Mercury* throughout *Athens* were maimed and diſfigured; moſt of the houſes had theſe Statues placed before them; and the report was, that ſome young men of Quality, with *Alcibiades* at their head, had been guilty of the impiety, and that, at the ſame time, they had profaned the *Eleuſinian* Rites, the moſt ſacred of the *Athenian* Myſteries. The diſſolute manners of *Alcibiades*, and the avowed contempt, with which he had always treated the Religion of his Country, rendered the accuſation credible. However, he was ſo dear to the Soldiers, that it was thought the wiſeſt Policy to defer the proſecution, and though *Alcibiades* inſiſted on an immediate trial, yet his enemies prevailed, and he was obliged to ſet out for *Sicily*.

Eud. Do not Hiſtorians ſpeak highly of the pomp and expence of this equipment?

Pal. It was, we are told, the moſt ſumptuous *Athens* had ever ſent forth; the Galleys, an hundred and forty in number, all completely furniſhed, and adorned in the richeſt manner. Beſides the Naval Forces, a conſiderable Land-Army went aboard the Tranſports, moſt of them choſen men, and many of them, of the firſt Families in *Athens*.

Cl.an.

Clean. And the ſucceſs—was it anſwerable to theſe mighty preparations?

Pal. Their firſt Exploits were inconſiderable: they found no encouragement on the coaſts of *Italy*; and in *Sicily*, the only place they could make themſelves maſters of was *Catana*. This ſlow progreſs was partly owing to their unſteady Counſels. For *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus* were for active vigorous meaſures, whilſt the Enemy was in conſternation: but *Nicias* on the contrary diſpirited the Army by his ill-timed apprehenſions, and urged that they ſhould immediately abandon the deſign, becauſe the *Egeſteans* were not able to make good the large ſums, which they had promiſed for the ſupport of the *Athenian* Forces. An other unlucky circumſtance this Expedition was alſo attended with. *Alcibiades*, the moſt enterprizing and beſt beloved of the three Commanders, was recalled. When once the Fleet was ſailed, his Enemies began to ſtir up the ſuperſtitious Populace, and to inflame them with reſentment againſt a man, who had dared to ridicule the moſt awful Ceremony of their Religion. Theſe ſuggeſtions wrought ſo effectually, that the *Salaminian Galley*, which was always employed on ſuch occaſions, was ſent for *Alcibiades*, and he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf Priſoner; but the *Galley* having put in at *Thurium*, he made his eſcape from thence, and paſſing over to *Elis*, fled to *Lacedemon*.

Eud. So that the care of the War devolved on *Nicias* and *Lamachus*.——

Pal. And neither of them equal to the taſk; *Nicias*, ſlow and irreſolute, full of weak fears, and apt to interpret every intervening accident into an Omen important and ſignificative; and *Lamachus*, a man without influence, a good Officer, but his indigent

indigent fortune rendered him contemptible. It was not ſo, *Eudoxus*, in the days of *Ariſtides*, ere Affluence and Pleaſures had corrupted the *Athenian* ſimplicity. At length theſe two Generals, after ſome fruitleſs attempts, ſat down before *Syracuſe*, which they beſieged by ſea and land. *Syracuſe* was a City of great wealth and power; it had long enjoyed a flouriſhing Commerce, and its Inhabitants and Allies were numerous and expert in War: the *Athenians* nevertheleſs carried on the ſiege with great ſucceſs, they had beaten the *Syracuſians*, their works were advancing conſiderably, and they had already got poſſeſſion of *Epipolae*, an Eminence, which commanded the City. Embaſſadors therefore were deputed from the *Syracuſians* to their Foundreſs *Corinth*, with directions to go on to *Lacedemon*, to implore aſſiſtance, which both theſe States readily promiſed, and *Gylippus* the *Lacedemonian* was ordered to *Syracuſe*. During theſe tranſactions, the Affairs of the *Syracuſians* were become moſt deſperate. *Nicias* had carried on his Works much nearer to the City, and the *Syracuſians* finding themſelves extremely preſſed had ventured an Engagement, in which, though *Lamachus* had been ſlain, yet ſuch were the advantages obtained by *Nicias*, that a great part of *Sicily* declared for the *Athenians*, and it was judged impoſſible to ſave *Syracuſe*. In this juncture arrived *Gylippus*. It is plain, had *Nicias* marched out againſt him, there was an end of the War; for the *Lacedemonian* was attended by a very ſmall Party, having come to *Sicily* with four Ships only: but *Nicias*, who from ſucceſs was become vain and boaſtful, remained within his lines, *deſpiſing*, as he ſaid, *a man, who with ſo inconſiderable a force durſt preſume to oppoſe his progreſs*. This Contempt coſt him dear. *Gylippus*

lippus made his way into the City, and inſpiring the *Syracuſians* with new vigour led them out againſt the Enemy. He failed however in the firſt attempt: but having with a generoſity of Soul, of which there are few examples, acknowledged, that the Misfortune was owing to the improper diſpoſition he had made, he the next day renewed the attack, and diſlodged the *Athenians* with great ſlaughter. This diſaſter ſunk all *Nicias*'s hopes; and an Expreſs was diſpatched to *Athens*, to demand a ſupply of men, and that other Generals ſhould be ſubſtituted in his place, for that the Infirmities, he laboured under, rendered him incapable of bearing the burthen of this difficult and unpromiſing Expedition.

Clean. And did not this Account damp the adventurous Spirit of the *Athenian* People?

Pal. No, *Cleanthes*. They ordered an additional body of Land-Forces, and a conſiderable Fleet to be ſent thither under the command of *Eurymedon* and *Demoſthenes*,—this latter, the brave man, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at *Pylus*. Theſe two *Athenians* were joined in Commiſſion with *Nicias*; and until their arrival, two of the Officers already in the Army, *Menander* and *Euthydemon*, were impowered to ſhare the command with him.

Eud. This Effort of the *Athenians* ſeems of all others to argue the greateſt raſhneſs; for, if I miſtake not, the *Lacedemonians* were at this very time ravaging *Attica*.

Pal. Yes, at this very time there was an Army under the command of *Agis*, which did infinite damage to the *Attic* Territories, and had taken poſſeſſion of *Decelea*, a Caſtle not far from *Sunium*, where they fortified themſelves; ſo that the *Athenians* were now conſtantly expoſed to their incurſions,

ſions, and were obliged to bring their proviſions round by ſea, at great expence and hazard. Heretofore, the *Spartans* returned only after an interval of ſome months, and the *Athenians* enjoyed at leaſt their Winters at peace: whereas, from the taking of *Decelea*, they were blocked up, and the Campaign in a manner laſted throughout the year. But nevertheleſs, the hopes of extending their conqueſts in *Sicily* blinded them to all dangers, and their ſtrength was wantonly conſumed away in a foreign War, whilſt their own Country was waſted by a victorious Enemy.

Clean. Theſe Armaments changed, I ſuppoſe, entirely the face of things at *Syracuſe*.——

Pal. You muſt firſt know, *Cleanthes*, what has been doing at *Sicily*, ſince we left it. *Gylippus* was extremely active in ſolliciting ſuccours from many of the Cities both of *Sicily* and *Italy*; and having by theſe means got together a conſiderable number of Ships, and the *Corinthian* Fleet being alſo arrived, he determined to tempt a naval combat. This was a bold trial againſt a People, eſteemed the moſt formidable at ſea of any in the known world. However this was the only way of ſaving *Syracuſe*, and *Gylippus* made the experiment: and though defeated, yet did he derive ſignal advantage from the battle; for his Seamen were made acquainted with the *Athenian* manner, and he had the good fortune to deſtroy three Forts, built by the *Athenians* at *Plemmyrium*, which commanded the entrance of the *Syracuſian* Port. Soon after this, advice was brought to him of the preparations at *Athens*, and he reſolved to venture a ſecond Engagement at Sea, before *Demoſthenes* reached *Sicily*. The cautious *Nicias* would hardly have gratified him; but the new Generals, *Menander* and

Euthydemon, willing to have the honour of ſome Exploit, earneſtly urged him to ſupport the Glory of his Country, and engage the Enemy. A battle accordingly was fought, and *Gylippus* obtained the Victory. The enſuing day arrived the *Athenian* Fleet with *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon*. This encreaſe of Enemies extremely terrified the *Syracuſians*; they ſaw the War gathering new ſtrength againſt them, and the ſurmounting of one difficulty only opened the view to an other. Under all theſe diſcouragements, *Gylippus* ſtill ſupported their ſinking hopes; and *Demoſthenes*, having in the night attempted to ſurprize the City by land, was repulſed, and a great number of the *Athenians* ſlain. So brave a reſiſtance made the Beſiegers give up all expectation of ſucceſs; beſides the Plague broke out alſo among the *Athenian* troops; and *Demoſthenes* himſelf was now of opinion, that the only reſource they had was to haſten away from that *fatal* Iſland. *Nicias* likewiſe, after making ſome difficulties, conſented to it, and at his deſire it was agreed to conceal, if poſſible, the deſign from the Enemy. But an Accident prevented this. When the Fleet was ready to ſail, there happened an Eclipſe of the Moon, which the ſuperſtitious *Nicias* interpreted according to his own apprehenſions; the Soothſayers alſo confirmed his fooliſh fears, and declared that the Departure of the Army muſt be deferred for three times nine Days [k]. This delay gave opportunity to the *Syracuſians* to diſcover what the *Athenians* intended; and *Gylippus*, apprehenſive that ſo conſiderable an Army, for the *Athenian*

[k] Τρὶς ἐννέα—ſays *Thucydides*. Mr. *Dodwell* is of opinion that *Nicias* deferred his Departure only for three Days; that the word ἐννεά is an interpolation; and that inſtead of τρὶς we ſhould read τρεῖς.——Vide Annal. *Thucyd.*

Athenian Forces, after all the loſſes they had ſuſtained, were upwards of forty thouſand, might attempt ſomething of importance, determined to prevent their eſcape. For this purpoſe the *Syracuſians* drew out their troops, and at the ſame time manned all their Gallies, in order to attack the *Athenians* by ſea and land. The *Athenians* however received them gallantly; but at length they were obliged to retreat, *Eurymedon* being ſlain, and ſeveral of their Ships of War ſunk or taken. *Diodorus* ſays, that they loſt in this engagement eighty Gallies and more than two thouſand Men. Immediately upon this, the *Syracuſians* blocked up the *iſſue* of the Port with iron-chains and a range of ſhips, which the *Athenians* perceiving reſolved to force their way, or periſh. They had yet an hundred and fifteen Gallies remaining; on theſe they embarked the flower of their Army, and the reſt of their men were drawn up on the ſhore, to ſupport and encourage them. The *Syracuſians* were not intimidated: they fell on the *Athenians* with loud dreadful cries, and purſued them to the mouth of the Harbour, where as many, as endeavoured to break through, ſtruck againſt the Boom, and were driven back. And now did both Parties engage with utmoſt fury; the *Athenians*, animated by deſpair; the *Syracuſians*, by the deſire of revenge: neither Pity, nor Dread of danger were attended to; they, that boarded a Ship, putting to the ſword all they met with; and others, even when they were half o'er-whelmed by the Waves, and in the Agonies of death, endeavouring to wound and deſtroy their Adverſaries. At laſt the *Athenians*, broken and ſpiritleſs, quitted the fight, leaving behind them many of their braveſt men, and the greateſt part of their fleet; whilſt the Shore re-

ſounded with the ſhouts of the victorious *Syracuſians.*

Clean. Well but, *Palaemon*——the poor remains of that ill-fated Army——what became of them?

Pal. Nicias and *Demoſthenes*, diſtracted by their misfortunes, and ſcarcely knowing what courſe to take, determined to abandon the few ſhips, that remained to them, and to make their way by land. And had they marched off that very night, probably they might have eſcaped. But *Hermocrates*, the *Syracuſian* General, amuſed them with falſe intelligence. He employed perſons to give them notice, that the *Syracuſians* had laid wait for them, and, if they delayed not their march, would certainly intercept them. His reaſon was, that his Forces were wearied with the late ſervice, and beſides it was the Feſtival of *Hercules*, a day of great Rejoycing among the *Syracuſians*. The Generals believed the deceitful meſſengers, and in about two days ſet out with the Army. Nothing could be more diſmal than this departure: they were returning back, diſgraced, and vanquiſhed, thinned in their numbers, and waſted by fruitleſs toils; they were abandoning their Fellow-Soldiers, whoſe wounds would not permit them to be moved; on every ſide were heard the affecting lamentations and bitter reproaches of thoſe helpleſs men, who ſaw themſelves given up to deſtruction, and cut off from all hopes of ſeeing their Country more. The horrors of this dreadful Scene were alſo deepened by the gloomy apprehenſions, which poſſeſſed the whole Army, they had a long weariſome march before them, through ways they were ſtrangers to, deprived of every conveniency, and expoſed to the purſuit of an enraged enemy. With theſe ill-boding thoughts they left the neighbourhood of *Syracuſe*;

racuſe; and their fears were but too ſoon juſtified by the appearance of a party of *Syracuſians*, who preſſed on their Rear, and continually galled, and harraſſed them. For five Days did they go on in this diſtreſsful manner, ſtruggling through numberleſs difficulties, and winning every Paſs at infinite hazard. The morning of the ſixth Day, *Demoſthenes*, who had in the night miſſed his *route*, found himſelf ſurrounded by the Enemy, and was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, with about ſix thouſand men. *Nicias* was gone on with the bulk of the Army; but two days after he alſo was encompaſſed at the River *Aſinarus*, and forced to ſurrender on the ſame terms as *Demoſthenes*, to ſave his unhappy men from immediate ſlaughter: for ſo reduced were they, what through inceſſant fatigue, and what through want of neceſſaries, that they had not even the power to defend themſelves againſt the mercileſs Enemy.

Clean. Dire Ambition!—what havock doſt thou make!

Pal. What followed was yet more melancholy. The two Generals were tried, and ſentenced to die, for having wantonly and from wicked motives made war on a People, that never injured them. This ſevere Deciſion was oppoſed by many, even by *Gylippus* himſelf, particularly with the view of ſaving *Nicias*, whoſe exemplary Virtues and diſtinguiſhed Piety had gained him univerſal reverence, and who had always adviſed pacific meaſures—— but notwithſtanding they were both put to death[1]. The

[1] This infamous Execution eſpecially of ſuch a Man as *Nicias*, allowedly one of the moſt virtuous *Athenians* of his Days, is charged by *Thucydides* to the account of the *Sicilians*: *Diodorus* is as earneſt in acquitting his Countrymen, and lays the whole Guilt on *Gylippus*.

The reſt of the Army were treated not leſs rigorouſly, though their lives were ſpared to them; they were condemned to a grievous and perpetual ſervitude, and moſt of them for ſome time adjudged to work in the Quarries, where they indured unutterable miſery. It is ſaid that the fate of the Citizens of *Athens* proved far happier than that of the others; and ſome of them were even reſtored to liberty, on account of their excellent Endowments, and Minds nobly cultivated. Their Maſters were wont to be wrought into rapture, at hearing them repeat the ſublime Compoſitions of the Poets of their Country, eſpecially thoſe of *Euripides*, and could not forbear compaſſionating the hard fortune of thoſe amiable Captives. Such power have the Lettered Arts; they procured them favour and deliverance even in a ſtrange land [m].

Clean. But what ſaid they at *Athens* to all this?

Pal. When the heavy tidings were confirmed there, for at firſt they were looked upon as incredible, the whole City was in confuſion. They were caſt down from their towering hopes; their fleets were deſtroyed; their choſen men fallen by the ſword, or groaning in captivity; and their Arms and Equipments of War all in the hands of the Enemy. Beſides, Ruin threatened *Athens* itſelf from every ſide; *Attica* was deſolate; the *Spartans* had cantoned themſelves in the midſt of her; *Euboea*, the other Iſlands of the *Egean*, and the Cities of *Ionia*, were meditating a revolt; and the *Perſian* King had concluded an alliance with *Lacedemon.*

Clean. Unfortunate *Athens!*

Pal.

[m] The War in *Sicily* laſted two Years--it ended therefore the third Year of the ninety firſt Olympiad.

Pal. Nevertheleſs, even under this preſſure of misfortunes, *ſhe* retained her accuſtomed Dignity. It was reſolved to act with vigour, and to fit out other fleets; all the money, that remained in the treaſury [n], was applied to the neceſſities of the Common wealth; every ſuperfluous expence was retrenched; as many, as were able to ſerve, offered themſelves; and even *private Grief* ſeemed to be abſorbed in *the concern for the public Proſperity.* And what muſt appear to you moſt extraordinary, ſoon as a Fleet was in readineſs, it was ordered to *Samos*, to prevent the defection of the neighbouring Iſlands [o].

Clean. Such amazing reſolution!——it almoſt exceeds belief.

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*, this very trial makes proof, what a People they might have been, had they always retained their Virtue. But what is not leſs ſurpriſing, all the Nations around dreaded them, low as their condition appeared to be: the Cities of *Greece* were forming leagues againſt them; new Allies were ſought; Negotiations were carrying on both with *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, *Satraps*, the one of *Lydia*, the other of the Parts near the *Helleſpont*; and on every ſide were the *Lacedemonians* ſolliciting aid, as if even now they diſtruſted their own ſtrength; whilſt *Athens*, like a Lion at bay, ſeemed to defy theſe conſpiring Powers, and made the iſſue queſtionable.

Eud. But was not *Alcibiades* alſo a principal Agent againſt his Country?

Pal.

[n] One thouſand Talents, which by the advice of *Pericles* were to be reſerved until ſome urgent Diſtreſs required them to be brought forth.

[o] Olymp. 92d. 1ſt. Year.

Pal. He had been a dreadful foe to her, whilſt he enjoyed the favour of *Sparta*; 'twas he who adviſed the fortifying of *Decelea*, and moſt of the meaſures, which advanced her ruin. But after ſome time he loſt alſo the confidence of the *Spartans*: he had injured *Agis* in the moſt ſenſible manner; and it had been found, that the inſinuating Arts and the Affectation of the *Spartan* Frugality, which he made uſe of among them, were only the *doublings* of his Ambition, to gain to himſelf regard and influence. You know, *Eudoxus*, what a man he was, diſſolute, and devoted to pleaſure; his dreſs, his table, his equipage, were all Luxury and Magnificence; and even among the *Athenians*, vicious as they then were, his profuſe Life was a reproach to him. At *Sparta*, you would have ſaid, he was one of the ſtricteſt Diſciples of *Lycurgus*; his Garb, ſimple; his food, coarſe; the roughest exerciſe ſeemed welcome to him; and not a *Spartan* could endure better the extremities of hunger and thirſt. But nevertheleſs, this was all Deceit and outward Semblance: his heart was ſtill the ſame; and at this very time he was corrupting the Wife of King *Agis*, his Protector and Friend. When *Agis* diſcovered the intrigue, he prevailed on the *Ephori* to ſend perſons to *Aſia*, whither *Alcibiades* was gone to negotiate the *Lacedemonian* Affairs, with directions to put him to death. But *Alcibiades*, being informed of the deſigns againſt him, took refuge at the Court of *Tiſſaphernes*, where, by the ſame pliableneſs of manners, he wrought himſelf into the favour of that *Perſian* Lord, which his plotting Genius did not fail to improve to his own purpoſes. He had determined to be revenged on *Sparta*, and thence did he endeavour to perſuade *Tiſſaphernes*, that it was not his intereſt *Athens* ſhould

ſhould be deſtroyed; that this would render *Sparta* too formidable; but that he was rather to aſſiſt the weaker againſt the ſtronger, ſo that as to make the two States conſume and ruin one the other. He likewiſe entertained a correſpondence with the Army at *Samos*, promiſing to ſuccour and reſtore his Country, if the Popular Government was once aboliſhed, and the Public Concerns committed to Perſons, whoſe ſteddineſs might be relied on.

Eud. There ſpoke his reſentments; for the ſuperſtitious Populace, I believe, were they who chiefly urged his baniſhment.

Pal. That probably was his motive, though he pretended that *Tiſſaphernes* was unwilling to truſt the People. This occaſioned much commotion at *Athens*. At length however a Council of *four hundred* was eſtabliſhed [p], who diſſolved the Senate of the *Prytanes*, and annulled the Popular Aſſembly, but nevertheleſs preſerving ſtill the appearance of a Democracy, for they choſe five thouſand, who were to be convened, as occaſion required, and to debate on all matters in the name of the People.

Clean. And did this new Government favour *Alcibiades*'s deſigns?

Pal. He found himſelf the dupe of his own Counſels; for when the *Four hundred* were once inveſted with power, they refuſed to recall a man, whoſe Abilities were formidable to them: ſo that he was obliged to fall in with the views of the Army at *Samos*, who elected him their General. *Athens* ſeems to have now been in a very diſtreſsful ſituation: thoſe in power had loſt the affection of the People at home; abroad, the Army was entirely againſt them; *Euboea*, the Iſland whence the *Athe-*

[p] Olymp. 92d. 2d. Year.

nians drew moſt of their proviſions, was in the hands of the *Peloponneſians*; and a treaty was on foot between *Agis* and the *Four hundred* to betray *Athens* to him. Mean while, the Soldiers at *Samos* were inſtant to go to *Athens*, and deprive the Uſurpers by force of Arms; and doubtleſs ſome Act of violence muſt have taken place, had not *Alcibiades* reſtrained them: he adviſed them, not to abandon *Ionia* to the *Spartans*, but rather to ſend Deputies to *Athens*, to demand the reſtoring of the antient Government. This ſalutary Counſel preſerved the State; the *Four hundred* were depoſed without tumult, and a Decree enacted for the recalling of *Alcibiades*.

Clean. So he returned to his Native Land.——

Pal. He returned, but not immediately.—His firſt care was to fix *Tiſſaphernes* in the *Athenian* intereſt, and to prevent the ſailing of the *Phoenicians*, who had received orders to join the *Peloponneſians*. Whilſt he was employed in this commiſſion, a part of the *Athenian* Fleet had made towards the *Helleſpont* in purſuit of *Doricus* Admiral of the *Syracuſian* Galleys, and of *Mindarus* the *Spartan*; *Alcibiades* therefore, willing to ſignalize his Revocation by ſome Exploit, haſtened after them with about twenty Ships, and coming up at the very time of the engagement, when the *Lacedemonians* leaſt expected it, joined his Countrymen[q], and notwithſtanding the efforts of *Pharnabazus*, who had marched down to the ſea-ſhore to ſupport *Mindarus*, obtained the *Athenians* a complete Victory[q]. This

[q] Olymp. 92d. 2d. Year.——The Hiſtory of *Thucydides* is continued only to this year, being the twenty firſt year of the War—*Thucydides* in the concluſion of his Hiſtory makes mention of a Battle, previous to the one here related from *Xenophon*, fought

This ſucceſs had nigh proved fatal to him; for having ventured to ſhew himſelf to *Tiſſaphernes* in the pride of a Conqueror, and affecting to diſplay before him the Spoils that he had taken, the *Perſian*, who had too much policy openly to avow the *Athenians*, whilſt his Maſter was in league with *Sparta*, commanded him to be ſeized, as a Traytor to the Great King.

Clean. What?——his fortunes obſcured already?

Pal. He ſoon eſcaped out of the hands of *Tiſſaphernes*, and went again in purſuit of the *Lacedemonians*. At this time *Mindarus* lay with the *Spartan* fleet before *Cyzicus* a City of *Myſia*, and at a ſmall diſtance from him was *Pharnabazus* encamped with a powerful Army. Notwithſtanding this formidable ſhew, *Alcibiades* reſolved to hazard a battle, and having ordered a Body of his troops to land and attack *Pharnabazus*, he himſelf engaged the *Spartans*. The Diſpute was ſharp and obſtinate; but in the end the *Athenians* prevailed on every ſide; the *Perſians* were routed; the *Spartan* Fleet deſtroyed; and *Mindarus* ſlain[r]. As for *Pharnabazus*, he was ſo terrified at this defeat, that he covenanted to concern himſelf no farther in the War againſt *Athens*.

Eud. Did not the *Spartans* alſo ſue for peace?

Pal. They ſued; but the *Athenians*, always inſolent in ſucceſs, proudly rejected all terms of accommodation, and loſt an opportunity, which never offered more.——After ſome other Exploits, *Alcibiades*,

fought likewiſe in the *Helleſpont*, and between the *Athenians* and *Mindarus*. From theſe circumſtances ſome have thought it to be the ſame Battle, but recorded more minutely by *Xenophon*. However there is reaſon to believe there were two different Engagements, that cloſely ſucceeded one the other: in the former——the *Athenians* had the advantage, though not conſiderably; in the latter, of which I have taken notice, *Mindarus*, though joined by *Dorieus* with a Fleet from *Italy*, was defeated by the coming up of *Alcibiades*.

[r] Olymp. 92d. 3d. Year.

crowned with Glory, returned to *Athens*[s], where he was received, as it were, in triumph, amid the loudeſt acclamations, all the people crouding out to the Port to meet him; the *Holy Heralds* were ordered to change the *Execrations* they had pronounced againſt him into *ſolemn Bleſſings*, and the only ſtrife was, who ſhould pay the higheſt honours to *the Deliverer of his Country*. But however, theſe were the laſt of his proſperous Days. After he had for ſome time enjoyed the exultations of his Fellow-Citizens, he was obliged to leave *Athens*; for new diſturbances were breaking out in ſome of the *Grecian* Iſlands. The *Athenian* Affairs in *Ionia* alſo began to be in a dangerous ſituation. *Cyrus* had been appointed Governour of all the Provinces of the Leſſer *Aſia:* he was ſecond Son to *Darius*, and, though only ſixteen years old, had been intruſted with this important Commiſſion, through the intrigues of his Mother *Paryſatis*, who had it in her views to ſupplant his elder brother, and to place him on the *Perſian* throne. *Lyſander* alſo had been ſent from *Sparta* to command in the room of *Mindarus*. This new Admiral was fraught with all the Arts, that could recommend him at a Court, ſuch as that of *Cyrus*; he was ſupple; inſinuating; a zealous Admirer of the young Prince, who in truth was adorned with ſeveral excellent Qualifications; and knew how to give his flattery the moſt pleaſing dreſs. Thus endowed, he could not but win the favour of *Cyrus*, who unfortunately from his infant years had been accuſtomed to the ſervile adulations of the degenerate *Perſians*. Beſides, the Prince had received directions at *Suſa* to ſupport *Lacedemon*, which he was the more diſpoſed to do out of hatred to *Tiſſaphernes*, whoſe connections with *Alcibiades* were at leaſt ſuſpected; ſo that the *Athenians* loſt all hopes of aſſiſtance

[s] Towards the cloſe of the firſt year of the 93d. Olympiad.

aſſiſtance on the ſide of *Perſia*. Theſe Changes made it neceſſary for *Alcibiades* to take a progreſs through the *Ionian* Cities, and ſollicit ſupplies from them; and the care of the Fleet during his abſence he committed to *Antiochus*, a Man, who had no other merit, than that of being Miniſter to his Pleaſures. He had ſtrictly enjoined it to him, not to attempt any thing; but *Antiochus* could not reſiſt the temptation of commanding on a Day of Battle; and having accordingly defied *Lyſander*, he was routed with the loſs of fifteen Galleys [t].

Eud. And to the ruin of *Alcibiades*'s fortune, if I miſtake not.

Pal. Such an inſtance of ill conduct afforded too fair a pretence to thoſe that envied him, not to be improved to his deſtruction; and the People, who never forgave the want of ſucceſs, eagerly liſtening to his accuſers, he was deprived, and ten Admirals appointed to command in his ſtead. The following year, happened the memorable Fight at *Arginuſae*, three Iſlands ſituated between *Leſbos* and the *Aſiatic* coaſt. *Callicratidas*, who had ſucceeded *Lyſander*, beſieged *Conon* one of the *Athenian* Admirals in the port of *Mitylene*. The other Admirals reſolved to extricate him; and having brought together the remainder of the *Athenian* Fleet, they prepared to attack the *Spartans*. In the Engagement *Callicratidas* was ſlain, and ſeventy of his Ships ſunk or taken. You would hardly expect, *Cleanthes*, that ſo glorious a Victory ſhould have proved criminal to thoſe, by whoſe valour and conduct it was obtained. It happened that in the fight there were ſunk twenty five of the *Athenian* Galleys;

[t] Olymp. 93d. 2d. Year.

Galleys; and directions had been given to *Theramenes* to take up the Bodies of the Dead, and to perform to them the laſt duties: for among the *Athenians* it was accounted the greateſt impiety to ſuffer their Citizens to be deprived of the rites of Obſequies: but, a ſtorm ariſing, *Theramenes* had it not in his power to execute his Orders; and at his return to *Athens*, finding that there was much murmuring on this account, he, to exculpate himſelf, charged the Admirals with having neglected this important Office. No People, you know, was more eaſily inflamed than the *Athenians*, when their Superſtitions were in queſtion. In vain did the Admirals repreſent *the ſervices they had performed, the ſhattered condition of their ſhips, the tempeſtuous weather that followed*, all their Remonſtrances were ineffectual, and they were condemned to die. At the firſt, many of the *Athenians* oppoſed the cruel ſentence, but terrified by the menaces of the People, who threatened to involve in the ſame fate thoſe who appeared in their behalf, they all deſiſted, *Socrates* excepted—he was *Epiſtate*, or Preſident of the Day—notwithſtanding all their threats, he boldly refuſed to accede to ſo unjuſt a Decree, and, to his immortal honour, ſtood alone againſt the violence of the impetuous Multitude.

Clean. And did theſe brave men really ſuffer death?

Pal. Of the ten Admirals, ſix were executed: *Conon* and *Leon* were not preſent at the engagement; and of the eight remaining two ſaved themſelves by flight[u]. *Diodorus* has recorded a remarkable

[u] The two, that eſcaped by flight, were *Protomachus* and *Ariſtogenes*—*Diomedon*, *Thraſylus*, *Eraſinides*, *Lyſias*, *Ariſtocrates*, and *Pericles*, Son to the Great *Pericles*, ſuffered Death.

remarkable Speech made by one of theſe unhappy Victims, *Diomedes*, a man of blameleſs Manners, and high Military Character; as they were leading him out, he deſired to be heard, *Oh*, Athenians, ſaid he, *may this Sentence, by which we die this day, iſſue in the proſperity and happineſs of this Commonwealth; our laſt breath ſhall be employed in praying for our Country: but at leaſt remember, that our Vows and Thankſgivings to the Immortal Gods, who bleſſed our Arms with Victory, are yet unpaid; ſince it is no longer in our power, be it your care to diſcharge that ſolemn Duty.* He ſaid, and marched on to Execution. The ſame Author adds, that they were attended by all the Virtuous Citizens, who were melting into tears at the undeſerved fate and noble deportment of thoſe excellent Men [w].

Clean. How could that People ever find Generals to fight their Battles, after ſo ſignal an ingratitude?

Pal. You ſhall ſee this iniquitous condemnation ſeverely viſited on them. However the People ſoon repented of the unjuſt Sentence, and treated with abhorrence thoſe, who had been foremoſt in the proſecution [x]. The enſuing year, the *Lacedemonians* proſpered greatly: for *Lyſander*, who had been reinſtead

[w] Olymp. 93d. 3d. Year.

[x] *Lyſander* could not be Admiral a ſecond time, it was inconſiſtent with the Laws of *Sparta*; therefore *Aracus* had the title of Admiral, but *Lyſander* had the power.

[y] The Public Hatred fell chiefly on *Cleophon*, who pleaded againſt the Admirals, and on *Callixenus*, who preferred the decree; but it is ſurpriſing that *Theramenes* was not dealt more hardly with; and yet is he ſpoken of in Hiſtory, as a Man of humane diſpoſitions. I ſuppoſe, the favour ſhewn to him aroſe from his being, in a manner, driven to accuſe the Admirals, in order

inſtated in the Command[y], was all-powerful with *Cyrus*; and when that young Prince, on account of ſome Acts of cruelty he had been guilty of, received orders from *Darius* to return to *Suſa*, he gave directions that the Tribute of all his Provinces ſhould be paid to the *Lacedemonian* Admiral. By means of this, *Lyſander* was enabled to enterprize mighty things; he ſurpriſed ſeveral of the Iſlands; he reduced part of *Caria*; and laid ſiege to *Lampſacus*, an opulent City on the Streights of the *Helleſpont*. The *Athenian* Fleet at this time was commanded by *Conon*, *Adiamantus*, and *Philocles*, who immediately haſtened to the relief of this Confederate City; but hearing on their way that it was already in the hands of the Enemy, they anchored at *Aegos-Potamos*, a Place on the *Thracian* Coaſt, oppoſite to *Lampſacus*. It was the purpoſe of *Conon* and his Collegues to provoke the *Spartans* to an engagement, for they were only about two Miles diſtant from them; and therefore early each day was their fleet formed in line of battle: but *Lyſander* ſeeming to decline the challenge, this rendered the *Athenians* remiſs and licentious, and the Soldiers generally went on ſhore towards the cloſe of Day, and ſpent the Night in relaxation and revellings. *Lyſander* was an expert General; he ſaw that he had ſufficiently encouraged the ſecurity of the *Athenians*; one Evening therefore, ſoon as the light Veſſels, which he had ſent to obſerve when the *Athenians* went on Shore, had given the appointed ſignal, he ordered his Fleet to move on, and

order to exculpate himſelf: they had charged him with the care of the Dead; and therefore, if they were not found guilty, he muſt have ſuffered.

and attack the *Athenian* Galleys. *Conon* was the firſt, who perceived them advancing, and all that could then be done he did; he commanded the Alarm to be ſounded, he himſelf called aloud on his men, he beſought, he threatened, but to no purpoſe, they were already diſperſed along the ſhore, many of them o'er whelmed with ſleep, all of them unarmed and in confuſion; and the few that betook them to their Ships, and endeavoured to make oppoſition, were ſlain in the attempt [z]. Thus at one blow, in one inſtant, was the ſtrength of *Athens* deſtroyed; *Conon* with eight Galleys only eſcaping to *Cyprus*. The other Generals with three thouſand *Athenians* were taken Priſoners; of theſe *Adiamantus* alone was ſpared, becauſe in the proſecution of the War he had ſhewed mercy; the reſt were all put to death. Judge, *Cleanthes*, what was the Conſternation of *Athens*, or the Triumph of *Lacedemon*, at the receit of this important News. In the mean time, *Lyſander* purſued his victory, and reduced all the Cities and Iſlands, that had been ſubject to that unfortunate People, diſmiſſing the *Athenian* Garriſons, where-ever he came, and ordering them to repair to *Athens*.

Clean. To *Athens!*——Why ſo, *Palaemon?*

Pal. To croud that City, that it might be the more eaſily famiſhed, when the *Spartans* ſhould beſiege it. That time of diſtreſs came ſpeedily. *Agis*, and *Pauſanias*, who had ſucceeded his Father *Pliſtoanax*, marched againſt it, and *Lyſander* with a Fleet of above two hundred Galleys appeared before the *Pirean* Port, ſo that all the Avenues were entirely blocked up, and the City ſoon began to feel the want of Proviſions.

[z] Olymp. 93d. 4th. Year; the twenty ſeventh of the War.

Notwithſtanding theſe dreadful ſtraits, the *Athenians* ſtill defended themſelves; for the *Lacedemonians* refuſed to enter into treaty, except their Walls were demoliſhed. At laſt, preſſed by ſore famine, they impowered *Theramenes* to go to *Sparta*, and endeavour at any price to ſave the wretched remains of the *Athenian* People. Accordingly peace was obtained on theſe conditions—*that the Long Walls and Fortifications of the* Piraeus *ſhould be levelled with the ground*——*that all their Ships, twelve only excepted, ſhould be given up to* Sparta——*that they ſhould reſtore all thoſe they had baniſhed—and that they ſhould in all things follow the* Lacedemonian *Fortune.* The *Boeotians*, the *Corinthians*, and other Confederates, gave their ſuffrages for the utter extirpation of *Athens*; but the *Spartans* alone oppoſed it, pretending that they could not conſent to the total overthrow of a City, that had deſerved ſo well of *Greece.* I ſuſpect much, that it was rather to preſerve a ballance againſt the *Boeotians*, than from generous motives, that *Sparta* was willing to ſpare that Rival State. It is obſerved, that the Day, on which the Walls were demoliſhed, was the Anniverſary of the Victory at *Salamis.* And *Plutarch* tells us, that *Lyſander* commanded the Walls to be demoliſhed, and the Ships to be ſet on fire, to the ſound of Inſtruments, the *Spartans* crowned with Garlands dancing along. How mean and unworthy, thus to encreaſe the diſtreſs and anguiſh of this afflicted People!—But they were now to bear the inſults of a proud conqueror, and to feel the Weight of miſery, which Corrupted Manners and ambitious ill-digeſted Counſels had brought on them.

Clean.

Clean. Poor *Athens!*——that this ſhould ever have been the fate of a People, once ſo generous, ſo great, and good!————Doth it not move you to tears, *Eudoxus*, to think that this ſhould ever have been the fate of ſuch a People!

DIALOGUE THE THIRTEENTH.

PALAEMON, EUDOXUS, *and* CLEANTHES.

PALAEMON.

YEſterday, *Cleanthes*, you were lamenting over the hapleſs fate of *Athens*, her Navies deſtroyed, and her Walls in ruins: but far more dreadful was the deſolation, that followed. That wretched City was now left expoſed to the rage of a licentious Conqueror; and *Lyſander*, as if he had thought it a light matter to have deprived her of all Military Defence, endeavoured to ſubdue the very Spirit of the People, and by Tyrannical Rule to break them to ſufferance and bondage. For this purpoſe he compelled them to elect thirty Perſons, whom he inveſted with unlimited power to model the Common-wealth, as they ſhould think expedient; they were to appoint the Senate, to name Magiſtrates, to preſcribe Laws: ſo that the Democracy was totally ſuppreſſed, and the State abandoned to the Luſt of theſe arbitrary Governors.

Eud. But were not they *Athenians*, who were thus intruſted with the Government?

Pal. Yes, *Eudoxus*, they were *Athenians*; and, for that very reaſon, the more ſevere and galling was the Scourge. *Lyſander* knew well, that *unlimited power makes Tyrants*; and that even thoſe, who appear moſt zealous for Liberty and juſt Laws,

[a] *Xenophont.* Hiſt. *Graec.* L. 2 *Plut.* in *Lyſandre* et *Alcibiade* *Juſtin.* L. 5.

Laws, are apt to oppreſs, when Deſpotic ſway is permitted to them. Beſides, theſe men had the indignation and hatred of thoſe, who had ſo lately been their Equals, to contend with, which muſt *naturally* have encreaſed their jealouſy, and exaſperated them the more to deeds cruel and mercileſs. And then conſider, by this artful contrivance the Odium was in ſome meaſure taken off from *Sparta:* it was by the hands of *Athenians*, that *Athens* ſuffered; her own Sons plunged the dagger into the boſom of their expiring Country.

Clean. And what, did theſe thirty *Athenians* become ſo tyrannical?

Pal. It is ſcarce to be believed, what exceſſes of cruelty they were guilty of. At firſt, their Proceedings, though rigorous, had the appearance of juſtice; and none, but thoſe, who were in ſome way criminal, were condemned to die. But, by degrees Avarice and Revenge led them on, and they found it neceſſary to have a Garriſon from *Sparta*, to ſupport them in their lawleſs meaſures. As ſoon as they had this addition of ſtrength, they gave a looſe to violence, and all the greateſt and beſt men of *Athens*, all thoſe, whoſe *Characters* could be a *reproach*, or *Fortunes* a *temptation* to them, were involved in the ſame fate; even not to applaud their conduct was a treaſon worthy of death; and every day was ſtained anew with blood. At length, ſome of the Tyrants themſelves thought it impolitic to go on thus; and it was reſolved to except from this general Proſcription three thouſand Citizens, whoſe Lives ſhould not be forfeited, but by a legal trial before the Senate. This gained them ſome friends; but as for all the other *Athenians*, they were ſacrificed promiſcuouſly, without even the formality of an accuſation. What is moſt

ſurpriſing

ſurpriſing, there were two, *Critias* and *Theramenes*, who had been diſciples to *Socrates*, and numbered among his friends; and yet in cruelty *Critias* excelled all the reſt: *Theramenes* indeed was of a gentler diſpoſition, and publickly declared againſt ſuch outrageous attempts. Theſe Declarations proved fatal to him; and *Critias*, apprehending that the People might be excited to aſſert their Liberties, charged him before the Senate, as a Mover of ſedition: but perceiving that the Senators liſtened favourably to *Theramenes*'s defence, "I, ſaid he, "put an end to all debate concerning "this matter, I eraſe *Theramenes*'s name out of "the liſt of the three thouſand, and therefore, his "Cauſe not being cognizable here, I, of my own "power, ſentence him to die:" and with the ſame breath ordered the Soldiers to lay hands on him. *Theramenes* endeavoured to eſcape, and made his way to an Altar, that was near; but that Sanctuary availed him not; he was torn away thence, and forced to ſwallow the *Draught of Hemlock*. An Execution, ſo dreadfully circumſtanced, terrified all *Athens*, and obliged moſt of the Citizens to ſeek a refuge in ſome of the other States of *Greece*.

Clean. But is it poſſible that the *Spartans*, after pretending to ſpare *Athens*, could have looked with pleaſure on barbarities ſo enormous.

Pal. It is ſo true, that they even publiſhed an edict, requiring, *that all the* Athenians, *that fled, ſhould be delivered up again into the hands of the Tyrants, and forbidding all Perſons, under the penalty of Five Talents, to aſſiſt them in their flight*. But the Principles of Humanity were more forcible than the Dread of the *Spartan* Power, and both the *Argives* and the *Thebans* ſhewed much kindneſs to this afflicted People. The *Thebans* eſpecially diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed themſelves; they impoſed a Mulct on thoſe, who ſhould refuſe protection to the *Athenian* Fugitives. This became the means of ſaving *Thraſybulus*, an *Athenian* of great birth, but much greater Virtues: he had eſcaped into *Boeotia*, but not content, except he could alſo contribute to the deliverance of his unhappy Country, he with thirty more ventured back into *Attica*, and ſeized on *Phylé*, a Caſtle near the Frontiers. The Tyrants, greatly alarmed at this enterprize, offered *Thraſybulus* any terms, even to admit him to a ſhare of the Sovereign Power, in *Theramenes*'s ſtead, if he would deſiſt. But he generouſly anſwered, that *no Offers ſhould ever bribe him from the ſervice of his Country, and that either he would redeem her from Slavery, or die in the Attempt.* So glorious a reſolution having drawn in numbers to him, he ſoon was in a condition to march againſt them, and in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of the *Pirean* Port. In a word, ſuch was the ſucceſs of *Thraſybulus*, the Tyrants were forced to leave *Athens*, and by the Virtue of one brave man the City was again reſtored to its antient Government and Peace [b].

Eud. This *Thraſybulus*, I remember, is highly extolled in hiſtory.——

Pal. He was a man, not only of great Abilities, but alſo of the ſtricteſt Probity, and moſt ſincerely zealous for the Public Good. Of this he gave a ſignal inſtance, after the Tyrants were expelled.—The wounds of *Athens* were yet bleeding freſh; and ſcarcely was there a Family of diſtinction, but had

[b] Olympiad. 94th 1ſt Year.—*Diodorus* falſely ſuppoſes the Tyrants to have held the Sovereign Power until the 4th Year of this Olympiad—whereas they were in power only about eight months. Vide *Dodwell.* Annal. *Xenoph.*

had cauſe to mourn the cruelties of the late Government: at the ſame time, all thoſe, who had been ſubſervient to the Tyrants power, had many gloomy fears, and hated a Revolution, which they apprehended muſt prove fatal to them. *Thraſybulus* ſaw this; and though his own wrongs called aloud for revenge, he nevertheleſs preferred the common Proſperity to all private regards, and propoſed a Law, *that all, that had been done in the Days of the Tyrants, ſhould be entirely forgotten.* This happy Expedient confirmed the public tranquillity, and cauſed Amity and Cordial Affection to ſucceed to Rancour and Diſtruſt.

Clean. I am amazed, *Palaemon*, that the *Spartans* did not ſupport the Tyrants?

Pal. This was owing to *Pauſanias*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, who, though he was commanded to march into *Attica* to their aſſiſtance, yet ſecretly favoured the deſigns of *Thraſybulus*; he looked on the Eſtabliſhment of the Thirty, as the work of *Lyſander*, and was jealous of that ambitious enterpriſing General: for *Lyſander* had new modelled the Government in moſt of the *Grecian* Cities, and, by conferring the authority on whom he pleaſed, had made to himſelf a number of Dependants.

Clean. But pray, was *Alcibiades* dead before this time? for there is no mention of him in all this.

Pal. He had been put to death, about the time that *Thraſybulus* entered *Attica*, by *Pharnabazus*, at the inſtigation of *Critias* and his Collegues: for, depreſſed and exiled as he was, he was formidable to that band of Tyrants. The Place he choſe firſt for his reſidence, after the defeat of *Antiochus*, was on the *Thracian* coaſt; but he moved thence, as ſoon as he heard that *Athens* was taken: for the *Spartans*,

Spartans, he well knew, would not ſpare him. It is ſaid, that they, who were ſent to murder him, did not dare to attack him openly, but ſet fire to the houſe, where he ſlept; and that *Alcibiades*, perceiving the flames, wrapped his Robe about his left arm, and with his Sword in his right hand ruſhed through, and was ſlain by the Darts and Arrows of the Aſſaſſins, none of them venturing to approach near him.——Such were the fatal rewards that aſpiring *Athenian* obtained to himſelf, he, whoſe extraordinary Endowments, if properly employed, might have rendered him a Bleſſing and an Ornament to his Country.

Scarcely were the *Athenians* recovered from the miſeries of the late War, when their own ſuperſtitious Phrenſy brought on them a new Calamity—a Calamity as much to be deplored, as any that Hoſtile Rage had yet expoſed them to; *the Condemnation and Death of the* Great Socrates. You have heard me, *Cleanthes*, make frequent mention of him: but ſuch was his whole Character, ſo diſtinguiſhed is the place he holds in the *Grecian* Annals, that I ſhould think your Improvement was not well conſulted, if I gave you not a more exact Portraiture of what this excellent man was.

He [c] was born of mean Parentage, and laboured under all the difficulties of an indigent fortune, having in his earlier Years loſt the little Patrimony, that was left to him: his Form was uncouth; his Voice coarſe; his Countenance harſh and ill-favoured; ſo that, you ſee, he was not poſſeſſed of any of the external Advantages, which uſually beſpeak regard and acceptance. But, to ballance this, he had a Mind

[c] *Plato* paſſim. *Xenoph.* in Memor. *Diogen. Laert.* in Socrate. *Cicero* plurimis locis.

fair and beautiful, great Strength of Parts, an amazing Quickneſs of Apprehenſion; and with all, a winning attractive Deportment and the moſt amiable Manners. His Natural Abilities he improved by the Study of Philoſophy; and as ſoon as he was capable of making a Choice, he determined to renounce all barren Speculations, and to confine himſelf to Truths, Moral, and Uſeful. In this view, he endeavoured not ſo much to ſearch into the Secrets of Nature, as to ſtudy Virtue: he brought Philoſophy from her myſterious dark Retreat into the chearful Ways of Men; he taught her to mix in the Buſtle of Cities, and to become the Ornament of Domeſtic Life. And this he did, not by profeſſed Lectures and ſet Diſcourſes; his whole Converſation—his whole Behaviour—was full of Inſtruction: at his Meals, in his Walks, in the Streets and Shops of *Athens*, in the Aſſemblies of the People, in the very Camp, and amidſt the Toils of War, he was always making wiſer thoſe, who had the happineſs to be near him; he was correcting their Faults, and informing their Underſtandings. Had *Alcibiades*, had *Critias*, and many other *Athenians* of thoſe times, remembered well his admirable Leſſons, they had lived happy and honoured. *Alcibiades*, as I told you, ſeemed above all others to be his choſen Care; the many noble Qualifications, with which Nature had endowed him, made him dear to *Socrates*, and he took uncommon pains to reſtrain his Vanity and Ambition.——*Do you know*, would he ſay to him, *what the Revenues and Expences of the Commonwealth amount to annually*——*What Appointments are neceſſary for the Maintenance of an Army*——*By what means you may raiſe Supplies?*——This was at the time, when *Alcibiades*, aſpiring and unexperienced,

ced, was compaſſing in his hopes the Adminiſtration of Public Affairs, and planning to himſelf, what mighty things he would do for *Athens*; he was to bid defiance to the whole *Perſian* Empire, and to make *Artaxerxes* tremble in his Palace at *Suſa*.——When the young *Athenian* was at a loſs how to anſwer theſe ſignificant Queſtions, *then*, would *Socrates* proceed, *what will* Ameſtris [d] *ſay, when ſhe hears that the Man, who meditates theſe mighty Enterprizes, and menaces ruin to her Son, is a raw unfledged-Stateſman, a Stranger to both the Political and the Military Arts, who has neither Intereſt at home, nor Weight abroad? how contemptuous will ſhe ſmile, when ſhe hears this; and ſcoff at the vain Preſumer?*——On an other occaſion, perceiving him much elated on account of his Riches and large Eſtate, he ſhewed him a Map of the World, and bade him find out *Attica* therein: he did; it was contracted into a little Speck: he then bade him point out his own Eſtate; but when that could not be done, *how mean is it then*, replied *Socrates*, *to prize yourſelf on that, which is ſo inconſiderable, that its place is not here to be found?*——In this manner did he cultivate the Minds of the Youths of *Athens*; the Diſſolute he formed to Sobriety and Temperance; the Froward to Modeſty and Submiſſion; the Impious to a Reverence of Religion, and a Life of Purity: *the beſt way of worſhipping the Deity*, would he ſay, *is to live as he commands*: he taught them to avoid the flowery paths of Pleaſure, to look down with indifference on Splendor and Wealth, to inure themſelves to Labour and Difficulties, and to meet the approach of all Dangers whatſoever with Firmneſs

[d] The mother of *Artaxerxes*.

and Intrepidity; for that Nothing was an *Ill*, but *to do Ill*, nor any thing *Honourable* and *Glorious*, but what was *Virtuous* and *Good.*—Neither were theſe Inſtructions the Dictates of Supercilious Pride and Oſtentation; they were the faithful Tranſcript of his own Practice: no man lived more abſtemiouſly; he deſpiſed the Opportunity of amaſſing Riches; he was meek, humble, patient under the ſevereſt trials, of unblemiſhed integrity, and ſtrict continence. And yet his Natural Diſpoſitions would have led him aſtray; he owned himſelf, that it had coſt him much ſtruggle to conquer the importuning ſollicitations of his Paſſions. This Severity, which he obſerved towards himſelf, did not render him auſtere and gloomy; he converſed freely with his Fellow-Citizens; he was preſent at their Entertainments; he was the Life of their Feaſts; ever pleaſant and gay; his moſt inſtructive Diſcourſes ſeaſoned with the Poignancy of Wit, and abounding in harmleſs Jeſts: Serenity and Chearfulneſs diffuſed themſelves, wherever he appeared; he was the Admiration of the Old, and the Joy of the Young; the Men of buſineſs crouded around him, and the proudeſt Stateſman liſtened to him with rapture.

Clean. Why, we ſhall all be in love with him, if you go on thus.

Pal. Such as he was in private Life, ſuch he was alſo in the diſcharge of all Public Duties: the ſame his Virtue, the ſame his Freedom of Spirit, and Integrity. Thrice he ſerved his Country in her Wars abroad, at *Potidaea*, at *Delium*, at *Amphipolis*; in every one of theſe Expeditions, he was an Example to the whole Army by his intrepid Courage, and patient abiding of all Hardſhips. At *Potidaea* particularly, he had a noble opportunity of

of diſtinguiſhing himſelf: the *Athenians* were obliged to remain at the Siege during the Winter, which in that Country is remarkably ſevere: nevertheleſs, *Socrates* went clad in his uſual manner; not even the meaneſt Soldier could withſtand the Inclemency of the Weather, like him; he would ſtand contemplating, on the frozen ground; he walked barefoot through heaps of Snow, at the very time, that the Army, though under their Tents, and wrapped in warm Furs, were ſcarce able to bear the rigour of the Seaſon. At this Siege he had the good fortune to ſave the Life of his beloved *Alcibiades*, when he was wounded and in imminent danger from the Enemy; *Socrates* ſtepped before him, and brought him off ſafely. And notwithſtanding, when the Judges would have conferred on *Socrates* the reward due to him, who had fought the beſt, he declined it, and by earneſt ſuit procured it for *Alcibiades*.——When the Plague ravaged *Athens*, he, alone of all thoſe in the City, never felt ſickneſs; he walked abroad amidſt the rage of the devouring Peſtilence, free from Apprehenſion, free from harm; aſſiſting, relieving his diſconſolate Fellow-Citizens.——But the moſt glorious part of his Character was the Manner, in which he acquitted himſelf in the Public Aſſemblies and Councils of the State: there he never was known to give either Advice or Suffrage, but from a ſound Judgment and an uncorrupted Heart, unmoved by danger, unbiaſſed by affection. He ſtrenuouſly ſpoke againſt the fatal Expedition to *Sicily*, though the darling Project of his own *Alcibiades*. He alone oppoſed the Violence of the People, when they unjuſtly condemned the ſix Admirals, who had deſerved ſo well at *Arginuſae*.——Soon after, it was his fate to ſee his Country in the hands

hands of her Enemies, and groaning under the yoke of Bondage: and yet, even then, he alone ſeemed to enjoy his antient Liberty. He boldly charged the Tyrants with their Murders and Oppreſſions; he ſtood againſt them, and avowedly diſobeyed their Commands, *becauſe*, he told them, *they were wicked and arbitrary*. When *Theramenes* was dragged to Execution, he attempted to reſcue him, at the hazard of his own Life. And when the Tyrants, that they might have ſome pretence againſt him, ordered him to go and apprehend an innocent Man, he refuſed peremptorily; *and what*, ſaid one of them, *doſt thou think*, Socrates, *to ſpeak thus, and not to ſuffer?*——*To ſuffer*—*yes*, replied he, *a thouſand Ills, but none ſo great, as to do unjuſtly*. They would have reſtrained him from inſtructing the *Athenian* Youths and Artificers, as they were ſuſpicious, that by his uſual Diſcourſes of Piety, of Juſtice, and the Public Good, the whole People would be ſpirited up to rebel againſt them: but it was ſcarcely poſſible to reſtrain him, without confining him intirely; for wherever he ſhewed himſelf, whatever Subject he treated of, he inſtructed.——At length, as he had conſtantly oppoſed, ſo he had alſo a conſiderable ſhare in the Subverſion of, this Government; for it is generally believed that the Deſigns of *Thraſybulus* and his Friends were communicated to him, and carried on with his Approbation. And it is extremely probable, that the Act of Oblivion, which ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed the Peace of *Athens*, was, partly at leaſt, of his deviſing; as there never was Man more averſe from violent Proceedings, never Man more ſincerely zealous to advance the Public Weal.

Clean. Palaemon, I have liſtened with admirati-

on

on; but ſay, is this he, whoſe Condemnation and Death you are to tell us of?

Pal. Attend, *Cleanthes*, ſome moments longer. ——*Socrates* was ſuperior to all the wiſeſt Men of *Greece*, not only in the Excellence of his Philoſophy, and the Dignity of his Manners, but alſo in the Notions he entertained of the Gods above. He looked on the received accounts of the *Pagan* Deities to be a Collection of abſurd *Legends*, the Offspring of the Licentious Fancy of Poets, and conſecrated by the diſhoneſty of the Prieſts, and the ſuperſtitious ignorance of the People. His Religion was far different. He believed a *GOD*, *One*, *Supreme*, *Arbiter of Events*, *of a Spiritual Nature*, *Infinite*, *Eternal*, *ſole Source of Being and Happineſs to all*, *poſſeſſing in himſelf every thing*, *that is Lovely*, *Great*, *and Good.*——*Neither Pride*, *nor Envy*, *nor Cruelty*, *nor Luſt*, ſaid *Socrates*, *find a place before him*; *but Wiſdom*, *Holineſs*, *Juſtice*, *Mercy*, *and Truth*, *are the conſtant Attendants of his Throne. Theſe are the Glorious Attributes he delights in, and by the imitation of theſe only is his Approbation to be purchaſed: and neither the richeſt Oblations, nor the moſt coſtly Victims, neither pompous Rites, nor myſterious Solemnities, ſhall render our Prayers valuable in his ſight, but only the humble Offering of a Mind, Upright, and Innocent. On thoſe, who approach him thus, he pours down his moſt benign influence; they are honoured with his favour; they are bleſſed with his protection; even after Death they are happy; the painful Journey of Life ended, they return to that Sacred Fountain of Joy, and partake of unchangeable Felicity.*——Such exalted Conceptions, ſo oppoſite to what the Prieſts taught, and the Multitude believed, could not fail of raiſing him many Enemies: and though he ſpake his thoughts on ſeveral

of

of theſe points, *ſparingly*, and with ſeeming Diffidence, yet was it well known, that the Opinions he entertained were extremely dangerous to the Intereſts of *Polytheiſm.*—Beſides, the *Sophiſts* bore an inverate hatred to him. When he firſt began to teach, theſe were the Men in poſſeſſion of the Schools of *Athens:* they were a Set of ſuperficial mercenary Boaſters, employed in uſeleſs Reſearches, and Maſters of nothing more than a vain Pedantry. Nevertheleſs, by the means of a flowing Elocution, and ſounding far-ſought expreſſions, were they held in admiration: their Art was to ſpeak on all Subjects, to confute all Arguments, to ſolve all Queſtions; they never were at a loſs for words, and, if they could not convince, they were ſure to puzzle. This kind of men had done irreparable miſchief to the *Athenian* Youths; they had corrupted their Minds as well as their Taſte; and, in the ſtead of Modeſty and Good Senſe, had inſpired them with Confidence and Petulancy. It was the endeavour of the excellent *Socrates* to ſilence theſe falſe Pretenders; and the *Teſt* which he put them to was a *trying* one: his Practice was to approach them with great ſhew of reſpect, and, as if for the ſake of inſtruction, to propoſe ſome plain Queſtion, ſuch as, *what Virtue was*——*what Piety conſiſted in*——*which were the moſt effectual means of pleaſing the Gods*——to theſe he required plain preciſe anſwers, which drew on a train of new Queſtions, till the preſſed Sophiſt, beaten out of all his Entrenchments, and ſelf-confuted, was left ſpeechleſs, and became the contempt of the Hearers. This Method of Reaſoning, called from him the *Socratic* Method, was of ſingular uſe; it defeated all ſhrewd diſtinctions, and Sophiſtical evaſions, Knowledge was clearly conveyed, and Truth placed in the moſt

moſt ſtriking light.——*Socrates* alſo had made himſelf Foes by his Freedom of reproof; for he regarded no danger, he ſpared no vice. Judge therefore what Perils he was expoſed to from ſuch a formidable Hoſt of Enemies. But how to attack ſuch a Perſon was the difficulty. To charge him with Immorality would carry its own refutation with it. It was therefore contrived to make the People laugh at this exalted Character; *they would reverence leſs, what they had been taught to ridicule:* accordingly, *Ariſtophanes* the greateſt Comic Writer of his Age was prevailed on to proſtitute his Wit to the baſe purpoſe, and *Socrates* was produced on the Stage in the moſt ludicrous point of view, that the Poet's Art could place him in. However, the Plot did not ſucceed completely, *Socrates* himſelf having taken off much of the Keenneſs of the Satire, by appearing in the Theatre at the very time, and joining in the Jeſt with his uſual Pleaſantneſs; but nevertheleſs ſuch impreſſions did it leave on the minds of many, as in the end proved fatal to this excellent man. This happened about twenty years before his Death: and probably the Troubles, that intervened, left it not in the power of his Enemies to attend to their reſentments. When the Public Peace was reſtored, they renewed their Deſigns; and a Formal Indictment was framed againſt him by *Anytus*, who had been the principal Agent in the firſt Affair; and *Melitus* a young man was perſuaded to join in the Proſecution. The Accuſation was conceived in the following manner—*he was accuſed of introducing new Gods, and not believing the Deities, which the City believed; and alſo of corrupting the Youths of* Athens. The *latter* was merely a groundleſs Suggeſtion: for on his trial it appeared, that even

his Adverſaries could only ſay, that he had erected himſelf into a Friend and faithful Counſellor to the *Athenian* Youths; that he had ſtolen away their Affections; that they obeyed him, reſpected him, obſerved him, with too much Devotement and Reverence. The *former* part of the Impeachment was better grounded: for certainly far different was the Religion of *Socrates*, from the idolatrous Superſtition of the *Athenian* People.

Socrates ſaw the Tempeſt gathering againſt him, calm and unmoved: and, inſtead of preparing for his defence, he employed the whole interval of time, between his Accuſation and Trial, in his uſual courſe of Public Inſtruction. This Indifference occaſioned infinite concern to his Friends: *Hermogenes* particularly urged to him, that his blameleſs Life, and Simplicity of Manners would avail but little before Judges, who might be led away by artful Repreſentations.—*Why, to own the truth to you*, replied *Socrates*, *I have a Monitor within*, his *Daemon* he called it, *that with-holds me from preparing any Apology.* At which *Hermogenes* expreſſing much wonder; *What*, continued *Socrates, is it ſtrange that God ſhould think it fit for me to die at this time*[e]*? Hitherto have I lived uprightly, which, as it has afforded the higheſt Delight to myſelf and to my Friends, ſo it is now my greateſt Comfort: If I continue here, I know I muſt undergo what is proper to Old Age, Defects of Hearing and Sight, Slowneſs to apprehend, Aptneſs to forget. How can I then be pleaſed to live longer, and grow worſe? It is likely God in his love to me has ordained, that I ſhould die in the moſt convenient Age, and by the gentleſt Means. Were I to defeat the attempts of my Enemies, I ſhould only ſtay longer to be taken away by the Torment of Diſeaſes, and the Imperfections of Age,*

[e] *Socrates* was then upwards of ſeventy years old.

Age, which truly, Hermogenes, *I deſire not. And, if when I give an account of my Actions, the Judges think fit to condemn me, I ſhall rather chuſe to die, than beg of them a Life worſe than Death.*

In like manner did he reſiſt the Importunities of all his Diſciples and Friends: for never was Man more dearly beloved, than was *Socrates* by thoſe, who had the happineſs to enjoy his daily Converſe. *Lyſias* an eminent Orator even compoſed an Oration for him, which he beſought him to make uſe of: *No,* ſaid *Socrates, it is a good one, but not fit for me.—Good, and not fit for you! How can that be?* replied *Lyſias.—Why,* anſwered the Philoſopher, *may not a Garment be too gay, and therefore not fit for me? Were Shoes to be brought to me of rich ſtuff and delicately made, I would not wear them*[f], *though of proper ſize.*——In the opinion of the excellent *Socrates,* this Oration had more of Elegance, than of Ingenuity and Manlineſs.

At length the Day of Trial came: and when his Proſecutors, *Anytus, Melitus,* and a certain Orator named *Lyro,* had inforced the Charge againſt him, he roſe up to make reply, which, though unpremeditated, he ſpoke with remarkable firmneſs of Voice, and Countenance undaunted.—What his *method of Life* had been, he appealed to the judgment of all *Athens*—what his *Deportment*—what his *Manners*—whether he had not preferred an *honeſt Poverty* to all the advantages of Wealth, and ſerved his Country with *unblemiſhed faith* in times of preſſing difficulty.—As to the *Youths of* Athens, *Who,* continued he, *can ſay, that I have corrupted them? Can you,* Melitus, *name one, whom I have rendered impious, impudent, prodigal, debauched,*

[f] *Si mihi calceos Sicyonios attuliſſes, non uterer.*—See Dial. 5: P. 161. N. k.

bauched, or effeminate? They obſerve me, it is true, and pay me filial reverence. But my Tenderneſs, my Watchfulneſs for their welfare, my Care of their inſtruction, the Opinion they have of my Abilities and Affection, have wrought this——theſe are the Endearments, that have made me a Father to them? ——And is it fit I ſhould die for this? Have I deſerved to ſuffer, for procuring good Citizens to the Common-wealth—for having contributed ſo largely to the advancement of the Public Happineſs?—— But withal, much were it to be wiſhed, that he had not failed in the principal point, and endeavoured to clear himſelf of the imputation of not believing in the Gods of his Country. *He had aſſiſted*, ſaid he, *at the ſolemn feſtivals. He had ſacrificed at the Public Altars.* How much more glorious, had he, in this important inſtance, reſolutely confeſſed his principles, and borne avowed witneſs againſt the Worſhip of the *Pagan* Gods? Howbeit, whether his Mind was not yet fully enlightened, or whether, according to ſome, he thought a reſpect to be due to the Eſtabliſhed Rites, and National Worſhip, certain it is, that he choſe to diſſemble his Sentiments, and leave the Religion of his Country unimpeached.

The Judges notwithſtanding were much offended at *Socrates*'s defence: for he had ſpoken in an aſſured manner, without either dejected look, or ſupplicating voice, rather as demanding juſtice, than ſuing for favour. This had ſuch an effect, that two hundred and eighty one gave their ſuffrages for his Condemnation. It was the cuſtom among the *Athenians*, when the Accuſed was caſt, if the fault was not capital, to impoſe a pecuniary Mulct, and to aſk the Priſoner at what rate he eſtimated his Offence. The Judges therefore put the

the queſtion to *Socrates*. But our Philoſopher, diſdaining all mean conceſſions, replied, that he ſentenced himſelf to have the higheſt honours conferred on him for his Services, and that he ſhould be maintained at the Public Charge, as long as he lived. This bold Aſſertion of his Innocence encreaſed the indignation of the Judges, and eighty more joining in the condemnation, they ſentenced him to die. In vain did his Diſciples attempt to plead in his behalf, *Plato* himſelf would have ſpoken, but they were all ſilenced: Prepoſſeſſion and mad Rage held the ſway, and, to the eternal reproach of *Athens*, was the Greateſt and Beſt of her Citizens laden with Fetters, and condemned to die by the *Draught of Hemlock.*

Socrates received the Sentence with his uſual compoſure—*What ſhould deject me now*, ſaid he, *more than before I was condemned, ſince I am not the more guilty? That I die thus, troubleth me not; it is not opprobrious to me, but to thoſe, who have condemned me. I know well, how future times will account of this matter, for never did I hurt or injure any, on the contrary has it been my Delight to benefit all that converſed with me, to the utmoſt of my Abilities.* From the Place of Judgment he was conducted to Priſon; and when he went into it, then, ſays a noble *Roman*, it ceaſed to be the *Dwelling of Reproach* [g], it became the Abode of Peace, of Juſtice, of Virtue. The Evening before his condemnation, the Prieſt of *Apollo* crowned the ſacred Veſſel, that was to ſail to *Delos:* this Solemnity was annually obſerved in diſcharge of a Vow *Theſeus* made, when he was ſent to *Crete*; and the Cuſtom was, that the

[g] *Carcerem intravit, ignominiam ipſi loco detracturus. Seneca de Cons.*

the City ſhould be luſtrated, in order to the Ship's departure, and that, until it returned, no Criminal ſhould be put to death. On this Occaſion there elapſed thirty Days before its return; and during this interval did his Friends employ all their Efforts to ſave him. Some of them offered to carry him off by force, which he not only refuſed but derided, aſking them, *did they know any place out of* Attica, *whither Death could not come.* *Crito*, an *Athenian* of great figure and wealth, had even by his frequent viſits and large preſents gained an intereſt with the Jaylor, and two Days before his death would have prevailed on him to make his eſcape. It happened, that *Crito* coming in, when *Socrates* was aſleep, he ſat down by him, rapt in ſilent wonder at the ſoundneſs, with which he ſlept, and at the Calmneſs, that overſpread his Countenance. When he awoke, *Crito* earneſtly urged the matter to him: he beſought him, in the name of his *Country*, which muſt be diſgraced for ever, ſhould he ſuffer by the unjuſt angry Sentence ſhe had pronounced—in the name of his *Friends*, to whom Poſterity would impute it, as if they had neglected his preſervation—in the name of his *Children*, who were now to be deprived of the inſtructions and guidance of the tendereſt and beſt of Parents—to haſten away, and provide for his ſafety. All things, he told him, were in readineſs, and the buſineſs required diſpatch, for that the Sacred Galley was at *Sunium*, and would be at *Athens* the following Day. *The kindneſs you intend me*, replied *Socrates*, *deſerveth my warmeſt acknowledgments, and fully do I feel the ſtrength of every Motive you have urged to me; but am I at liberty to yield to the impreſſion? Do not I owe obedience to the Laws of my Country? Have I not lived all my days under their protection?*

protection? Have I not ſubjected myſelf to their Deciſion? And therefore, though condemned unjuſtly, am I not bound to ſubmit to what they have determined? Methinks the Laws are even now before me, inveſted with Forms, and upbraiding me aloud: "Tell "Us, *Socrates*, what purpoſe you to do? Know "you not that by this attempt of yours, you are "deſtroying, as far as in you lieth, both Us and "the Commonwealth? Can a State ſubſiſt, when "the Laws are without force, deſpiſed and tram-"pled on by private Perſons? You have been "injured by Men, and not by the Laws; and if "you retort the injuſtice by breaking the Compact "you have made with Us, you injure the whole "Body of the *Athenian* People, and weaken the "Public Security. Nor ſhall your Eſcape avail "you. Wherever you are, we will follow and "reproach you, and even after this Life, ſhall "Our Siſters, the Laws of the Inviſible World [h], "call you to a ſevere account for the Contempt, "you have wantonly brought on Us."—This lively Apologue ſilenced *Crito*. Admiration and Tears were all the Reply he had to make.

As *Crito* conjectured, the Galley returned. And the enſuing morning all the Friends of *Socrates* that were in *Athens*, *Plato* excepted, who was ſick, repaired to the Priſon. As they came early, that they might be the longer with him, they were detained ſome time at the door, becauſe the *Eleven* were with *Socrates*, notifying to him, that he was to die on that day, and taking off his Fetters; for at *Athens* it was eſteemed impious to hold a Perſon in bonds on the Day of his Execution, as he was then accounted the Victim and Property of Death.

That

[h] Οἱ ἐν Ἅιδου νόμοι. In Crit.

That ominous Ceremony performed, they were admitted: and as ſoon as *Xanthippe* the Wife of *Socrates* ſaw them, *O Socrates*, cried ſhe, burſting out into tears, *this is the laſt time thou ſhalt behold thy friends, or thy friends ſhall behold thee. Crito*, ſaid *Socrates, let her be conducted home.* And accordingly, ſome of *Crito*'s Attendants led her away. *Socrates*, who was now alone with his friends, began to converſe with his wonted tranquillity, adapting his diſcourſe to the ſituation he was in, and endeavouring to render every hour that remained to him, to the utmoſt of his power, inſtructive and exemplary. *How unaccountable*, ſaid he, rubbing his Leg, where the Chain had lately galled him, *is that they call Pleaſure? how nearly connected with Pain, to which it ſeemeth ſo contrary? for whoever enjoyeth the one, muſt unavoidably receive the other, as if Nature had linked them together. I believe*, added he, *had* Æſop *thought on the ſubject, he would have deviſed ſome ſuch fable*, " that God, " deſigning to reconcile theſe two Antagoniſts, " and finding it impoſſible, had joined them by " the end, ſo that to whomſoever the one cometh, " the other immediately ſucceeds;" *as I at preſent experience, the Pain, which my Chains occaſioned to me, being now followed by a pleaſing ſenſation.* Having after this anſwered ſome queſtions, which his friends made to him, *This Day*, continued he, *I am to go hence, ſo have the* Athenians *ordered it, and far from purſuing me with lamentations, there is no one of you but muſt eſteem ſuch a Departure extremely advantageous and deſireable.* Some of his Diſciples ſeeming to conclude from this, that a Wiſe man ſhould ſeek Death;—*To every one*, replied the excellent *Socrates, has God aſſigned his Poſt here, which to deſert without his permiſſion were highly*

highly impious. Would you not be diſpleaſed, were your Slave to kill himſelf, and ſo deprive you of your Property? and would you not, if in your power, puniſh him? Now we are the Property of God, acting here by his Appointment, and under his Superintendency; and therefore, in whatever Station he has thought fit to place us, in it are we to abide, until he is pleaſed to ſend us a Summons, ſuch as he ſendeth now to me. But, anſwered *Cebes* the *Theban*, the Author of that beautiful Mythological Picture of human Life, which, *Eudoxus*, you were reading the other Day, "If, *Socrates*, we are the Property "of the Supreme Being, and acting under his "Superintendency, why ſhould you be deſirous "to remove from under that Superintendency, and "to ceaſe to be his Property? No man ſurely can "think to improve his condition by freeing himſelf "from ſo excellent a Government." *Oh Cebes, Socrates* replied, *did I believe that, by departing hence, I was to ceaſe to bethe Property of the Great Parent of the Univerſe—were I not perſuaded that even after the diſſolution of this, ſomething of man ſtill remaineth; and that, when I leave you, I ſhall go to a Juſt Judge, and to a Society of Men far better, than any on the earth; I were inexcuſable for contemning death. But know ye, it is my hope, that I ſhall be admitted to ſee and conſort with the Juſt and Upright of former Ages. And however that may be, yet of this at leaſt am I aſſured, that I ſhall return to the Juſteſt and Beſt of Governors, and that this Change, though fatal to the Wicked, ſhall be found happy and glorious to the Good. For there are two Roads, and a two-fold Fate to Souls, after their Departure hence. Thoſe, which have fallen from their perfection, and have polluted themſelves with Vice, are ſent by a dreary ſolitary way, ſecluded from*

the Council of the Gods. But the Souls, which have preſerved themſelves entire from the Contagion of the Body, and have here below imitated the Lives of the Gods above, have an open way prepared for them, and return again to the Supreme Source of Wiſdom and Happineſs. When he had finiſhed his Diſcourſe on the Immortality of the Soul, *Crito* aſked him, "what directions he would give concerning his "Children, and whether he had any thing to en-"joyn to his friends." *I enjoyn to you,* ſaid he, *nothing more than I have often told you, that you ſhould take right care of yourſelves; then, whatever you do, it will be acceptable to them that belong to me: but if you neglect yourſelves and Virtue, you can do no acceptable ſervice to us, though you ſhould promiſe ever ſo largely.* "*But how will you be buried?*" continued *Crito. As you think good,* replied he, *if you can contrive that I do not ſlip from you.* Then with a ſmile, turning to *Phaedon* and the reſt, *I cannot perſuade* Crito, *that I, who now ſpeak to you, am any thing more than the Corps, which he will preſently behold, and therefore aſketh he, how I will be buried. It ſeems what I even now told him, that from hence I ſhall go to the Joys of the Bleſſed, has not yet convinced him. But let it not be ſaid, that* Socrates *is carried to the Grave; for ſuch a miſtake, my dear* Crito, *were a wrong to my Soul. Be not therefore dejected; tell the World, my Body only is buried, and that—after what manner thou pleaſeſt.* He now retired into an inner room to bathe, that his body might not need any cleanſing, when he ſhould be dead: and having bathed, he commanded his Wife and Children to be again brought in, with whom after he had diſcourſed ſome time, and taken his laſt leave of them, he returned to the Philoſophers.

Towards

Towards Sun-ſet, the Servant of *the Eleven* came to acquaint him, that it was the hour for *drinking the Hemlock.* From the nature of his Office, the buſineſs of Executions was habitual to him; and yet ſo deeply was he affected by what he had ſeen of the Deportment, and meek Carriage of *Socrates*, during his Confinement, that he was all in tears, when he delivered his Meſſage. *How humane is this Man*, obſerved the Philoſopher; *I have found him the ſame all the time of my Impriſonment: he often would viſit me, diſcourſe me, and always uſed me courteouſly; and now ſee how kindly he weepeth for me.* When the Hemlock was ſufficiently brewed, *Socrates* took the Bowl, not only without the leaſt diſcompoſure, but even with chearfulneſs, and looking on the Executioner, *Is it not lawful*, ſaid he, *to make a libation with part of it?* The man having anſwered, that he had only prepared enough for one Potion: *Yet*, ſaith he, *is it lawful, and it is my duty to pray to the Gods, and with all my Soul do I beſeech them, that my Paſſage hence may be happy:* and thus ſaying, drunk off the Hemlock. As ſoon as his Diſciples ſaw, that he had finiſhed the deadly Draught, they could no longer refrain, but gave a looſe to immoderate grief, ſome of them roaring out aloud. *For ſhame, my Friends*, ſaid he; *to prevent this I ſent away the Women. I have heard that we ought to die with Joy and Gratulation*[h]. *Compoſe yourſelves therefore, and bear this, as becometh you.* This reproof forced them to ſuppreſs their tears. Having walked about a little, as the Executioner had directed, and feeling his Legs ſtiffen, he laid him down on the bed, and covering his Face with his Gown, remained for ſome time

[h] ἐν εὐφημίᾳ. In *Phaed.*

in ſilent meditation: but ſhortly after raiſing himſelf, *O Crito*, ſays he, *I owe a Cock to* Eſculapius, *pay it, neglect it not.* This—it has been ſuppoſed—for the ſake of the honeſt ignorant man that attended, that a Reſpect might appear to be preſerved to the Public Religion. Theſe were the laſt words he ſpoke; and, in ſome few minutes after, he expired.

Eud. What a Scene, *Cleanthes!*

Pal. Thus died[i], ſays *Plato*, the beſt, the wiſeſt, the moſt juſt of Men[k], and ſafely may we ſay, the Greateſt of the *Pagan* World, a Man, who far exceeded all the Heathen, that went before him, and whom none of thoſe, that followed, ever equalled, even with the advantage of that train of light he left behind him. In whom it ſeemeth as if Providence meant to ſhew, what the mere ſtrength of Reaſon could avail towards reſcuing Human Nature from its depraved ſtate, and reſtoring the Empire of Truth and Virtue. For in ſeveral material inſtances *Socrates* had his doubts; he himſelf confeſſed this; he himſelf wiſhed for ſome better information; and ſpoke earneſtly, and in a kind of Prophetic View, of ſome Perſon to be ſent from Heaven to inſtruct and guide Mankind in the ways of truth[l]. And certainly, if there were theſe Obſcurities and Wants to that acute, candid, ſedulous, Inquirer; to him, who had an head ſo excellent, and an heart ſo honeſt; if in *Greece*, in the midſt of *Athens*, even a *Socrates* ſtood in need of farther inſtruction, how wretched muſt have been the condition of the Bulk of Men.

Clean.

[i] Olymp. 95th. 1ſt. Year.

[k] Ἥδε ἡ τελευτὴ ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτου, καὶ δικαιοτάτου. In *Phaed.*

[l] Vide *Alcibiad.* 2.

Clean. But how did his Diſciples behave after the loſs of ſuch a Maſter?

Pal. Never was Man more regretted. All the Wiſe and Good of *Athens* lamented him; *Plato* was inconſolable; *Iſocrates* and the reſt of the Philoſophers put on the deepeſt mourning; and ſoon as they had paid their laſt duties to their beloved Maſter, they retired to *Megara* [m], partly to avoid the place, where they had ſeen him die, and partly to provide for their own ſecurity, whilſt Calumny and bloody Perſecution thus prevailed at *Athens.*

Eud. But did not the *Athenians* ſoon recover from their Phrenſy?

Pal. Yes; many things contributed to make them repent of this raſh Condemnation—the flight of the Philoſophers—the lonely Silence, that ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of thoſe Places, where the inſtructive Voice of *Socrates* was wont to be heard—the Indignation, which all *Greece* expreſſed againſt them. It is even ſaid that, ſhortly after *Socrates*'s death, ſeveral Perſons coming from different Cities to hear him, and being informed that he had ſuffered by the hands of his own Citizens, they would not ſo much as enter into *Athens*, but, inquiring in what place he was buried, repaired thither, and breaking forth into paſſionate lamentations affectionately kiſſed the very duſt, that lay on the ſepulchre. Theſe Events awakened the *Athenians* to a ſenſe of their injuſtice, and turned their rage againſt his Proſecutors. *Melitus* was put to death,

[m] To *Euclid*, one of *Socrates*'s Diſciples, not the Mathematician, but the Inſtitutor of the *Megaric* Sect. He was ſuch an Admirer of *Socrates*, that when the Decree againſt the *Megareans* (See Dial. 11. P. 497) ſubſiſted, he was wont to go by night from *Megara* to *Athens*, twenty miles, diſguiſed in the dreſs of a Woman, to hear him.

death, without the formality of a trial. *Anytus* was baniſhed, and fleeing to *Heraclea* was ſtoned there. And the reſt, who had been concerned in the wicked proſecution, in ſuch deteſtation were they held at *Athens*, that the *Athenians* would not permit them to kindle fire at their houſes, or waſh in the ſame water with them, or anſwer them a Queſtion, ſo that moſt of them laid violent hands on themſelves. His Diſciples alſo were invited back, and reſtored to their former liberty of meeting. All Sports and Public Spectacles were interdicted for a time, and ſuch an exceſſive ſorrow appeared in all ranks of men, that the Magiſtrates thought it neceſſary to reſtrain it, and to decree that the Name of *Socrates* ſhould not be mentioned in the Theatre, or in any place of public concourſe.

Eud. No wonder, the *Athenians* ſhould mourn him thus—ſuch a Man, and deſtroyed by them!—But give me leave, *Palaemon*, to aſk you one or two queſtions. You mentioned his *Daemon*; what do you think he meant by it?

Pal. 'Tis likely, nothing more than the Suggeſtions of his Reaſon, which in a Man ſuch as he was, of much Obſervation, of enlightened Underſtanding, and diſpaſſionate Mind, muſt have been extremely juſt. This inward Monitor that excellent Man called the *Daemon*, or the *God within him*; it was the Divine Voice he obeyed in following the Dictates of that Reaſon, with which his Divine Creator had bleſſed him.

Eud. One Difficulty more I have with reſpect to the accounts concerning him. He certainly was known to be an Enemy to Polytheiſm. How then came it that the *Pythian* Oracle declared him the *Wiſeſt of Men?*——A Declaration, ſo inconſiſtent with

with the intereſts of the *Delphic* God, or at leaſt of his Prieſts and Prophets.

Pal. Doubtleſs, this was the Policy of the *Delphic* Councils. They were deſirous of fixing among their Votaries a Man of his exalted Character; and as none of the uſual Inducements could have effect on *him*, who was neither haunted with guilty fears, nor ſuſceptible of a weak credulity, who neither courted Office, nor was to be tempted by Wealth; Flattery, it was hoped, and the honour of the Suffrage of *the God* would gain him over. They failed—and perhaps the intrigues of this powerful Prieſthood had not a little ſhare in urging on his Condemnation.

Clean. Pray, *Palaemon*, are there any of the Writings of this extraordinary Perſon now extant?

Pal. No, he committed not his Doctrine to Writing; he taught by lively Diſcourſe, and active Virtue: and the accounts we have of him are chiefly from *Xenophon* and *Plato*, two of his Diſciples, whoſe Worth and diſtinguiſhed Abilities ſhew, how great the Man, by whom they had been inſtructed, and of whom they ſpeak with ſuch reverence and admiration. Many other Diſciples indeed he had, and various were the Philoſophic Sects, formed, as they profeſſed, on the Plan he had laid down: but nevertheleſs moſt of them departed from the Simplicity and Integrity of their excellent Maſter, and, in the ſtead of his genuine Amiableneſs of Character and natural method of inveſtigating truth, ſubſtituted a technical Language and affected Manners[n]; ſo that, if you would know him well, you muſt read him in the Works of the two eminent Perſonages, I have mentioned

[n] Vide *Ciceron.* de Offic. de Finib. et Tuſc. Quaeſt. *Diog. Laert.* and *Stanley*'s Lives of the Philoſophers.

mentioned to you—*Plato*, the famed Father of the Academic School, whoſe happy Genius, aſſiſted and ſublimed by the Leſſons and Example of the divine *Socrates* ‖, has obtained to him a Name one of the moſt illuſtrious of Antiquity—and *Xenophon*, in whom, it may be a Queſtion, whether the ſage diſcerning Philoſopher, the elegant Hiſtorian, or the cool intrepid General, deſerveth moſt our praiſe.

Clean. You did not mention *Xenophon* among thoſe, who attended him in his laſt hours?——

Pal. He was at that time a Commander in the Armies of *Sparta* °, and engaged in an Exploit one of the boldeſt and beſt conducted, that was ever carried into execution.

Eud. The Retreat of the ten thouſand you mean?——

Pal. I do—*Cleanthes* will be glad to know ſomething of that memorable Expedition.——You remember the young *Cyrus*, Son to *Darius Nothus*. His Father, I told you yeſterday, at the inſtance of the Queen *Paryſatis* had intruſted him with the Government of *Aſia the Leſs*. But ſoon was he obliged to order him back to *Suſa*. The young Prince was haughty and aſſuming, and, not contented with a delegated Power, ſought abſolute Sovereignty, and even put to death two Princes

‖ *Plato*, when his laſt hour was approaching, returned thanks to the Gods, that he had been made a Rational Creature; that he was born a *Greek*, and not a *Barbarian*; and that he had lived in the Days of *Socrates*.——Vide *Plut.* in *Mario*.

° After the engagements with *Cyrus*, he returned not to *Athens*, having been baniſhed by the *Athenians*, becauſe he had entered into the ſervice of a *Prince*, the declared friend of *Sparta*. He afterwards accompanied *Ageſilaus* in moſt of his Expeditions, and retired at length to *Corinth*, where he lived in great honour, highly reſpected by thoſe of his time, on account both of his ſhining Abilities and eminent Virtues.

Princes of the Royal Blood, Nephews to *Darius*, becauſe they had not covered their hands, when they appeared before him, a mark of reſpect due to none but the King. However the fond *Paryſatis* pleaded ſo forcibly in his behalf, that *Darius* forgave him. Shortly after, the King died. And, purſuant to his deſignation, his eldeſt Son *Artaxerxes Mnemon* or the *Rememberer*, ſo called from his extraordinary Memory, aſcended the Throne of *Perſia*. This to *Cyrus* was a Wrong not to be borne; he had been taught to look on the Regal Diadem as his deſtined Inheritance; and in the impotence of his rage he attempted the life of his Brother. Nevertheleſs the interceſſion of *Paryſatis* ſaved him again; and *Artaxerxes* not only forgave him, but was alſo weak enough to continue him in his Government of the *Aſiatic* Provinces. *Cyrus* had now, beſides the ſpur of his Ambition, the galling remembrance of being indebted to the mercy of an hated Rival, and returned to *Sardis* with firm purpoſe of revenge.—In this view he invited ſeveral *Grecian* Officers to his Court; he fixed them in his ſervice; he treated them with diſtinguiſhed confidence and affection; and what—by theſe courteous Arts, what—by the means of *Sparta*, with whom, you know, he had long ſince been connected, he formed a Body of thirteen thouſand choſen *Greeks*. His other Forces alſo he augmented under various pretences to the number of an hundred thouſand; and ſetting out, as if he meant only to chaſtiſe a neighbouring Province, after ſome time diſcloſes his deſign to the Army, and by dint of entreaties and ſplendid promiſes perſuades them to march on againſt the King. *Artaxerxes* was not unprepared; he had advice of his Brother's approach, and met him with nine hun-

dred thouſand Men at *Cunaxa* in the Plain of *Babylon.* Notwitſtanding the diſproportion of Numbers, Victory ſeemed at firſt to incline to the Prince, and already had the *Greeks*, with their uſual proweſs, broken through and routed thoſe, who were drawn up againſt them; when *Cyrus*, perceiving his Brother, and fired at the ſight, ruſhed impetuouſly through the midſt of the Royal Guards, crying out, *I ſee him*, ſlew *Artagerſes* their Captain, and ſtriking at the King, killed his horſe, and brought him to the ground; and that moment, had he been properly ſupported, might he probably have won the wiſhed-for prize of Empire: but ſome few only of his principal Officers had followed him; the ſtrength of his Army were engaged in other parts, or gone in purſuit of the Enemy, and on every ſide was he encompaſſed by the King's Servants; *Artaxerxes* alſo, having recovered himſelf, diſcharged his Javelin at him, which wounding him under the eye, he fell and was ſlain inſtantly. Soon as thoſe with him ſaw they had loſt their Maſter, they all killed themſelves. His men likewiſe, when they heard the news, laid down their arms, and ſubmitted; the *Greeks* excepted; they had ſuffered no defeat, and required that it ſhould be permitted them to return home with ſafety and honour: and at the firſt it was promiſed to them; but finding that this was an inſidious promiſe, and ſeveral of their Commanders having been perfidiouſly murdered, under pretence of a Conference with *Tiſſaphernes*, they reſolved to renounce all Treaty with the *Barbarians*, and to force their way back to *Greece.* Never was there a more daring Project. They were to make their way from a remote part of *Aſia*, in the face of a victorious Army, through the midſt of hoſtile barbarous Nations, acroſs deep rapid Rivers, and over

over Mountains of difficult acceſs and ſtupendous height. Nevertheleſs, undiſmayed by all theſe diſcouraging Circumſtances, they choſe new Generals, one of whom was *Xenophon*, and ſet out on their intended March: and after numerous Impediments and Adventures; after various Diſtreſſes, both from the Length and Difficulty of the way, and the Ambuſhes and Attacks of Enemies; they at length reached *Cotyora*, a *Grecian* Colony on the *Euxine* Sea, having employed one hundred and twenty two Days in their Journey, and travelled upwards of two thouſand Miles [P], Engliſh meaſure. When they reached the *Euxine*, they were reduced to the number of eight thouſand ſix hundred. There ended their march by land. At *Cotyora* they were furniſhed with Ships; and paſſing on from thence, firſt to *Thrace*, and then to the *Aſiatic* Coaſt, inliſted under *Thymbro* the *Lacedemonian*, who was commiſſioned to carry on the War againſt the *Perſian* Governors in thoſe parts.

Eud. A ſurprizing Retreat indeed!——How little vigour muſt there have been in this huge overgrown *Body*, when ſuch an handful of Men could thus triumph over it!

Pal. You ſee, *Eudoxus*, what numerous Hoſts and extenſive Territories avail, when there is not along with them Council, Activity, and Virtue. It is ſaid, that this Retreat pointed out to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the way to thoſe Victories, which have rendered his Name memorable. And doubtleſs,

[P] In the Aſcent and Deſcent they had two hundred and fifteen Days of marching, and, together with their Encampments, they employed in this Expedition one Year and three Months; and travelled thirty four thouſand two hundred and fifty five Furlongs, making near four thouſand three hundred Miles. They returned the firſt Year of the 95th. Olympiad.

to the inteſtine Wars of *Greece* may it be aſcribed, that, even long before *Alexander*'s Days, this unwieldy Maſs of Empire was not laid in ruins.——

But, to our Hiſtory.——The Effects of *Cyrus*'s ambitious Attempts were ſeverely felt by the *Greeks* of *Aſia*; it was well known what connections they had with him; and they found themſelves expoſed to the inſults of *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*: *Tiſſaphernes* eſpecially, who, in reward for his ſervices had been conſtituted *Satrap* over the Provinces, of which that young Prince had been Governor, ſought every opportunity of avenging the Great King, and of gratifying his own Reſentments, by making incurſions into the *Grecian* Territories. *Thymbro* therefore had orders to protect them; but not acting with the vigour that was expected, *Dercyllidas* was appointed in his ſtead. He managed the *Ionian* Affairs more ſucceſsfully, and in the ſpace of two Years obliged theſe Governors to conclude a treaty with him: they ſtipulated, that *the* Grecian *Cities ſhould enjoy their Liberties unmoleſted, provided the* Spartan *withdrew from the Countries under their Juriſdiction*; this Treaty to ſubſiſt, until it was ratified, or diſavowed, by the *Perſian* King and the State of *Sparta*.

To *Dercyllidas* was *Ageſilaus* ſubſtituted, the Brother and Succeſſor of King *Agis*[q]. *Agis* had left a Son; but his legitimacy being queſtionable, on account of the intimacy of the Queen with *Alcibiades*, he was ſet aſide, and *Ageſilaus* reigned. This Prince came to the Throne with many ſingular advantages; he had lived ſeveral years in a private condition, removed from the expectations of a Crown; he had been educated in all the rigor of

[q] Vide *Xenophont.* et *Plutarch* in *Ageſilao.*

of *Lycurgus*'s Diſcipline, without any of thoſe ſofter indulgences, which *Sparta* permitted to the eldeſt Sons of her Kings: hence, from his earlieſt Days was he inured to fatigue, to dangers, to difficulties; he was vigorous of body, and patient of Soul; and though aſpiring, and earneſt in purſuit of Glory, yet inviolably attached to the Laws of his Country, and ſtrictly obſervant of *her* Commands. Thus qualified, it is not ſurpriſing he proved victorious. He brought the *Perſian* Empire to the brink of ruin, none of the King's Lieutenants were able to ſtand before him, moſt of the Cities of the *Leſſer Aſia* were his, and the Confuſion and Diſcontent, that prevailed in the more diſtant Provinces, threatened a general defection; when, in his full Career of Glory, he was obliged to abandon the inviting Proſpect, and to return to *Greece*[r].

Clean. To return!——Why ſo, *Palaemon?*

Pal. Perſian Gold forced him away. *Tiſſaphernes*, it ſeems, had been put to death for not putting a ſtop to his progreſs; and *Tithrauſtes*, who ſucceeded him in his Government, fearing the like fate, ſent an Agent into *Greece* to ſpirit up a Confederacy againſt *Sparta*. This Agent had directions to ſpare neither money, nor promiſes; and he found ſeveral States but too well diſpoſed to liſten to his Offers. The tyrannical Government of *Sparta*, who made uſe of Empire only to oppreſs and ſubdue the reſt of *Greece*, afforded them a fair pretence; and the *Boeotians*, the *Corinthians*, and the *Argives* readily engaged to unite in War againſt her. The *Athenians* alſo joined in the Aſſociation, though from a nobler motive, for they received not

[r] He paſſed over into *Aſia* the firſt Year, and returned into *Greece* the 3d. Year, of the 96th. Olympiad.

not the *Perſian* Preſents; their own Wrongs ſollicited them ſufficiently. Alarmed at this League, the *Spartans* immediately marched into *Boeotia*, under the command of *Lyſander*, and the Allies meeting them at *Haliartus*, a Battle enſued, in which the *Spartans* were defeated, and *Lyſander* ſlain. And *Pauſanias* the *Spartan* King, who was to have ſupported *Lyſander*, coming up after the Action, durſt not diſpute the Victory, and even concluded a truce with the Enemy, on condition *Lyſander*'s Body ſhould be reſtored to him. This ignominious Retreat coſt *Pauſanias* his Crown, he was obliged to retire to *Tegea* and died there.

Clean. Pray, *Palaemon*, this *Lyſander*—is it he, you already mentioned?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes*; and a Man he was one of the moſt extraordinary of his time[s]; of uncommon Abilities; and, as to money, of unblemiſhed integrity; but daringly ambitious, and inſatiably fond of Power. His reducing the ſeveral Cities, which he took at the cloſe of the *Peloponneſian* War, under his own Dominion, by lodging the Supreme Authority in the hands of his Dependents, was a deep Stroke of Policy, and might probably have unhinged the *Spartan* Government, had not *Pauſanias*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, perceived the tendency, and counteracted his Deſigns. When he found this Plan had failed, he formed a bolder Scheme, and ſuborned the *Pythian* Oracle, in order to make himſelf a way to the Throne, by opening the Regal Succeſſion to all the Branches of the *Heraclidean* Family. But Death put an end to his Projects. However, the War in *Greece* anſwered the purpoſes of *Tithrauſtes*, and the *Scytale of Revocation* was

[s] Vide *Plutarch.* in *Lyſandro.*

was ſent to *Ageſilaus*. Mean time, *Ariſtodemus*, Tutor to *Ageſipolis*, who had been advanced to the Kingdom, in the ſtead of his Father *Pauſanias*, engaged the Confederates at *Sicyon*, and defeated them. And ſoon after, *Ageſilaus*, having haſtened back into *Greece* with wonderful expedition, [t] enters *Boeotia*, and joins battle with the Enemy at *Coronea:* the Diſpute here was extremely ſharp and bloody; *Ageſilaus* himſelf was wounded, and obtained a difficult and dear-bought Victory.—On the other hand, the *Spartan* Fortunes were declining greatly in *Aſia*. Their Fleets, which lay off *Cnidus*, were deſtroyed by *Conon* the *Athenian* and *Pharnabazus* the *Perſian*, and their Admiral *Piſander* ſlain. *Conon* you remember, *Cleanthes*. From the Day of *Aegos-Potamos* he had lived in exile, chiefly under the protection of *Evagoras* King of *Cyprus*; but afterwards, taking occaſion from the War between *Artaxerxes* and *Sparta*, he found means to ingratiate himſelf at the *Perſian* Court, and, in conjunction with *Pharnabazus*, was appointed to command the *Perſian* Fleets. *Conon* was not contented with having broken the Naval Power of *Sparta*; under pretence of ſerving *Artaxerxes*, he had it in his views to reſtore Empire to his Country: he therefore reduced the *Grecian* Cities of *Aſia* and the ſeveral Iſlands of the *Egean* Sea, and obliged them to renounce all confederacy with *Sparta*; and paſſing over from thence to *Peloponneſus*, ſpread deſolation throughout the *Spartan* Coaſts. Theſe Exploits performed, he reviſited his Natal Land [u]. *Athens*, from the time *Lyſander* had humbled her, ſtill bore the afflicting marks of Captivity; her Walls,

[t] He was but thirty Days on his way from *Aſia* to *Boeotia*.
[u] Olymp. 96. 3d. Year.

Walls, demoliſhed; her Fortifications, waſte: *Conon* formed the generous deſign of re-eſtabliſhing this once glorious City, and repaired her breaches with the ſpoils of the very Enemy, who had wrought her overthrow. Thus, by a ſtrange fate, as *Sparta* had by *Perſian* aid ſubdued *Athens*, ſo now was *Athens* by *Perſian* aid delivered again from the yoke of *Sparta*. This return of ſplendor was alſo heightened by the ſucceſſes of *Iphicrates*. *Iphicrates*[w] was a young *Athenian*, diſtinguiſhed by his Military Capacity, and famed in Hiſtory on account of the happy improvements he introduced with reſpect to the form of the *Athenian* Arms. On this occaſion he was employed in defending *Corinth* againſt the attempts of *Ageſilaus*; and that experienced Chief had the mortification to ſee himſelf foiled by a General, who was only entering into the Liſts of War.——But I ſhall not delay you with a detail of the ſeveral Engagements in which *Greece* bled[x], during this time of Hoſtility and Confuſion. At length *Sparta*, waſted in her ſtrength, and diminiſhed in her Empire, had recourſe to the *Perſians*; and *Antalcidas* was deputed to *Teribazus*, *Satrap* of *Sardis*. And certainly never was there a Miniſter better fitted for ſuch an Embaſſy. *Antalcidas* was a *Spartan*, in name only; ſoft and luxurious in his Manners; accompliſhed in all the Arts of Adulation; and could vie in Servility with the moſt fawning *Aſiatic*. His firſt ſtep was to procure the deſtruction of *Conon*; he made it his buſineſs to inſinuate, that he had ſacrificed the intereſts of *Artaxerxes*

[w] Vide *Xenophont. Corn. Nep.* in *Iphicrate. Juſt.* L. 6.—*Juſtin* ſays he was at this time but twenty years old.

[x] The Man, who fell the moſt lamented in the courſe of this War, was *Thraſybulus*, the Reſtorer of *Athens*: he was murdered in an Inſurrection at *Aſpendus* in *Pamphylia*.

taxerxes to thoſe of his Country; that gallant *Athenian* was accordingly laid in chains, and, it is generally believed, ſhortly after put to death. The *Spartan* then opened the Commiſſion, he had been intruſted with: he was come in the name of the *Spartans* to ſue for the favour and protection of *Artaxerxes*, and was ready to ſubmit to any terms that Monarch would deign to impoſe, provided *Sparta* ruled in *Greece*, and *Athens* and her Allies were humbled. Soon as the Confederates had notice of this application, they alſo ſent Miniſters to *Sardis*, where *Teribazus*, proud of ſeeing homage paid to him, by the Embaſſadors of ſo many illuſtrious States, artfully prolonged their attendance for upwards of a Year, alledging every day ſome new difficulty, and waiting, as he pretended, for farther inſtructions from *Suſa*. After many Delays and various Contumelies of this kind, at laſt were the Commands of the King made known to them.—*The ſeveral Powers at war were ordered to lay down their Arms: All the Cities of* Aſia, *with the Iſlands of* Clazomenae *and* Cyprus, *were adjudged to* Artaxerxes: *Whatever States were held in ſubjection by any* Grecian *State, they were reſtored to their original Liberties, and diſcharged from all ſubjection*, Lemnos, Imbros, *and* Scyros, *excepted, they having from time immemorial been under the dominion of* Athens: *And if any refuſed to accept of theſe terms of Peace, they were to be compelled to it by force.* How different, my dear *Eudoxus*, theſe ignominious Injunctions from the Treaty in *Cimon*'s Days, when the Security and Liberty of *Grecian Aſia* was the glorious Condition? Behold now, what corrupted Manners and inteſtine War had brought on—*Ionia*, and all the adjacent Colonies, betrayed—the Sovereignty of

Perſia acknowledged—and *Greece* yielding up herſelf to Servitude and Dependance!

Eud. But, *Palaemon*, what was *Sparta* advantaged by this reproachful Peace? for ſaid you not, that all the Cities of *Greece* were to be reſtored to their former Liberties?

Pal. Sparta acted with deep Policy; and, far from intending benefit to her Neighbours, ſhe had it principally in view to erect herſelf an Empire on the ruins of *Greece*. The *Grecian* States, you know, were in their Infancy ſmall and inconſiderable; in time Aſſociations were made, and ſeveral of theſe petty Sovereignties, for the ſake of mutual ſecurity, incorporated into one Common-wealth. In ſome places alſo the Chance of War brought on theſe Incorporations; one State more powerful than the reſt obliged the adjoyning States to become its Vaſſals, to unite in one Intereſt, and ſubmit to one Form of Government. The greater Cities likewiſe grew up originally from a Confederacy of Villagers, who, abandoning their defenceleſs Hamlets, built to themſelves Places of Strength, and aſſociated into one Community. *Sparta* therefore, under the ſpecious Character of *Protectrice of Liberty, and Guardian of the Public Peace*, ſought to diſſolve theſe Eſtabliſhments, and, by crumbling the more powerful Bodies into ſmall Tribes, to leave them all open to inſult and oppreſſion. Trial was firſt made on the *Mantineans*. The *Lacedemonians* required, that they ſhould abandon their Hearths and Temples, and canton themſelves in Villages, after the manner of living of their Forefathers: and, on their refuſal, was War declared

[y] Olymp. 98. towards the Concluſion of the firſt or the beginning of the ſecond Year.

clared againſt them; their City was demoliſhed, and the Inhabitants diſperſed. After them, the other neighbouring States alſo were treated in like manner. Even the *Corinthians* were compelled to withdraw their Garriſons from the Places they had taken: and the *Thebans* forced to renounce all Sovereignty over the Cities of *Boeotia.* And yet *Sparta* alone, whilſt ſhe thus diſmembered every other Commonwealth, was to preſerve her Dominions and uſurped Territories entire; *Meſſenia* was ſtill in ſubjection, and the Nation of the *Helotae* held in ſervitude.

Clean. And what of *Athens?*——Did this levelling Scheme reach her alſo?

Pal. The *Spartans* were too wiſe to attempt her, at leaſt, till the ſtrength of the reſt of *Greece* was completely broken. But, *Cleanthes,* ſeldom do Injuſtice and Violence flouriſh long. An Army had been ſent [z] from *Sparta* under the Orders of *Eudamidas,* to chaſtiſe the *Olynthians,* a People, you may remember, of *Chalcidice,* ſituated on the *Toronean* Gulph, whoſe Power and enterpriſing Genius threatened the Liberties of all the Nations in thoſe Parts; and ſoon after *Phoebidas, Eudamidas*'s Brother, with an additional Body of Forces was commanded to follow. *Phoebidas*'s way lay by *Thebes,* and at this time two Parties prevailed among the *Thebans,* the One in the intereſts of *Sparta,* headed by *Leontiades*; the Other, engaged in ſupporting the Dignity and Independence of the *Theban* Government, of which *Iſmenias* was the Chief. The march of the *Spartan* Army was a favourable opportunity to *Leontiades*; the *Thebans* entertained

[z] Vide *Xenophont.* et *Diod. Sic.* ubi ſupra. *Pauſan.* in *Lacon.* et *Boeoticis. Plutarch.* in *Pelopidâ. Juſtin.* L. 6. et *Corn. Nep.* in *Epaminondâ, Pelopidâ,* et *Ageſilao.*

not any ſuſpicion, and his Enemies were ſubdued, if *Thebes* was once in the hands of the *Spartans*. *The Ambitious have not much delicacy in the choice of Means*; and the Proſpect of ſucceſs determined *Leontiades*; he offered to betray the Citadel *Cadmea* to *Phoebidas*, and *Phoebidas* was baſe enough to accept of the perfidious Offer[a]. Such an open violation of Faith occaſioned the utmoſt indignation, and complaint was immediately made to *Sparta*; but Juſtice had now little influence in the *Spartan* Councils; and though *Phoebidas*, for the ſake of appearances, was recalled and fined, yet was the *Cadmea* retained, and the Government of *Thebes* permitted to the Traytor *Leontiades*, in conjunction with two other of the Creatures of *Lacedemon*. The conſequence of this Appointment was the total Subverſion of the *Theban* Liberties, and the Introduction of every Ill, that generally attends a Government founded in Oppreſſion; *Iſmenias* was brought to his trial for ſome pretended Crime, and put to death; and of the reſt of the Citizens, all they, whoſe Probity and enterpriſing Spirit rendered them formidable to the Tyrants, were obliged to flee from their Country. Of this number was *Pelopidas*, a Man conſiderable both by his Birth and by his Fortune, and beſides, of Virtue unblemiſhed, of dauntleſs mind, ſkilled in War, and an avowed Enemy to arbitrary Rule, and lawleſs Deeds. With ſuch Qualities, is it a wonder the Tyrants ſhould have marked him out for deſtruction? He therefore, with ſeveral more of his Countrymen, fled into *Attica*; for the *Athenians* now ſhewed the ſame kindneſs to the afflicted *Thebans*, that *Thebes* had ſhewn to them in the Day of *Lyſander*'s Power. However, the ſecure Retreat, which *Pelopidas* enjoyaed,

[a] Olymp. 99. 3d. Year.

joyed, rendered him not inactive; he mourned his Country inſlaved, and ſought every opportunity of effecting her Deliverance. Heaven at length proſpered the generous Deſign. A Plan was concerted with ſuch of thoſe in *Thebes*, as might ſafely be relied on, and the *Athenians* having promiſed to ſecond the attempt, *Pelopidas* and ſome few more of the Exiles ſtole privately into the City, ſurpriſed two of the Tyrants *Archias* and *Philip* at a Banquet, and whilſt they were giving a looſe to Revelling and Joy, killed them both. And immediately from this, having forced into the houſe of *Leontiades*, and breaking into his Apartment, ſlew him alſo. With the Tyrants fell moſt of their Creatures, and the Miniſters of their Crimes: they were ſacrificed to the Public Vengeance. The *Spartans* nevertheleſs had poſſeſſion of *Cadmea*. But the approach of the Forces from *Athens*, together with the reſolute appearance of the *Thebans* themſelves, who crouded from every ſide to the Banners of the Patriot Chiefs, induced them, after a ſhort reſiſtance, to capitulate. And *Thebes* ſaw herſelf freed from the galling yoke of Servitude [b].

Clean. And did the *Spartans* thus tamely ſuffer *Thebes* to vindicate her liberties?

Pal. Soon as the *Spartans* had information of *Pelopidas*'s Attempt, *Cleombrotus*, who, his brother *Ageſipolis* dying in the Expedition againſt *Olynthus*, had ſucceeded to the Throne, haſtened to the relief of *Cadmea:* the Garriſon he met on their way homeward; and probably, had not they been ſo early in capitulating, that Citadel had not ſo eaſily been wreſted out of the hands of the *Spartans*. Notwithſtanding, *Cleombrotus* marched on towards *Thebes*;

[b] Olymp. 100. 2d. Year.

Thebes; and now, in the opinion of all *Greece*, was that unfortunate City doomed to inevitable deſtruction; her Allies abandoned her; even the *Athenians* drew off their Troops, and diſavowed all connection with the *Theban* People; and the utmoſt Force, *Pelopidas* could muſter, ſeemed with reſpect to *Sparta* of little ſignificancy. *Greece* knew not, that *Thebes* in one of her Citizens had a ſtrength equal to any, the *Spartans* could bring againſt her. *Epaminondas* was the man. Endowed with every Virtue, that demands Eſteem and Reverence, he had hitherto made choice of a Life of Retirement; and happy in the culture of Philoſophy, which he had learned from the inſtructions of *Lyſis*, one of the moſt illuſtrious of *Pythagoras*'s Diſciples [c], he avoided Notice and Honours as induſtriouſly, as the Bulk of men ſeek after them: though of noble extraction, yet were his Circumſtances narrow; but his Poverty ſat eaſy on him, he delighted in the privacy and innocent peace ſhe afforded him, and Contemplation, Frugality, and Content ſupplied him with an Happineſs, ſuch as Wealth has not the power of giving: to this love of Retreat he owed the ſecurity he enjoyed under the Tyrants Government; during the four years thoſe wicked Men triumphed, the virtuous *Epaminondas* lived in *Thebes* unmoleſted; his obſcurity and humble Manners placed him out of the reach of ſuſpicion: from his Youth had he been nearly connected with *Pelopidas*, and thoſe two excellent men loved each other with that friendſhip which is only to be found between Perſons of exalted Virtue; *Epaminondas* was appriſed of the ſeveral Schemes he formed, when in Baniſhment, and aſſiſted him with his Counſels;

[c] See Dial. 9. P. 376. N. i.

Counſels; and nevertheleſs, not by any means could he be prevailed on to be an Actor in the Tragedy, which put an end to the *Spartan* Uſurpation; *ſuch an Enterprize*, thought he, *was not to be executed without much Effuſion of blood, and probably the Innocent and the Guilty might be confounded together*; he dreaded that Exceſs of Cruelty, which generally diſgraces Attempts of this kind—the furious Reſentment of a People, deeply injured—the Rage of Civil Hatreds—and the Inſults of a licentious Soldiery. Such was *Epaminondas*. In the late Commotions of *Greece* he had appeared in Arms, and had appeared with honour, but, the oppreſſions of *Sparta* having put an end to all Martial Struggle, he retired to the calm Retreat of a Philoſophic Life; from which the Diſtreſs of his Country and the proſpect of a fair open War now called him forth, to unſheath his ſword againſt the Ravagers of *Greece*.

Clean. Glorious Preſages of ſucceſs!—What Atchievements, dear *Eudoxus*, are there not to be expected from a Man like this!

Pal. The *Theban* Affairs, under the influence of *Pelopidas* and him, ſoon brightened up; the very Genius of the *Theban* People ſeemed now to be improved and exalted; and they, who lately trembled before the power of *Sparta*, found themſelves enabled to check the progreſs of her Arms. *Cleombrotus* was oppoſed, diſappointed, repulſed; and after many vain attempts, and laying waſte part of the *Theban* territories, he committed the Army to the care of *Sphodrias*, and returned to *Sparta*. *Thebes* however ſtood as yet alone in this hazardous War; her Chiefs deviſed the means of forcing *Athens* into a Confederacy with her. A truſty *Theban* was employed, under a fictitious Character to introduce

introduce himſelf into the *Spartan* Camp, which at this time lay in the neighbourhood of *Theſpiae*, and engage *Sphodrias* to attempt the *Pirean* Harbour: *he had now*, he told him, *the faireſt opportunity of performing an important ſervice to his Country; ſuch a Pledge would ſecure the faith of* Athens; *the way to the* Pireus *was but ſhort; and under cover of the Night he might eaſily march thither, and ſurpriſe it.* *Sphodrias* was a Man inconſiderate, and fond of adventurous Feats, and he readily embraced the Project. But, unluckily for him, before he reached *Athens*, the Day dawned, as *Epaminondas* expected; the *Athenians* were alarmed; and *Sphodrias*, vexed to ſee his purpoſe defeated, revenged himſelf by ravaging the *Attic* borders. The *Athenians* nevertheleſs, though complaint was made to *Sparta*, obtained not any ſatisfaction; *Ageſilaus*, who was at the head of the *Spartan* Councils, ſaved *Sphodrias* from the condemnation he juſtly deſerved. Theſe baſe proceedings diſſolved all confidence between *Athens* and *Sparta:* avowed Hoſtilities were thought preferable to a perfidious Peace; and *Chabrias* the *Athenian* was ordered to join the *Boeotians.*

Clean. And what meaſures did the *Spartans* take?

Pal. *Ageſilaus*, the ambitious *Ageſilaus*, on whom, moſt Hiſtorians agree, the whole Guilt of theſe ruinous Wars is to be charged, determined to take on him the command in *Boeotia*, and to reſtore the *Spartan* fortune. His Abilities and Military Character you know. He was unqueſtionably one of the beſt Generals of his Age; and beſides, the Forces, he had in the field, were far more numerous than thoſe of the Enemy. Howbeit, neither his boaſted Skill nor ſuperior Numbers availed aught againſt the Bravery and Conduct of the oppoſite Chiefs; his Projects

Projects were baffled, his troops worſted on ſeveral occaſions, and at laſt he himſelf dangerouſly wounded. So that, as *Plutarch* finely obſerves, proof now was given, that Martial Spirit is not confined to either Climate or People, and that not only on the Banks of the *Eurotas* were Warriours formed; but in every Country, wherever the Youth are taught to be aſhamed of things baſe, and to be daring in the Cauſe of Virtue; wherever the leaſt Diſgrace is accounted more terrible than the greateſt Danger—and ſuch at this time was the happy State of the *Theban* People—there, Intrepidity of Soul, and Strength for War are ſurely to be found.

Eud. Did *Sparta* then ſue for Peace?

Pal. Sparta made uſe of the ſame Arts, of which ſhe had before made uſe; and the Authority of *Artaxerxes* was called in to compoſe the Wars of *Greece*. It ſeems, the *Perſian*, who meditated War on *Egypt*, and was beſides a friend to the *Spartans*, demanded *Grecian* Auxiliaries[d], and, under pretence of this, were the ſeveral Powers required to deſiſt from their private Wars. A general Convention of the *Grecian* States was therefore appointed, to be held at *Sparta*; and there accordingly *Epaminondas* and the other *Theban* Deputies appeared. *Ageſilaus*'s principal View was to eſtabliſh *Sparta* Sovereign over the reſt of *Greece*; and, purſuant to this, the Propoſal made long before he now urged again, as an eſſential Article of the intended Peace—*that the ſeveral* Grecian *Cities ſhould be declared free and independent of each other*; *that all the* Boeotians *ſhould be reinſtated in their Rights, and enfranchiſed*

[d] *Iphicrates* had already been ſome time in his ſervice, with an Army of twenty thouſand Men; but returned to *Greece* on account of certain Jealouſies between him and the *Perſian* Generals.

from all kind of ſubjection to the Theban *State: that the* Thebans *ſhould rebuild whatever Cities they had demoliſhed, and reſtore to every People the territories, that originally belonged to them. Epaminondas,* who clearly ſaw what was the Aim of the wily *Ageſilaus,* reſolutely replied; *that it was not from* Thebes *but* Sparta *the Liberties of* Greece *were moſt in danger; that this Ambitious Republic had enlarged her Territories by many unjuſt invaſions; that ſhe was the Terror of every State around her, and held them in ſervile dependance; that therefore in order to ſecure a laſting Peace, this exorbitant Power muſt be reduced, and* Sparta *ſhew an example of moderation, by withdrawing within her antient Bounds.*

This bold and generous Oppoſition all the Deputies in their hearts wiſhed well to; but the fear of *Sparta* prevailed over them: *Ageſilaus* took advantage of this timorouſneſs of theirs, and raiſing his voice, *Say then,* reſumed he, Epaminondas, *is it juſt and right, that the Cities of* Boeotia *ſhould be free?—And you,* Ageſilaus, anſwered the gallant *Theban, ſay, is it juſt and right the Cities of* Laconia *ſhould be free?* The proud *Ageſilaus* could bear no longer; *I exclude,* ſaid he, *the* Thebans *from this Treaty of Peace*; and with theſe words ſtruck the name of *Thebes* out of the Treaty, that lay before him.

Clean. Tyrannical *Sparta!*

Pal. The *Thebans* were not wanting to themſelves, and with all poſſible Diligence did *Epaminondas* and the ſix other *Boeotarchs* prepare for War. Mean time, *Cleombrotus,* who had under him an Army of eleven thouſand Men, received Orders to invade *Boeotia*; and the *Theban* Forces did not exceed ſix thouſand. Nevertheleſs, all was now at ſtake, and *Epaminondas* determined to march out, and

and meet the Enemy. This March was attended with many Circumſtances *ill-boding*, according to the opinion of thoſe Days: the *Thebans* were a ſuperſtitious People; and many of them, deeply affected with theſe appearances, earneſtly requeſted of *Epaminondas* not to proceed: but this generous Patriot, who ſaw his Country was irrecoverably loſt, if he retreated, endeavoured to calm theſe weak fears; *The brave Man*, replied he, marching on, *knows no Omen but his Country's Cauſe.* However, he ſought how to efface theſe melancholy impreſſions, and, in compliance with their Superſtitions, to encourage them by oppoſite Prodigies.—Some of his friends, who left *Thebes* after the departure of the Army, had inſtructions to ſay, that the *Armour of Hercules* had diſappeared, and that the Prieſts declared, *the God* was gone to fight for his favourite City.——The Soothſayers gave out, that the Divine Vengeance awaited the *Spartans* at the tombs of the Daughters of *Scedaſus* and *Leuctrus*, Maidens, who in time of old had been violated by certain *Spartans*, and on account of their injured Modeſty had killed themſelves; this Crime was unexpiated; and their tombs were ſaid to be in the very Plains of *Leuctra*, where *Cleombrotus* was encamped.—From *Trophonius*'s Cave alſo was Word brought, that the *Thebans* were enjoyned to inſtitute Games in honour of *Jupiter*, when they ſhould have obtained the Victory at *Leuctra.* Encouraged

[e] This fine Sentiment *Homer* puts in the mouth of his *Trojan Hero.* It is the anſwer *Hector* makes to *Polydamas*, who urges ſome menacing Omen to diſſuade him from attacking the *Grecian* Ships;

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.
Iliad. Rhap. 12. l. 243.

by theſe Aſſurances, and others of the like kind, the Army moved on, and it was reſolved to engage the *Spartans*, though now ſtrengthened by an acceſſion of two thouſand Men under the command of *Archidamus*. I ſhall not delay you with a deſcription of this memorable Battle. Let me only obſerve to you that *Epaminondas* made abundant amends for the paucity of his Numbers by his admirable Skill in marſhalling them. His choſen Men he placed, fifty deep, in his Left Wing, oppoſite to that in which *Cleombrotus* fought, and having ordered his Right Wing to retreat, at the ſame time *this* advanced, he bore down on the Enemy, point-wiſe, like the beak of a Galley: unable to reſiſt the force and weight of ſuch a Body, the *Lacedemonians* were immediately broken, and the *Thebans*, pouring in, ſoon completed the Confuſion. In this attack *Cleombrotus* was ſlain, and with him the braveſt of his Men, the loſs amounting to five thouſand, of which one thouſand were Citizens of *Sparta*, and the flower of the *Spartan* Nation [f]. This deciſive Blow reduced the Power of *Lacedemon*, and effectually ſecured the *Theban* Liberty.

Clean. How Glorious to *Epaminondas!*

Pal. A Glorious Day to him indeed, my *Cleanthes*.——He had repreſſed Tyranny; He had ſaved his Country; He had raiſed a low, afflicted, diſpirited People to the foremoſt place of honour in *Greece*; and yet that excellent Man was wont to ſay, he eſteemed it the higheſt part of his Glory, that his Father and Mother were yet living, to enjoy the Splendor of this Victory. It is a queſtion, whether

[f] Olymp. 102. 2d. Year.

whether the *Son* or the *General* was moſt worthy of admiration.

Clean. But the *Spartans?*

Pal. When the tidings reached *Sparta*, the *Ephori* were ſuperintending the *Gymnic* Sports; however they continued the Solemnity, and ſent privately to the Families, that had loſt their friends, the names of thoſe, who had fallen in the Battle. The enſuing Day, the Fathers and Relations of the Slain appeared in Public, congratulating each other, and applauding the gallant behaviour of their Children and Kinſmen. Such in general, you know, *Cleanthes*, were the *Spartan* Manners; and probably alſo on this occaſion, whatever they felt, their Pride aſſiſted them in concealing it. Nevertheleſs, how great they eſteemed their Loſs to be, appears from the following Circumſtance. By the Laws of *Sparta*,—*the Man, that fled in battle, was declared incapable of ever ſerving his Country more.* But in this caſe, as many as had eſcaped the *Theban* Sword had ſaved themſelves by flight. And if *Sparta* was to be deprived of all theſe, how deplorable was her condition? The Deciſion therefore was referred to *Ageſilaus*, and he wiſely decreed in favour of the diſgraced Citizens: *For this Day*, pronounced he, *be the Laws ſuſpended; to morrow let them reſume their vigour.* In the place of *Cleombrotus*, his Son *Ageſipolis* was appointed King; but he only reigned one year, and was ſucceeded by *Cleomenes* his Brother.

Eud. A Peace ſoon after followed.----

Pal. A Peace, but of ſhort continuance. The *Spartans* began again to afflict the *Arcadians*, and the Sollicitations of that diſtreſſed People obliged the *Thebans* to enter *Peloponneſus*[g]. Their Army now amounted to forty thouſand men, beſides thirty thouſand

[g] Olymp. 102. 3d. Year.

thouſand Adventurers, who followed the Camp for plunder; ſo greatly had Succeſs encreaſed the number of the *Theban* Auxiliaries. *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* having the Command of the Army divided it into four Bodies, and broke into *Laconia* at four ſeveral Parts at one time; and then making a general Rendezvous at *Sellaſia*, deceived *Ageſilaus*, who was preparing to give them battle, and purſued their march with fire and ſword to *Sparta*. The approach of the *Theban* Army threw the Inhabitants into the deepeſt conſternation. And now did that proud City, which for ſo many Ages had not known an Enemy to advance near it, and whoſe boaſt it was, *that the* Spartan *Matrons never had beheld the Smoke of an hoſtile Camp*, ſee Deſtruction impending over it. The inſtant *Ageſilaus* had got intelligence, in what danger was *Sparta*, he flew to her relief, and got into the City; but notwithſtanding, the *Thebans* ſtill preſſed on; even *Epaminondas* himſelf, in defiance of the King, threw himſelf into the *Eurotas*, though high ſwollen with the Winter-ſnows, and ſwimming over atttacked the very Precincts of the City of *Sparta*, and ſet the Suburbs in a blaze; whilſt *Ageſilaus*, contented with defending the more important Paſſes, remained entrenched within. After having thus for ſeveral Days made the *Spartans* feel the horrors of War, and the diſtreſſes of an invaded deſolated Country, *Epaminondas* drew off his troops: whether it was, that he queſtioned the event, ſhould he have attempted to take the Place by ſtorm; or whether, as moſt Hiſtorians are of opinion, the Glory of this antient City, renowned for the Greatneſs of its Exploits, and the Excellence of its Laws—the Loſs, which *Greece* in general muſt have ſuſtained, ſhould ſuch a Commonwealth have been cut off—and the Indignation and Reproach,

to

to which the *Thebans* muſt have been expoſed for this Act of cruelty—reſtrained the Conqueror. His next Exploit was of a different nature. *Meſſenia* was ſtill in ſubjection, her Cities waſte, her Sons in Exile, or in Bondage.

Clean. What—the Country of *Ariſtomenes* [h]?

Pal. Yes, *Cleanthes:* more than two hundred years had now elapſed ſince the *Meſſenians* had been reduced to Servitude, *Epaminondas* recalled home the Remains of that diſperſed People, he reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of the Territories which their Anceſtors had enjoyed, he built them a City, he ſtrengthened it with Walls, he gave them a Garriſon for their defence, and bleſſed them with Liberty and Independance; leaving thus behind him a laſting Monument of the Humanity and Juſtice of *Thebes*, and a firm Rampart againſt the Power of *Sparta*.

Clean. Excellent *Epaminondas!*

Pal. He then prepared to return homeward. The *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, for now were both thoſe States in league with *Sparta*, waited to intercept him: but the *Athenians* having neglected the principal Defile, *Epaminondas* paſſed on, and falling on the *Corinthians*, who had fortified themſelves in the *Iſthmus*, forced their Lines, routed, and purſued them to the Gates of *Corinth*.

Clean. With what exultations muſt *Thebes* have received theſe Glorious Men!

Pal. Exultations!—They were accuſed of having contravened to the Laws, and proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour. Such, *Cleanthes*, is the Misfortune of Republican Governments. *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, unwilling to quit *Peloponneſus*, until the imperious *Sparta*

[h] See Dial. 7. P. 277. *&c.* and P. 287. N. g.

Sparta was completely humbled, had retained the Command beyond the time appointed. And certain of their Countrymen, envious of that Merit, which they could not equal, purſued their deſtruction, and required that the Majeſty of the Laws ſhould be vindicated. *Pelopidas* full of indignation retorted the Charge on his Accuſers, and laid open to the People the dark malicious Arts, by which thoſe Sons of Calumny endeavoured to miſlead them. He then boldly upbraided the *Thebans* in general with their ingratitude to Men, who had ſo often expoſed their Lives for their defence, and laboured with no other view, but to make them Free and Happy. *Epaminondas* was more calm. If, he told them, it was the Will of his Country, that he ſhould expiate his Guilt by Death, he chearfully ſubmitted to her Sentence—Only, one Requeſt had he to make—that on his Tomb ſhould be engraven the Cauſe for which he ſuffered: *Let Poſterity be told that I ſuffered, becauſe I rendered the* Theban *Arms victorious on the Plains of* Leuctra; *becauſe I ſaved my expiring Country, and aſſerted the Liberties of* Greece; *becauſe I led my Countrymen to the Suburbs of* Sparta, *and ſpread terror and deſolation through the Borders of that unjuſt People*; *becauſe I raiſed* Meſſenia *from her Ruins, and confined the* Spartans *within narrower Limits.* This cutting Reply confounded the expectations of the adverſe Faction, and the Judges departed out of the Aſſembly, without ſo much as giving their Suffrages. Some time after, the Fomentors of theſe dangerous Contentions ſuffered the Puniſhment they deſerved; and *Meneclides*, whoſe Intrigues had urged on the Proſecution, was forced into Baniſhment.

Thebes

Thebes was now at the height of her Glory, flouriſhing and in peace at home, victorious and revered abroad; her Finances encreaſed; her Territories enlarged; her Allies numerous; ſhe was become the Patroneſs of Liberty, and the Avengereſs of the Wrongs of oppreſſed Nations; the People of *Illyricum*, of *Macedonia*, of *Theſſaly*, had recourſe unto her and ſolicited her protection; even the *Perſian* Monarch courted her favour; *Pelopidas* had been ſent Embaſſador to the Court of *Suſa*, and of all the *Grecian* Miniſters not one was treated with ſuch diſtinction, the *Thebans* were declared the friends and Allies of *Artaxerxes* and his Houſe for ever, their Acquiſitions were confirmed to them, their Empire confeſſed, the Freedom of *Meſſenia* acknowledged. And yet, conſiderable as all this was, 'twas the Plan of *Epaminondas* to make her far greater; it ſeemed little to him, that his Country ſhould be Miſtreſs by Land, if ſhe was not alſo Miſtreſs by Sea; in this view he built a fleet of an hundred Gallies, he concluded a League with ſome of the moſt powerful of the *Grecian* Iſlands, and probably, had his Days been prolonged, ſoon alſo had this portion of Dominion been obtained to her.

Mean while, *Sparta* made but weak efforts towards regaining the Superiority ſhe had loſt. Peace ſhe had not with *Thebes*, and on ſome occaſions ſhe attempted a kind of oppoſition to her Power: but her infirm ſtrength would not admit of vigorous meaſures. Her Arms were chiefly employed againſt her *Arcadian* Neighbours; and, ſo low was her preſent Condition, every Victory ſhe obtained in this inſignificant War was accounted a glorious

Triumph[i]. The *Athenians* were the only Allies, on whom ſhe had ſure dependance: theſe two States, both of them depreſſed by the aggrandizement of *Thebes*, and impatient of this new-erected Empire, were united together in Intereſts and Reſentments; forgetful of their old Animoſities, they now ſaw not any thing in each other, that was either to be feared or envied; and hence did *Sparta* by ſolemn Treaty concede the Dominion of the Seas to *Athens*, and *Athens* as ſincerely engaged to ſupport and defend *Sparta*.

Eud. Affecting Proſpect!---How changed theſe two Commonwealths from what once they were!

Pal. Such, *Eudoxus*, was the ſituation of Affairs, when the *Tegeans*, oppreſſed by them of *Mantinea*, applied to *Thebes* for protection. And Protection was immediately promiſed them. *Pelopidas* at this time was no more. He had fallen in *Theſſaly*, in Battle againſt *Alexander* Tyrant of *Pherae*. The Crimes of that wicked Uſurper, and the Groans of his wretched People had reached the Ears of the *Thebans*, and, after ſome ineffectual Remonſtrances, *Pelopidas* was ſent to reduce him by force of Arms: the *Theban* General had alſo his private Wrongs to incite him; he had been caſt into Priſon by the Tyrant, when on Embaſſy to him from the *Theban*

[i] When News came to *Sparta*, that *Archidamus* Son to *Ageſilaus* had defeated the *Arcadians* in the battle called the *Tearleſs Battle*, Ἀδακρυς Μάχη, becauſe not one *Spartan* fell in it, the old King accompanied by all the Senators went out to meet the Conqueror, and the Old Men and Women, marching out in Crouds as far as the River *Eurotas*, lifted up their hands, and thanked the Gods. *Plutarch* juſtly obſerves, that this Exceſs of Joy plainly diſcovers the preſent weakneſs of *Sparta*. In times paſſed, Victory was ſo uſual a thing, that for their greateſt Succeſſes they ſeldom ſacrificed more than a Cock. And in the *Peloponneſian* War, when tidings were brought of a ſignal Victory, the Meſſenger received no other reward than a piece of Salt Beef.

Theban State; the perfidious *Alexander* had violated his ſacred Character, and probably might he have periſhed in a Dungeon, had not *Epaminondas* invaded *Theſſaly*, and compelled the Uſurper to ſet him at liberty. *Pelopidas* therefore, fired by the remembrance of the Injury, gladly ſeized on the opportunity of revenge: this heat of reſentment proved fatal to him; he met the Tyrant in battle, and purſuing him into the midſt of his Guards, was ſlain, before the *Thebans* could come up to his Aſſiſtance[k].——But though *Pelopidas* was not; yet did the *Theban* Vigor ſtill ſubſiſt in *Epaminondas*. And he was ordered to advance into *Peloponneſus*. This Expedition revived the Alarms and Jealouſies of *Athens* and *Sparta*; the *Mantineans* were received into their Alliance; and, under pretence of Defending the *Arcadian* Liberties, they prepared to oppoſe *Epaminondas*. The *Theban* immediately perceived the importance of the War and the Deſigns of the Enemy, and called forth all his ſtrength of Genius, to diſappoint their Councils. Accordingly, whatever the Ability of a General could deviſe, or the Activity and Bravery of the Soldier execute, was put in practice—Marches—Counter-marches—Deep Stratagems—Bold Enterprizes. Nevertheleſs, his proſperous fortune ſeemed to have forſaken him. He thought to intercept the *Athenians* on their way from *Athens*; and was diſappointed. He attempted *Sparta*; and was repulſed. He endeavoured to ſurpriſe *Mantinea*; and was forced to retire. His Enemies alſo were encreaſing in number. And his Commiſſion was ſhortly to expire. Theſe Conſiderations determined him to ſtake all on the

[k] Olymp. 104th. 1ſt. Year.

iſſue of a Battle; and ſoon did the opportunity preſent itſelf. The *Spartans* and their Confederates covered *Mantinea*, and the *Thebans* were encamped on an adjacent Hill. Here therefore *Epaminondas* draws out his Men in view of the Enemy, and then, fetching a compaſs, commands them to halt again, as if he deſigned a new Encampment. This Feint deceived the Confederates, and all expectations of an engagement were laid aſide, when the *Thebans* appeared moving on in Line of Battle[1]. Nor was it only by this Artifice that he ſhewed the General. His Forces he had ranged with conſummate Art. In the left Wing he and his truſty *Thebans* were placed, oppoſite the Poſt of the *Lacedemonians* and *Mantineans:* the fierce *Argives*, in the other Wing, were to attack the *Athenians*; and the *Euboeans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Meſſenians*, in the Center, were to engage with the *Acheans* and the troops of *Elis*. His Cavalry, partly *Theſſalians*, cloſed the Line, and among the Horſe were Bowmen and Slingers interſperſed. In this order he advanced. And his Directions were, that, when the Attack was to be made, the whole weight of his Infantry ſhould fall into one Column, as in the Day of *Leuctra*, and bear down on the right wing of the Enemy. So excellent a Diſpoſition could ſcarcely fail of its effect: the *Spartans* were ſoon broken through; in every other part alſo was the Enemy giving way; and all things promiſed to *Thebes* a a complete Victory. Nevertheleſs the *Spartans* having rallied again, and renewing the charge, the *Thebans* and *they* cloſed with each other, in bloody conflict—the former, indignant that an Empire they had held ſo long ſhould thus be wreſted from them

[1] Olymp. 104th. 2d. Year.

them,—the latter, earneſt to maintain the Glory they had acquired, and free their Country from Oppreſſion. Perceiving this, *Epaminondas* ſuffered the Ardour of the Patriot to hurry him on, and forced his way into the midſt of the *Lacedemonian* Phalanx: his very name ſpread terror among them; they fled before him; and already was their Commander ſlain by his hand; but as he ſtill puſhed forwards, eager to finiſh their defeat, a *Spartan* [m] ſtruck at him with his Javelin, and wounded him in the breaſt; and the wood breaking ſhort left the bearded iron behind.

Clean. Oh *Eudoxus!*

Pal. Fainting with extreme anguiſh and loſs of blood, the excellent *Epaminondas* fell breathleſs: whilſt his faithful *Thebans* ruſhed furious to the place, and dealing ſlaughter on every ſide reſcued his body, and bore back to his tent their expiring General. Immediately was the deepeſt Conſternation ſpread throughout their whole Camp. No ſhout of Victory to be heard. But every Countenance clouded over with anxious ſorrow. Each *Theban* felt, that in loſing him he loſt a Father and a Friend; the Friend and Patron of Liberty, and the Father of his Country. When he was ſeated in his tent, and his Spirits were returned to him, he enquired concerning his ſhield; you know, *Eudoxus*, the loſs of it was accounted infamous; being told, it was ſafe, he aſked that it ſhould be brought to him, and embraced it, *the Companion*, as he called it, *of his Toils and Glory* [n]: *And who are Victorious*, enquired he again: *the Thebans*, they made anſwer; *then* replied he, *I die happy*; and, chearful and compoſed, commanded the Surgeons to cut

[m] Some ſay, *Gryllus* Son to *Xenophon.*

[n] *Laborum gloriaeque Socium. Juſtin.*

cut out the head of the Javelin. All thoſe about him knew, as well as he, that Death muſt be the conſequence of this, and began anew to lament themſelves; *Oh*, cried one of them. *You are dying*, Epaminondas. *Could* Thebes *at leaſt have the hopes of ſeeing you live again in your Poſterity But your Country loſes you, and—moſt afflicting!—ſhe loſes you entirely:——I die not childleſs*, replied *Epaminondas*; *I leave two Daughters*, Leuctra *and* Mantinea, *whoſe Name ſhall never die.* This ſaid, with the ſame compoſure as before, he renewed his orders to the Surgeons, and, the inſtant the Operation was performed, expired.

Such was the end of *Epaminondas*, the ableſt General, and—what is far more—one of the moſt excellent and virtuous Men, that *Greece*, or perhaps any other Country, ever gave birth to—a Man, who, inſtead of receiving a luſtre from high Office, added dignity to Magiſtracy, and graced the Honours, with which he was inveſted—who fought Victory, only for the ſake of the Public Happineſs—and who never fought a Battle, but to free inſlaved Nations, and break the ſhackles of Oppreſſion. *Plutarch* obſerves it of *Pelopidas* and him, that they never ſpilled the blood of any Man they had conquered, nor ever deprived of Liberty any City they had taken. Indeed *Epaminondas* may be ſaid to have had all the nobler Qualities of the Stateſman and the Warriour, without one of the Vices—a Stranger to Avarice and Ambition—averſe from Violence—his Nature was gentle, patient, humble—his Manners were upright, plain, modeſt—he loved the Arts of Peace; and, as I already told you, gladly would he have ſpent his Days in the calm purſuit of Truth and Virtue. The Neceſſities of his Country drew him from his Retirement.

ment. Who could think that a Philoſopher ſhould at once approve himſelf a complete Stateſman, and an accompliſhed General, a General, the Admiration of all ſucceeding Ages, and the greateſt Maſter of *Tactics*, that ever appeared among the *Grecians* [o]? Who could think that ſuch a General and ſuch a Stateſman, in the midſt of his ſplendor, ſhould ſtill retain the Virtues of the Philoſopher—the ſame humility and diſintereſtedneſs, when become the [p] Arbiter of Nations—the ſame Poverty and Contempt of Wealth, when the Treaſures of *Greece* were open to him—the ſame Moderation, the ſame humane Mind, the ſame Strictneſs of Manners, in the hurry of a Camp, and the tumult of Battle [p]?——In the ſpace of ſome few years he did more, than all the preceding Captains of *Greece* had been able to effect, towards reducing the imperious inſolence of the *Spartans*, whoſe Genius he was well acquainted with, and whoſe Policy and cruel Ambition he held in utter deteſtation. 'Twas his boaſt that he had taught them *to lengthen their Monoſyllables*, and to lay aſide that haughty Brevity, with which they treated thoſe, who preſumed to expoſtulate with them.——And obſerve, *Cleanthes*, as the *Thebans* in the courſe of his Adminiſtration roſe to the height of Empire, ſo, when he was

[o] *Le Chevalier de Folard*, whoſe Obſervations on the Battles of *Leuctra* and *Mantinea* well deſerve the attention of the Curious, ſeems to be warmed into rapture on reviewing the many Virtues of this excellent Man. He concludes his account of him with theſe remarkable Words:——— Oh le Grand Capitaine, le plus honnête homme, et le plus ſavant Officier d'Infanterie, que la Grece ait jamais produit! On peut lui appliquer ce bel eloge, que *Montecuculi* fit de *M. de Turenne*, lorſqu' il apprit la mort de ce fameux General: *Quel dommage que la perte d'un tel homme, qui faiſoit honneur a l'humanité!*

[p] Incertum, ſays *Juſtin*, Vir melior, an Dux, eſſet.

was dead, they ſoon ſunk again into their former Obſcurity. Their Greatneſs was his work. 'Twas he was the Soul of their Councils, and the Strength of their Armies; and when bereft of him, like a Spear, whoſe point is broken off[q], they became an infirm contemptible People.

Clean. Dear *Palaemon*, is it poſſible he ſhould have been all this?——Two ſuch *Grecians* as *Socrates* and *He!*——No wonder the *Grecian* Name ſhould be held in veneration.

Pal. True, my *Cleanthes*. And it is very remarkable, that both theſe extraordinary Perſons fell Victims to the viciouſneſs and corruption of the Age, in which they lived. For, what is moſt to be lamented in the Death of *Epaminondas*, the Life of this excellent Man was laviſhed away in Domeſtic War: he died by *Grecian* hands. And he, who might ſo nobly have vindicated the liberties of *Greece* againſt *Barbarian* Force, was employed at home in oppoſing lawleſs Uſurpation, and in ſetting bounds to the Power of *Sparta*. 'Twas the conſideration of this moved *Plutarch*[r] to ſay, that had the *Grecians* of theſe Days beheld *Alexander* ſeated on the throne of *Darius*, the Sight would have drawn tears from them, when they reflected, that they had left that Glory to a *Macedonian*, whilſt they ſacrificed their own heroic Chiefs in the Fields of *Leuctra*, *Coronea*, *Corinth*, and *Arcadia*.

Clean. And did *Sparta* recover her Superiority by the death of *Epaminondas?*

Pal. No, *Cleanthes*——*Thebes* had loſt irreparably; but *Sparta* alſo was undone, the flower of her Armies cut off, her territories ravaged, her Dominions

[q] Illo, velut mucrone teli, ablato duce. *Juſt.*
[r] In *Ageſilao*.

Dominions wreſted from her: and the Day of *Mantinea* produced only this, that neither ſide choſe any longer to purſue a War, which had already proved ſo fatal to them. Accordingly, the Confederates of *Sparta* concluded a peace with *Thebes* on condition, *that every State ſhould retain what they were then in poſſeſſion of, and hold it independent of any other Power:* and though the *Spartans*, out of hatred to the Inhabitants of *Meſſenia*, refuſed to ratify the Treaty, yet their Weakneſs did not permit them to aſſert their antient right of Empire. Even *Ageſilaus* himſelf, whoſe Arrogance and Ambition had brought ruin on his Country, ſeems now to have entirely deſpaired of reſtoring *Sparta*, and appears in a Character very unworthy of that high Spirit, which he had ſhewn in his earlier Days. Shortly after the death of *Epaminondas* he went in quality of Mercenary into *Egypt* to aſſiſt King *Tachos* againſt the *Perſians*; but receiving ſome diſguſt he deſerted from him, and engaging in the ſervice of *Nectanebus*, his Nephew, or, as ſome will have it, his Son, who had taken up Arms againſt him, he expelled *Tachos*, and ſettled *Nectanebus* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne. On his return homeward, he ſickened on the Coaſt of *Africa*, whither he had been driven by ſtreſs of weather, and died there.

Eud. A violent dangerous Prince——

Pal. 'Twas certainly a great misfortune to *Sparta*, that he had not leſs Abilities, or more Virtue: An excellent Soldier, a ſubtil Politician, well ſkilled in the Arts of Government—and alſo, modeſt, frugal, courteous—who ſeemed to have nothing of the *King* about him, but the *Patience of toil*, the *Firmneſs of Soul*, the *Thirſt of Glory*. And yet were all theſe Qualities rendered pernicious through

a miſtaken Love for his Country, and an intemperate deſire of extending her Dominions: upright, obſervant of the Laws, with reſpect to her; with reſpect to others, he was perfidious, cruel, tyrannical: and the influence and authority, which his modeſt Deportment acquired him *at home*, he only made uſe of, to invade and oppreſs *abroad*: by theſe means he plunged *Sparta* into ruinous Wars; he forced the Nations of *Greece* to confederate againſt her, and conſpire her deſtruction; he waſted her Strength in vain attempts; and left her diſgraced and humbled.-----In his place reigned his Son *Archidamus*[s], to whom he had ceded the Crown before his departure for *Egypt*.

Eud. But did not *Athens* become the more conſiderable, now that *Thebes* and *Sparta* were in this depreſſed condition?

Pal. The death of *Epaminondas* proved fatal to the *Athenians*, not leſs than to theſe States. Delivered from him, who kept up their emulation, they grew ſecure and indolent. The Love of Eaſe and Pleaſure ſtifled *that* of Glory and Independency; the Virtues of antient Days were forgotten; and Works of Taſte and Delicacy, Poetry, and Dramatic

[s] I ſhall here cloſe the Liſt of the *Spartan* Kings that reigned during the period of time, to which this work relates;

Elder Branch.	Younger Branch.
Leonidas,	
Pliſtarchus,	*Leotychides.*
Pliſtoanax,	*Archidamus*, 2.
Pauſanias,	*Agis*,
Ageſipolis, 1.	
Cleombrotus,	*Ageſilaus*, 2.
Ageſipolis, 2.	
Cleomenes, 2.	*Archidamus*, 3.

——See Dial. 7. P. 293.

Dramatic Shew, became the ſole buſineſs of the People. Even the Funds aſſigned for the ſupport of their Fleets and Armies were conſumed in Sports and Feſtivals; and the Maintenance of the Soldier and Mariner was ſquandered away for the entertainment of the idle Citizen. And, if we may believe *Plutarch*, it coſt more to repreſent ſome of the famous Pieces of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, than had been expended in carrying on the War againſt the *Barbarians*. To ſuch an height had the Corruption, which *Pericles* firſt introduced, prevailed among them.-----Now alſo was Eloquence become a Trade; the Public Councils were under the guidance of the Orator; and never did *Athens* abound with profeſſed Speakers ſo much as at this time---- the ſure indication of a factious contentious Democracy.---And with theſe Evils were likewiſe all the other Evils, that portend the approaching ruin of a Commonwealth; Sycophants in office; Penſioners to foreign Courts concealing themſelves under the Character of zealous Patriots; malicious Proſecutions encouraged; the Magiſtracy deſpiſed; the Laws trampled on; a total diſregard of the Public Good; and a Venal Spirit poſſeſſing all ranks of Men.

The condition of the other *Grecian* States was to the full as miſerable; moſt of them rent by domeſtic Diviſions, or exhauſted by their late Wars. Beſides, though now ſeemingly at peace, they were all diſunited the one from the other, and the Alliances, that ſubſiſted, were merely the work of Fear or Jealouſy; no Subordination preſerved; no Common Intereſt purſued; but every Party ſeeking to lead and govern.

Whilſt degenerate Manners and Decay of Strength were thus invading *Greece* on every ſide, an obſcure

Prince of *Macedon* was making his way to Empire. This was *Philip* Son of *Amyntas*. He had been educated in the School of Adverſity: in his earlier Days ſent as an Hoſtage to *Thebes*, he had lived ſixteen Years in a kind of exile from his Country. This Event was the foundation of his greatneſs. Intruſted to the care of *Polymnis*, *Epaminondas*'s Father, here he received the firſt impreſſions of Glory, here he had the opportunity of knowing *Epaminondas*, of obſerving his Virtues, of ſtudying his great example. At length, the news of a revolution in *Macedonia* coming to *Thebes*, he ſtole away, and fled homeward, where all things were in the utmoſt confuſion,---his Father's Reign had been weak and diſtreſſed---his two Brothers, who had ſucceſſively filled the Throne, both dead, the one taken off ſome years before by domeſtic treaſon, the other, *Perdiccas*, lately ſlain in Battle with the *Illyrians* ---the heir of the Crown, an Infant---and *Macedonia* attacked by every neighbouring Power. The *Illyrians* fluſhed with victory were on the point of entering the Kingdom. The *Paeonians* infeſted it by their daily incurſions. The *Thracians* pretended to place *Pauſanias* a Prince of the Royal Blood on the Throne. And the *Athenians* ſupported *Argeus*, and had ſent a fleet and Troops to his aſſiſtance. In this difficult ſituation, the *Macedonians* caſt their Eyes on *Philip*, and depoſing an helpleſs Infant, called in a Prince able to defend them: and the firſt Exploits of his Reign juſtified their choice. Unequal to the many Enemies he had to encounter, he took off the greater number, ſome by Promiſes, others by Preſents. He retrieved the drooping courage of his *Macedonians*, and reſtored diſcipline among them. He repelled *Pauſanias*. He met *Argeus* in battle, defeated, and ſlew him; and by artfully

artfully diſmiſſing thoſe *Athenians* he took Priſoners, deluded *Athens* into a Peace. He then turned his Arms againſt the *Paeonians* and *Illyrians*; and, falling on them unexpectedly, ſubdued the former, and obliged the latter to reſtore all their Conqueſts in *Macedonia*. His next Attempt was on *Amphipolis*, the Barrier of his Dominions on the ſide of *Thrace*, and, you know, an *Athenian* Colony: the difficulty was, how to behave with relation to this Place; if he retained it in his own hands, he irritated the *Athenians*; if he gave it up to them, he expoſed himſelf: this ſubtil Politician, then but twenty three Years old, did neither; he declared the *Amphipolitans* free. But however, this ſpecious grant ſubſiſted no longer than the neceſſity of his Affairs required it: ſome time after he ſeized again on *Amphipolis*, and annexed it to his Dominions. The like Policy he made uſe of towards every State around him, employing Force or Stratagem, Peace or War, as occaſion invited; improving every opportunity; purſuing every advantage; ſo that, ſcarcely were three years elapſed[t], ſince his return to *Macedon*, when already was he become the moſt conſiderable Prince in the Northern Parts of *Greece*, his Armies numerous and well diſciplined, his Frontiers enlarged, and his Power reſpected.

Clean. And did not theſe bold Enterprizes alarm the *Athenians?*

Pal. Blind to the dangers that threatened them, the *Athenians* could not perſuade themſelves, that a Prince of *Macedonia* ſhould ever conceive the thought of becoming the Conqueror of *Greece*. The repeated Declarations of the crafty *Philip* contributed

[t] *Philip* aſcended the throne the 1ſt. Year of the 105th. Olympiad.

contributed alſo to lull them in this fatal ſecurity. And far from apprehending ruin from that ſide, they were at this very time engaged in unneceſſary Wars, the *Social* firſt, and then the *Phocian*, which ſerved only to waſte their ſmall remains of vigor, and to expoſe the Weakneſs and Corruption of their Government.

Clean. The *Social War?*

Pal. The *Byzantines*, in conjunction with the Iſlands of *Rhodes*, *Cos*, and *Chios*, had thrown off their dependance on *Athens* [u], and confederated together for the defence of their liberties; and the *Athenians*, as jealous of their Rights, as in the Days of their Proſperity, forthwith equipped a fleet, to reduce them. Hence was this called the *Social War*, or the *War of the Allies*. It continued three years, and ended in an ignominious Peace, which the Dread of the *Perſian* Arms compelled the *Athenians* to accept of; *Artaxerxes Ochus*, who had ſucceeded his Father *Mnemon*, menacing to fit out a fleet of three hundred Sail in ſupport of the Iſlanders. The conditions of the Peace were, *that the Confederated States ſhould for ever remain free and independent.* It is remarkable that *Chares*, to whom the conduct of this War was principally intruſted, was one of the worſt men of his time: inſolent; vain; poſitive; treacherous; ſupplying his want of Abilities with boaſtful words, ſo that *the Promiſes of Chares* grew into a Proverb; and courting popular favour at the expence of truth and every moſt valuable conſideration: to his miſmanagement it was owing, that the War had ſuch a diſhonourable concluſion; nevertheleſs he eſcaped, and even procured the impeachment of the two Generals, who had

[u] Olymp. 105th. 3d. Year.

had been employed with him, *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus*, both faithful and experienced Officers, because they had refuſed to join with him in ruſhing on the Enemy in a Storm, and combating the Elements: *Timotheus* was fined an hundred talents, which not being able to pay, he retired to *Chalcis*, where he died: *Iphicrates* obtained his acquittal by an extraordinary contrivance; he introduced a number of armed Men into the Court, which ſo intimidated the Judges, that they pronounced in his favour. I only mention this, *Eudoxus*, that you may ſee, how true what I juſt now told of the diſtempered ſtate of *Athens*.——Next followed the *Phocian* or *Sacred War*, a War of much longer continuance, and far more fatal in its conſequences.

Clean. And whence did this War ariſe?

Pal. The *Phocians* had tilled a part of the ſacred territory of *Delphi*, and had been fined by the *Amphictiones* for their profanation; but inſtead of ſubmitting to this decree, they took up Arms under the Command of *Philomelus*, and even ſeized on the *Delphic* Temple[w]. A ſimilitude of intereſts induced the *Lacedemonians* to contract alliance with them; they had been condemned by the *Amphictionic* Council on account of their perfidious invaſion of the *Theban* Citadel, and had refuſed to pay the mulct impoſed on them. *Athens* alſo joined with theſe impious States; their jealouſy of *Thebes* moved them to it: for the *Thebans* were at the head of the oppoſite Confederacy, and, together with the *Locrians*, had declared themſelves the Aſſerters of the Rights of the God. A contempt of Religion, my dear *Cleanthes*, is one of the ſureſt Forerunners of the Public Ruin; and this inſolence of impiety

[w] Olymp. 106th. 2d. Year.

impiety towards a Deity, whom they pretended to reverence, certainly ſpeaks a People entirely loſt to all Senſe of Good, and ripe for deſtruction. The *Phocians* however obtained ſeveral conſiderable advantages, and though *Philomelus* fell in battle, nevertheleſs *Onomarchus* his Brother ſucceeded him, and continued the War.

Philip beheld with pleaſure the *Grecians* doing his work: whilſt they harraſſed and conſumed each other, he was improving his ſtrength and extending his Conqueſts. At this time he had been invited into *Theſſaly* to deliver the Nations of theſe Parts from the oppreſſive yoke of the Tyrant *Lycophron*, Brother and Succeſſor to *Alexander* of *Pherae*. And *Lycophron* had ſollicited *Onomarchus* to aſſiſt him. *Philip*, with all his Abilities and Skill in War, found himſelf at the firſt ſeverely preſſed by the *Phocian* General; and ſuch a terror had poſſeſſed his Men, that they even refuſed to march to battle. But having obtained a conſiderable reinforcement, and animated his Soldiers with hopes of victory, he led them on again; and a general engagement enſuing, *Onomarchus* was ſlain, his Army totally defeated, and *Lycophron* obliged to flee out of *Theſſaly*. And *Philip*, that he might make a ſhew of his zeal for Religion, commanded the Body of *Onomarchus* to be hanged up, and the Priſoners to be thrown into the ſea, as ſacrilegious and accurſed.

The Succeſs of this Action, and the Eſteem it acquired him, enlarged his views; and under pretence of marching againſt the *Phocians*, he attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſs of *Thermopylae*, the *Key* of *Greece*, as he juſtly called it: but the *Athenians* took the alarm and prevented him. It is generally thought, that the lively Remonſtrances of

Demoſthenes

Demoſthenes ſpirited up the *Athenians* to this. This great Orator and able Stateſman had diſtinguiſhed himſelf already; but he now exerted himſelf in a more extraordinary manner; and his bold, impetuous, forcible Eloquence was particularly of uſe at this Seaſon. You know, *Eudoxus*, what were the Excellencies peculiar to this Orator—ſtrength of Argument—ſublimity of thought—a nervous manly ſtyle, enlivened with a variety of *Metaphors*, of *Apoſtrophes*, and *Interrogations*——a remarkable vehemence of expreſſion——ſo that he not only perſuaded, he made himſelf Maſter of his Hearers, and forced conviction on them. And indeed, uncommon as were his Abilities, he had occaſion for them all, to bear him through the various difficulties he was to combat: he was to combat the Paſſions of a corrupted People, of a People ſunk into a ſtate of indolence, debauched by eaſe, and averſe from martial toil: he was to combat the *Partiſans* and Penſioners of *Philip*, ſome of the greateſt Orators of *Greece*, who appeared in avowed oppoſition to him: the very weakneſs of the Commonwealth ſeemed to forbid vigorous meaſures: even the Laws were againſt him; the Funds for the War, as I have told you, had been applied to the ſupport of the Theatre, and it had been made death to propoſe the diverting that money to any other purpoſe; and yet, the Rich refuſed to bear the burden of taxes, whilſt the Public Revenues were thus diſſipated in furniſhing to the entertainment of the lower Citizens. Notwithſtanding all this, the Thunder of *Demoſthenes*'s Eloquence rouſed the Genius of *Athens*, and the admirable Schemes he pointed out to his Fellow Citizens proved, more than once, the means of checking the Progreſs of the enterpriſing *Macedonian*.

He did not indeed preſerve his Country; her vicious Manners, and the Abilities of the Prince ſhe was to oppoſe, rendered it impoſſible; but however, he gave her an Activity and Spirit ſhe had long been a ſtranger to, he rendered her formidable even to *Philip*; and probably, had not ſuch a Prince as this been againſt her, might he, at leaſt, have delayed her ruin. So that, far from wondering that he did not effect more, rather ſhould we be ſurpriſed how he was able to effect ſo much.

To his honour it is mentioned, that *Philip*, who feared him more than all the reſt of *Greece*, made uſe of every Art to win him over to his intereſt; but neither the Dread of his Power, nor the large Bribes he offered him, availed any thing. And this is the more extraordinary, becauſe *Demoſthenes*, as it appeared in other inſtances, was a Coward and fond of money; and yet at this time his Love of his Country, and his Senſibility of her Diſtreſſes, ſeem to have raiſed him above all the little weakneſſes, to which he was ſubject [x].

Clean. But how did *Philip* bear the diſappointment at *Thermopylae?*

Pal. Philip was not truſting to one ſingle Scheme. When he found this Enterprize had failed, he marched Northward, and purſued his military operations on the ſide of *Thrace*, and, after having conſiderably extended his conqueſts in thoſe parts, ſhaped his courſe towards *Olynthus*. The *Olynthians* I have already mentioned to you: they were the moſt powerful People of the Region of *Chalcidice*, and in the Days of *Amyntas* had nearly effected the utter ruin of the Houſe of *Macedon*.

Hence

[x] Vide *Plutarch.* in *Demoſthen.*

Hence it was, that *Philip* in the beginning of his Reign courted the friendſhip of this Republic; he was not then in a condition to contend with her. But now, encreaſed in ſtrength, he avowed his deſign; and, on his way, ſent the *Olynthians* this peremptory meſſage, *that either they muſt quit* Olynthus *or he* Macedonia[y]. Such a Menace from ſuch a Prince left the *Olynthians* no room to doubt that deſtruction was determined againſt them, and immediately their Embaſſadors were diſpatched to *Athens* to ſollicit aſſiſtance; *Demoſthenes* alſo, who conſidered *their Cauſe* and *that* of his Country as the ſame, pleaded earneſtly in their behalf: but nevertheleſs, through the miſrepreſentations of the other Orators, neither ſeaſonable nor ſufficient Succours were ſent to them; and when at length the *Athenians*, urged on by *Demoſthenes*, reſolved to exert themſelves more effectually, *Olynthus* was already in the hands of *Philip*. His Gold, it ſeems, had prevailed on ſome of the principal Inhabitants to open the Gates to him.——Theſe repeated ſucceſſes alarmed the *Athenians*, all their poſſeſſions in *Thrace* and along the *Helleſpont* were at ſtake, and their Embaſſadors had orders to haſten away, and conclude a peace with this dangerous Enemy.

Clean. What a triumph for *Philip!*——the *Athenians* become ſuppliants to a Prince of *Macedon!*——And did he grant them peace?

Pal. He was too refined a Politician to explain himſelf immediately.—About the ſame time he had received an application not leſs agreeable to him, from the *Theban* People. The *Phocian* War ſtill continued. *Phayllus* had been appointed General in the room of his Brother *Onomarchus*; and he

[y] Olymp. 108. 1ſt. Year.

dying, *Phalecus* a young man, *Onomarchus*'s Son, was placed at the head of the *Phocian* Army. Theſe Generals, *Onomarchus* and his Succeſſors, had made free with the ſacred Treaſury, which *Philomelus*'s religion would not permit him to violate; and, in order to maintain the War, had plundered the Riches and ſumptuous Offerings, which the Piety of Kings and Nations had depoſited there, to the amount of above ten thouſand talents [z]. The *Thebans* therefore, overpowered by means of this, had recourſe to *Philip*, and beſought it of him to enter *Greece* and take vengeance on the ſacrilegious *Phocians*. There could not be any thing more favourable to *Philip*'s views than ſuch an application, nor any thing more fatal with reſpect to the *Thebans* and the reſt of *Greece*. They were forging their Chains, and ſacrificing *their own* and the *Common* Happineſs to their inveteracy and deſire of revenge. However, *Philip* diſſembled with the *Athenians*, and artfully protracted the negotiation, till he was advanced into *Theſſaly*. There, on the point of paſſing the *Thermopylae*, he found it neceſſary to conclude the treaty with *Athens*, and purſuing his march, entered *Phocis*, before the *Grecians* well knew what his intentions were. His very name and appearance ſubdued the *Phocians*; they laid down their Arms, and ſubmitted to his mercy [a]: accordingly, he permitted *Phalecus* with eight thouſand Mercenaries to retire into *Peloponneſus*; and the *Phocian* Nation he referred to the Judgment of the *Amphictiones*, whom he cauſed to be aſſembled for that purpoſe. This ſeeming moderation was all Artifice. The *Amphictiones* were under his influence, and the Authority

[z] A Sum equal to about 1937500 Pounds.——See *Arbuthnot's* tables.

[a] Olymp. 108. 2d. Year.

thority of their tribunal ſerved only to give a Sanction to his determinations. They decreed *that the Cities of* Phocis *ſhould be demoliſhed*; *that the Inhabitants ſhould be diſperſed in Villages*; *that they ſhould be obliged to pay a yearly tribute, till the whole of what was taken out of the temple was reſtored*; *that they ſhould be deprived of their Seat in the* Amphictionic Council, *and their Right of Suffrage transferred to* Philip, the glorious Vindicator of Religion, and Aſſerter of the Public Peace [b]!

Eud. Aſtoniſhing Change!——That *Philip*, who but ſome few years ago was a poor deſpiſed Prince, his Territories invaded, and even his Crown precarious, is already become the Arbiter of *Greece* and the Director of her Councils.

Pal. Philip choſe to let the apprehenſions of the ſeveral *Grecian* States die away, and, as if a zeal for Religion had been his only motive for entering *Greece*, returned back into *Macedonia*, and engaged in war againſt the *Illyrians*. Howbeit, in about four years after, he again turned his Arms againſt *Thrace* [c], and invaded the *Cherſoneſus*, where the *Athenians* had conſiderable eſtabliſhments. And indeed whatever ſemblance of Peace there might be, the War in reality ſtill ſubſiſted between *Philip* and the *Athenians*—*Philip* endeavouring to weaken and humble the *Athenians*; undermining their intereſt; debauching their Allies; diſtreſſing their Colonies—and the *Athenians* ſeeking *Philip*'s deſtruction; upbraiding him with perfidiouſneſs; ſolliciting his Enemies to riſe againſt him; and even ſometimes invading and ravaging ſuch of his territories, as bordered on their Settlements—but with this difference

[b] *Diod. Sic.* L. 16. *Juſt.* L. 8. *Pauſan.* in *Phocicis.*
[c] Olymp. 109. 2d. Year.

rence in the conteſt ;—that *Philip* was a Prince active ; vigilant ; his own Miniſter ; his own General ; diſguiſing his Schemes, and connecting together the Deſign and the Execution ; ſparing neither expence nor toil, when Conqueſt was to be had ; and ſure of procuring by force of Bribes, what he could not obtain by force of Arms : whilſt the *Athenians* were infirm of purpoſe ; poor in treaſure ; depending on their Orators, and therefore diſtracted by the oppoſition of Counſels ; ſlow in deliberating ; ſlow in executing ; ſo that oftentimes they were conſidering of means for the ſecurity of a Colony, when that Colony was theirs no longer ; or preparing to attack *Philip* in one part, when he was already gone off to an other. Their Officers alſo were ſent abroad without either Inſtructions or Powers ſufficient ; and if they exceeded their Orders, even to perform the moſt important ſervice to their Country, Impeachments, and generally Diſgrace and Puniſhment awaited them at home.

Philip nevertheleſs had ſtill his eye on *Greece* ; theſe northern Conqueſts he conſidered only as Amuſements ; and his Scheme of Empire was not to be eſtabliſhed but by the final Oppreſſion of the *Grecian* People. The Folly of the *Grecians* themſelves ſoon offered him the opportunity he wiſhed for. *Thebes* invited him again into *Greece* ; and, under ſhew of protecting the *Meſſenians* and the *Argives* againſt the inſults of *Sparta*, ſhe would have led him into the very heart of *Peloponneſus*. But the *Athenians* were too nearly affected by this Enterprize to ſubmit tamely to it ; they threatened to league with *Sparta*, if *Philip* advanced, and obliged him to deſiſt. The troubled ſtate of *Euboea* furniſhed him with a new pretence ; he invaded that Iſland in order, alledged he, to expel the

the Tyrants, that afflicted the ſeveral Cities of it, and to reſtore the *Euboean* Liberties. But neither here were the *Athenians* deceived: they ſaw the tendency of this ambitious attempt, and oppoſed it vigorouſly. Theſe little Checks induced *Philip* to change the Plan of his Operations, and to diſtreſs the *Athenians* in thoſe Parts, from whence their ſupplies of Corn were ſent to them. With this view he retreated northward, and ſat down before *Perinthus* [d], a City on the *Propontis* [e], of conſiderable ſtrength, and firmly attached to the *Athenians*; ſurrounding it with an Army of thirty thouſand Men, and aſſaulting it with all kinds of battering Engines. The Inhabitants nevertheleſs made a reſolute defence, and held out, till they received ſuccours from their Neighbours of *Byzantium*. And *Philip*, to cut off this communication, divides his Army, and marches with one half of it againſt the *Byzantines*, leaving the other half before *Perinthus*. Such violent Proceedings gave a general alarm both in *Perſia* and in *Greece*. *Ochus* ordered his Lieutenants to aſſiſt the beſieged Cities; and the *Athenians* ſent *Phocion* with a conſiderable Force to their relief. The employing of *Phocion* ſhewed the *Athenians* were in earneſt. He was the ableſt, indeed the only able, Officer they had; and beſides, a Man of unblemiſhed Virtue, whoſe Integrity and Sanctity of Manners rendered him worthy of the happieſt Days, that *Athens* had ever ſeen. Notwithſtanding, he differed from *Demoſthenes* in his notions of Policy: he would have had the *Athenians* make a friend of *Philip*, and ſubmit honourably

[d] Olymp. 109. 4th. Year.

[e] The Sea between the *Helleſpont* and the *Thracian Boſphorus*.

bly to what it was not in their power to prevent. And really, though *Demoſthenes*'s advice was the nobler, yet in theſe times, when the Spirit of *Athens* was no more, perhaps was *Phocion*'s the more eligible. It is obſerved that his manner of ſpeech in Public was extremely cloſe and conciſe, without any of the flowers of Oratory; ſo that *Demoſthenes* was wont to call him, *the Pruner of his Periods.* And let me add, though he endeavoured to diſſuade the *Athenians* from running madly on their ruin, by engaging in an oppoſition, to which they were no longer equal, yet in all the ſtruggles of the Commonwealth againſt the *Macedonian* Power, as far as he was employed, he approved himſelf always a brave Soldier and a faithful Patriot. The misfortune was, a man like this could have but little weight in a State, ſuch as *Athens* was at preſent; Intrigue and Faction kept him at a diſtance from Public Affairs; and 'twas generally to the Fears of his Country or the Diſtreſſes of her Allies that he owed the Commands, with which he was inveſted. And yet, how much might have been done, even in theſe dark tempeſtuous Days, and ſhattered as was the Commonwealth, had the Helm of Government been wholly intruſted to a Man upright and capable, you may ſee, *Eudoxus*, by what *Phocion* now effected: he reſtored confidence among the Confederates; he obliged *Philip* to abandon the Siege both of *Byzantium* and *Perinthus*; he recovered ſeveral Places, which he had garriſoned; he ravaged his Dominions; he took his Ships; and drove him out of the *Helleſpont*[f].

Clean. Surely this bodes well.——

Pal. Why, *Cleanthes*, though baffled thus *Philip* ſtill had a ſure reſource in his own ſubtil Arts, and

[f] *Plutarch.* et *Corn. Nep.* in *Phocione.*

and the Corruption of the *Grecian* People: he expoſtulated with the *Athenians*; he amuſed them with proteſtations, and propoſals of Peace: at the ſame time his Emiſſaries were employed throughout all *Greece*, to give a fair gloſs to what he had done; not a State nor a Public Council, in which he had not his Penſioners, all of them devoted to his intereſts, and confederated againſt their Country. The fatal conſequences of this deep-rooted Corruption were ſoon felt. The *Locri Ozolae* were accuſed of profanation, in having broken up a part of the Lands of *Criſſa*, appropriated, you know, to the Temple of *Delphi*[g]; and the *Amphictiones* had denounced War againſt them, and ſummoned the Eſtates of *Greece* to arm in defence of the inſulted *God*. But *Aeſchines* the *Athenian*, together with ſome others of the *Pylagorae*[h], who were ſecretly Agents to *Philip*, propoſed that they ſhould rather ſpare to *Greece* the Burthen of this expenſive War, and invite the King of *Macedon* to chaſtiſe the *Locrians*. When this was notified to *Philip*, he ſcarcely could diſſemble his Joy; immediately he began his march, and advancing into *Phocis*, as if he no longer remembered *the Sacred Cauſe* intruſted to him, ſeizes on *Elatea*, a City on the *Boeotian* Borders, and conveniently ſituated, either for awing *Thebes*, or for preparing his way into *Attica*.

The tidings of this arriving at *Athens*, the whole City was in the utmoſt confuſion: the Aſſembly met, but even the Orators and Generals looked amazed one on the other: there was neither Strength nor Counſel among them. At length, in this ge-

[g] See Dial. 8. P. 313.

[h] The repreſentatives of the *Grecian* States in the *Amphictionic* Council.

neral Conſternation, *Demoſthenes* roſe up: he endeavoured to perſuade them, *that it was not yet impoſſible to oppoſe* Philip; *that the* Thebans *themſelves might be eaſily detached from his intereſts*; *that though many of them had been gained over by his preſents, nevertheleſs the greater number were ſecretly againſt him, and, that whatever they might hitherto have been made to believe, they now could not but ſee in him the Invader of* Greece, *and the Oppreſſor of their Country:* he adviſed them *therefore to ſupport vigorouſly ſuch of the* Thebans *as were ſtill friends to Liberty, to forget all former animoſities, and to diſpatch Embaſſadors to them to encourage them, and offer them every kind of aid:* at the ſame time he exhorted the *Athenians to arm forthwith, and to ſacrifice every private concern to the Public Good:* he propoſed, *that all that were able to perform military ſervice ſhould march out of the City, and form a Camp at* Eleuſis; *and that every State around ſhould be required to aſſiſt at this time of exigency.*——Salutary Reſolutions, my *Cleanthes*, had the *Athenians* had the Virtue to make them good!——*Phocion* doubted this, and therefore counſelled he, that they ſhould rather ſubmit to *Philip*. However, the Advice given by *Demoſthenes* took place; the *Athenians* aſſembled their Forces; and an Alliance was concluded with the *Theban* People.

Eud. But did not *Philip* endeavour to traverſe the negotiation between *Thebes* and *Athens?*

Pal. Yes, *Eudoxus*, *Philip*, whoſe Maxim it was never to break down a Gate, which he had not tried to open, made uſe of every means to diſſuade *Thebes* from declaring againſt him: for this purpoſe he employed *Python*, eſteemed one of the moſt powerful Speakers of his time, to plead his cauſe before the *Theban* Senate. But the Eloquence of *Demoſthenes*,

moſthenes, who was at the head of the *Athenian* Embaſſy, and who, we are told, exerted himſelf on this occaſion in a very extraordinary Manner, ſo fired the *Thebans*, that no longer Maſters of themſelves, and blind to every danger they were expoſing their Country to, they gave their Suffrages for War. It is ſaid that *Demoſthenes* was wont to ſpeak of this ſucceſs of his with much complacency, and, ſome will have it, as much for the ſake of his Victory over *Python*, as from his zeal for the Public Safety.——Diſappointed on the ſide of *Thebes*, *Philip* ſued to *Athens* for Peace; but in vain; the *Athenians* were too much exaſperated to liſten to any terms of accommodation. He then had recourſe to Omens and menacing Predictions, for the Oracles were under his direction, and *Philippized*, as *Demoſthenes* expreſſed it; but neither were theſe effectual: the *Athenians* under the command of *Chares* and *Lyſicles*, having joined the *Thebans*, moved on towards *Chaeronea*; and *Philip* alſo, determined to riſque all, or obtain *Greece*, advanced to meet them.

Clean. What? the fatal Day of *Chaeronea* is come!

Pal. 'Tis come, *Cleanthes*—that fatal Day, that is to deſpoil *Greece* of all thoſe Bleſſings ſhe hath ſo wantonly abuſed. The *Macedonians* were in number not far ſuperior to the *Greeks*, in other reſpects they had infinitely the advantage: Hardy; well-diſciplined; fluſhed with victory; commanded by a General, in whoſe Conduct they had reaſon to confide, and whoſe parental tenderneſs had endeared him to them. The Confederates, weakly united together; their Forces, the gleanings of thoſe Armies, which the Rage of Civil Diſcord had conſumed; and part of them already ſubdued by

the Diſtreſſes of unſucceſsful War; their Generals raſh, ignorant, having neither the Affection nor the Confidence of thoſe, that ſerved under them. Such an unhappy combination of Circumſtances ſcarcely ever produced aught but Diſcomfiture, Infamy, and Servitude. Nevertheleſs, with all theſe diſadvantages againſt them, they charged reſolutely: reſentment, deſpair, the remembrance of their antient Glory, the dark Proſpect of what was to enſue on their Defeat, impelled them on; and the *Athenians* even puſhed forwards as far as the *Macedonian* Center: but the inconſiderate *Lyſicles* having ſuffered his Men to break, and engage in wild purſuit, *Philip*, who was never more cool than on this deciſive Day, marked his opportunity, and coming down on them, when moſt in confuſion, obtained an eaſy and complete victory. It is ſaid, that when he ſaw the diſorderly manner of the Enemy, *the Athenians*, obſerved he to thoſe about him, *know not how to conquer.* Mean time, the *Thebans* likewiſe had been routed. Whilſt *Philip* was joining battle with the *Athenians*, the young *Alexander*, who had the command of the left wing, had forced his way through the *Theban* Battalia, and having cut to pieces *the Sacred Band*[i], where the braveſt oppoſition was, he ſoon made the reſt to flee before him.——This memorable Battle was fought the third Year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, an hundred and forty three Years after the glorious Battle of *Salamis.*

Clean.

[i] Ἱερὰ Φάλανξ, a *Band* of three hundred choſen Men, all united together by the ties of Friendſhip and virtuous Love, and therefore called *Sacred.* They were remarkable for their Courage, and on the Day of *Leuctra* performed wonders under the command of *Pelopidas.* On this occaſion, they all fell. ——Vide *Plutarch.* in *Pelopidâ.*

Clean. Wretched *Greece!*——But; *Palaemon*, ſurely *Philip* had mercy?

Pal. Towards the *Thebans* he was inexorable. They had renounced his friendſhip; they had deſerted him in the moſt critical of Conjunctures; they had broken through all the ties of Gratitude; and made light of the many kindneſſes he had conferred on them. Hence were they made to feel the ſeverity of his indignation. He obliged them to pay ranſom for their Priſoners, and even to purchaſe the permiſſion of interring their Dead. He ſet a Garriſon over their City. He removed either by the Sword or by Baniſhment the principal Perſons, who had ſtood againſt him. He recalled all ſuch as were in exile for eſpouſing his intereſts, he appointed them Judges and Magiſtrates, and gave them power of Life and Death over thoſe, who had been the means of baniſhing them. To the *Athenians* he ſhewed more lenity. At the firſt indeed he was tranſported with his victory beyond meaſure; he inſulted over the Dead, and upbraided the Priſoners with their misfortunes, leaping and dancing on the Field of Battle, and ſinging with an Air of Burleſque the Preamble of the Decree for the War, which *Demoſthenes* had drawn up againſt him. But the keen obſervation of the Orator *Demades*, who was in the number of the Priſoners, wrought a change in him: *Fortune*, ſaid he, Philip, *has aſſigned thee the Part of* Agamemnon, *and thou art acting that of* Therſites. *Philip* was ſtruck with the juſtneſs of this Reproof; and far from being offended with *Demades*, he gave him his liberty. From that time his Deportment towards the *Athenians* was humane and generous. He freely releaſed their Captives, and renewed the peace with *Athens*. He affected Modeſty and Compaſſion;

Compaſſion; he would neither have feſtal Sacrifices, nor Crowns, nor Sports; and endeavoured to ſoften the Diſtreſſes and Humiliation of the Conquered, by laying aſide entirely the Pride and Splendor of the Conqueror.

Eud. Pray, *Palaemon*, might not this Generoſity of his be partly owing to the Dread he had of the *Athenian* Satire, and the Deſire of having his Praiſes recorded by that elegant People?

Pal. Why really, *Eudoxus*, it is not unlikely that *Philip* might have a view to this: he certainly in ſeveral inſtances courted the good opinion of the *Athenians*; and doubtleſs no man had more to fear from Satire than he. For though brave, active, enterpriſing, though able in Council, and formidable in Arms, yet had he very few of thoſe excellencies, that denominate Princes Great and Good: he had learned to imitate *Epaminondas* only in ſome of his Military Qualities; and however he may be thought to come within ſight of him as *a Soldier*, yet as *a Man* was he infinitely behind him: his *Public Life* was ſtained with violence, and perfidiouſneſs; his *Private* was black with the worſt of Crimes. And the Succeſs he met with may juſtly be conſidered, rather as a Chaſtiſement and Scourge to *Greece* for her Degeneracy, than as a Reward to him for his Virtues. He afterwards engaged the *Grecian* States to elect him their General againſt the *Perſians*: that Empire had long been nodding to ruin; and he promiſed to himſelf that he ſhould eaſily effect its overthrow: but, in the midſt of his gayeſt hopes, he was cut off by domeſtic treaſon, and left his throne and his proſpects to *Alexander* his Son.

Clean. What——*Alexander the Great?*

Pal.

Pal. So has Hiſtory falſely called him; as if Martial Fury, and the wanton Invaſion of Nations, were the excellence of Princes. His Exploits and Fortunes I ſhall probably entertain you with, *Cleanthes*, at ſome other opportunity.———As for the *Grecians*, after the Battle of *Chaeronea*, every Year ſeems to have added to their Meanneſs and Abjectneſs; until, what *Philip* had begun, *Alexander* and his Succeſſors, and at laſt wide-waſting *Rome*, completed. Some few Men, 'tis true, roſe up at different times, and ſought to vindicate their Country from Oppreſſion: but their Efforts were unavailing; *Greece* no longer had a Spirit equal to the Attempt; and the Power to be contended with was too conſiderable.

Such are the Effects of *Upright* and of *Degenerate* Manners; the latter always ending in *Weakneſs* and *Servitude*; the former productive of *Liberty*, *Wealth*, and *Empire*. Never, my *Eudoxus*, never, my *Cleanthes*, may ye forget the inſtructive Leſſon: *The Ways of Virtue are the Ways of Happineſs*. Have it in remembrance. Make the trial. And certainly ſhall ye find the one, if ye ſincerely purſue the other.



FINIS

Compaſſion; he would neither have feſtal Sacrifices, nor Crowns, nor Sports; and endeavoured to ſoften the Diſtreſſes and Humiliation of the Conquered, by laying aſide entirely the Pride and Splendor of the Conqueror.

Eud. Pray, *Palaemon*, might not this Generoſity of his be partly owing to the Dread he had of the *Athenian* Satire, and the Deſire of having his Praiſes recorded by that elegant People?

Pal. Why really, *Eudoxus*, it is not unlikely that *Philip* might have a view to this: he certainly in ſeveral inſtances courted the good opinion of the *Athenians*; and doubtleſs no man had more to fear from Satire than he. For though brave, active, enterpriſing, though able in Council, and formidable in Arms, yet had he very few of thoſe excellencies, that denominate Princes Great and Good: he had learned to imitate *Epaminondas* only in ſome of his Military Qualities; and however he may be thought to come within ſight of him as *a Soldier*, yet as *a Man* was he infinitely behind him: his *Public Life* was ſtained with violence, and perfidiouſneſs; his *Private* was black with the worſt of Crimes. And the Succeſs he met with may juſtly be conſidered, rather as a Chaſtiſement and Scourge to *Greece* for her Degeneracy, than as a Reward to him for his Virtues. He afterwards engaged the *Grecian* States to elect him their General againſt the *Perſians*: that Empire had long been nodding to ruin; and he promiſed to himſelf that he ſhould eaſily effect its overthrow: but, in the midſt of his gayeſt hopes, he was cut off by domeſtic treaſon, and left his throne and his proſpects to *Alexander* his Son.

Clean. What——*Alexander the Great?*

Pal.

Pal. So has Hiſtory falſely called him; as if Martial Fury, and the wanton Invaſion of Nations, were the excellence of Princes. His Exploits and Fortunes I ſhall probably entertain you with, *Cleanthes*, at ſome other opportunity.———As for the *Grecians*, after the Battle of *Chaeronea*, every Year ſeems to have added to their Meanneſs and Abjectneſs; until, what *Philip* had begun, *Alexander* and his Succeſſors, and at laſt wide-waſting *Rome*, completed. Some few Men, 'tis true, roſe up at different times, and ſought to vindicate their Country from Oppreſſion: but their Efforts were unavailing; *Greece* no longer had a Spirit equal to the Attempt; and the Power to be contended with was too conſiderable.

Such are the Effects of *Upright* and of *Degenerate* Manners; the latter always ending in *Weakneſs* and *Servitude*; the former productive of *Liberty*, *Wealth*, and *Empire*. Never, my *Eudoxus*, never, my *Cleanthes*, may ye forget the inſtructive Leſſon: *The Ways of Virtue are the Ways of Happineſs*. Have it in remembrance. Make the trial. And certainly ſhall ye find the one, if ye ſincerely purſue the other.



FINIS

BRITISH MUSEUM
30 JUN 73